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Pennsylvania Grange News



August, 1904.

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***The Thirty-second Annual Session of Pennsylvania State
Grange will Convene in Erie December 13, 1904.***

Pennsylvania Grange News

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

VOL. I NO. I

AUGUST, 1904

20 CENTS PER YEAR
5 CENTS PER COPY

W. H. HILL,

EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,

W. T. CREASY,

EDITOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT.

EDITOR LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT.

Official publication. Issued monthly at 64 North Main Street, Chambersburg, Pa.

SALUTATORY.

This publication is designed to further the objects and purposes of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry. To this end it will aim to advance the interests of the membership along the lines set forth in The Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange.

It will assist in advancing the welfare of the Farmer through the present powerful agency of an intelligently directed, conservative, yet aggressive and progressive organization.

As the interests of our membership and order are broad and varied, this publication has a wide field to cover. We hope that it shall be well tilled.

By official action taken at a joint meeting at Harrisburg July 27, 1904, instituting this publication, the State Master was elected editor, with Bros. G. W. Oster, Osterburg, and W. T. Creasy, Catawissa, associate editors. The work, plans, and hopes of the Executive and Legislative Com-

mittees respectively, will be under their management. Communications bearing upon the work should be addressed to them direct.

The PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE NEWS is not issued to supplant any existing grange or farm paper or publication. We entertain kindly feelings for every such publication laboring in the interest of the Farmer. Bro. Ailman will continue to issue, but under another name, The GRANGE NEWS LETTER. It will be sent free to those papers of the State wishing to use its items. During the remainder of this year The PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE NEWS will be sent by the State Grange free to the Deputies throughout the State, and to all officers of the State, Pomona and Subordinate Granges. Others may obtain it at five cents per copy.

Correspondence is solicited and exchanges invited.

GRANGE PICNIC CAMPAIGN.

The State Grange has systematically laid out a Picnic Campaign for the month of August, in as many different counties as there are working days. Hon. Aaron Jones, South Bend, Indiana, Master of The National Grange, and State Master Hill will be the speakers during the first week at picnics in Cambria, Clinton, Lycoming, Columbia, Montour and Schuylkill counties. Hon. Oliver Wilson, Master of the Illinois State Grange, and State Lecturer A. M. Cornell will be the speakers the second week, in the counties of Washington, Fayette, Mercer, Crawford, Warren and Venango.

For the third week Bro. Wilson and Bro. Creasy, secretary of the Legislative Committee of Pennsylvania State Grange, will attend picnics in Butler, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Blair and Juniata.

For the fourth week Bros. Wilson and Ailman will be the force and speak in Lackawanna, Wayne, Susquehanna, Wyoming, Bradford and Tioga counties.

Bro. Wilson and Prof. Surface will close up the month in three days of the last week in Potter, McKean and Erie counties.

An additional picnic is to be held at Osterburg Aug. 17 and 18.

Bros. Whitehead and A. L. Martin Seeds, also the Worthy Masters of the Maryland and New York State Granges, as well as other prominent Grange speakers will attend several of the picnics.

Additional entertainment will be furnished by local speakers and by musicians.

All friends of the Farmers are invited to attend.

ABOUT THE STATE.

The Thirty Second Annual Session of the State Grange of Penn'a. will be held in Erie, week of Dec. 13th. All Patrons in good standing in the Fourth Degree may attend.

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It is being rumored that the Pennsylvania Agricultural and Horticultural Exhibit at St. Louis deserves criticism. We regret this and, if true, hope that steps will be taken to make them what they should be.

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The secretary of the Department of Agriculture at Harrisburg proposes to establish a Chemical Laboratory in that city by request of the Dairy and Food Commissioner. The analysis of food products, cattle feeds and fertilizers would then be made there. We see no necessity for this. We al-

ready have a public institution in this State built, equipped, and manned for such work as this. The Penn'a. Legislature at last session appropriated \$100,000 for a new Agricultural Building at the State College. The building is erected and in it the Experiment Station has a Chemical Laboratory complete with modern appliances. It has a corps of first class scientific men in its faculty and no fault has been found with the accuracy of their work although commercial cattle foods and fertilizers have been analyzed there for years. It stands ready to continue to do this work promptly, economically and scientifically. The Farmers of Pennsylvania know that the Experiment Station is a valuable institution for Pennsylvania agriculture. The profit derived from State work

done by the station goes to help enable it to carry on its experimental work in the interest of agriculture. By continuing it the State indirectly helps agriculture, and gets the service as cheaply as in any other way. Then why remove it? To do so would seriously cripple the Experiment Station and through that be an injury to agriculture. Surely the Secretary of Agriculture does not mean to chop off the limb he is standing on!

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During the last quarter the report of the National Grange shows that Penn'a. has organized and reorgan-

ized more Granges than any other State in the Union. It is certainly in good shape in this State. The existing Granges are making rapid growth. Deputies, State Officers and Committees are working well and harmoniously together and good results are seen in every department of Grange activity.

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We think that it would be fitting if National Master Jones were to succeed Past Master Brigham as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture at Washington.

THE STATE MASTER TO PATRONS.

By reason of the large amount of work to be done by the Legislative Committee, I **have** appointed as members of it Bro. E. B. Dorsett, Lecturer of Pomona Grange, Tioga Co.; and Bro. Henry Buckley, Master of Pomona Grange, Crawford Co. They have accepted and will assist Bros. Brunges and Creasy.

Bro. Creasy was chosen to edit the legislative department of The Pennsylvania Grange News.

It will be well to act promptly upon the request that he makes in this number that a Legislative Committee be appointed in each Subordinate, and Pomona Grange. Extra copies of this issue of The Pennsylvania Grange News are sent to every Worthy Master in the State to be handed by him to his legislative committee. I think it will be well for the Master to be a member of this committee and be

recognized as chairman. The Subordinate Grange Committee will do well to work in harmony with the Pomona Legislative Committee, and the Pomona Committee ought to keep in close touch with the State Committee. By doing this it will show discipline and effectiveness of organization. Be earnest and aggressive in this work but absolutely fair and the influence that we will exert and the respect that we will command will exceed our most sanguine expectations. The Grange News will stand by whatever movement the State Grange enters upon. Write to it freely of your efforts and successes. This number is gotten out on short notice. We acknowledge with thanks the cooperation of Bro. Geo. H. Shibley, of Washington, in preparing it.

Fraternally,

W. F. HILL.



Executive Committee Department.

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

The following action of the Executive and Legislative Committees in joint session held at Harrisburg, July 27, 1904, is self explanatory:

Bro. Piollet moved that we issue a quarterly publication to be known as the "Pennsylvania Grange News." The question was considered and discussed at length and was unanimously adopted.

Having been appointed to represent the Executive Committee on the Editorial Staff, I earnestly request the hearty cooperation and assistance of the rank and file of the order and will be glad to receive suggestions at any time that will enable us to increase

the efficiency of the executive arm of the order.

Fraternally,

GEO. W. OSTER,
Sec. Ex. Com.

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EXCHANGE BULLETIN.

Patrons are requested to send in their "for sale" and "exchange" notices for the next issue of the Exchange bulletin. To insure insertion in the next issue of the Bulletin they should reach me not later than September 1st.

GEO. W. OSTER,
Committeeman in Charge,
Osterburg, Pa.

Legislative Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.

Pennsylvania State Grange is making a determined effort to push for legislation as outlined elsewhere in this paper. To make this work successful it is absolutely necessary for every Pomona Grange in the State to appoint a Legislative Committee. It should then see that these interrogations are placed before all the candidates for the Legislature and Congress. When the replies are all in or a reasonable time to hear from them has elapsed, say ten days, a report should be prepared for publication and copy supplied to each newspaper in the district, with request that it be printed. State the date that it is released for publication. Time it so that it will come out the earliest day in the week that the weekly papers are issued.

If candidates are slow in replying upon any question enumerated, or an

see that they are called upon by one or more members of the committee or by some one appointed by the committee. Impress them with our determination, and call their attention to the machinery for placing candidates in nomination by petition.

Copy of the report should also be sent to me for publication in the Pennsylvania Grange News. Reports from all the counties will be published.

Each chairman should retain original answers, making copies or compilations for publication.

Of course the candidates must be treated alike. Absolutely fair treatment is the fundamental tenet in successful non-partisan work.

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Any Patron who desires information

argument in support of the position of the Grange, will be supplied if a self-addressed envelope be sent to W. T. Creasy, Catawissa, Pa.

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In counties where there are no Pomona Granges the Subordinate Granges should take the matter up and have the Deputy send the interrogations to all candidates. Do not slight any. The Deputy, then, when all have had an opportunity and time to reply should announce result as above indicated.

—o—

In a number of counties candidates have already answered these interrogations favorably. It is found that no party lines are drawn as those answering represent all parties. That is as it should be.

Bear in mind that the Grange stands for Anti-Monopoly first, last, and all the time. The organization is proud of its record along this line, which is stated at some length in the following article. No other organization can make such a showing of achievement in the interest of the whole people.

This should result in new members for all the Granges. Localities where

there is no Grange will receive full information on how to get one by applying to the office of this paper.

TO MASTERS OF COUNTY AND SUBORDINATE GRANGES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Kindly hand or mail the extra copies of this number to the members of your legislative committee on questioning candidates, of your grange. We have not their addresses. Postage one cent each.

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TO CHAIRMAN OF QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES COMMITTEE.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Have you questioned all the legislative candidates in your district—assembly, senatorial and congressional? If so have you heard from all? If not it will be well to send a second communication and give them to clearly understand that the questions we ask are live issues in the campaign and cannot be evaded. Experience demonstrates that frequently a second letter brings a favorable response.

Also present to the candidates the supplemental questions on the referendum and initiative in national affairs which will be sent to you as quickly as we receive your name and address. Please write me upon receipt of this.

TRUST QUESTION THE DOMINANT ISSUE.

Monopolists and Anti-Monopolists the Two Great Classes.

Each age has its legislative problems. The problem of our age is the monopoly problem—the Trust Question. The farmers meet it at every turn—in transportation, manufactures, trade, taxation, banking, etc.

The monopoly problem divides the people into two classes, the monopolists and the anti-monopolists. The monopolists are small in number but mighty in power, due to the people's failure to retain a veto power on the acts of their legislative agents, and failure to retain a direct initiative.

In number the monopolists are less than one-half of one per cent. of the people. But wherever the people have taken to themselves the right to a direct ballot on public questions they have unhorsed the monopolists.

That private monopoly is the dominant issue and that the interests of farmers, business men and wage-earners are mutually opposed to the monopolists is borne out in the following statements by leaders in these several classes:

In the annual report of the Master of the National Grange, Brother Aaron Jones, November, 1902, he said:

"The most important question before the American people is that of trusts. These combinations are growing stronger, and more and more exacting and oppressive every year. The farms, homes, crops, stock, and other property of the five million eight hundred thousand farmers, and also the awards for the labor of the thirty million men, women and children who live upon and cultivate these farms, are always at the mercy of those vast combinations. They direct and fix the price of what the people buy and sell.

"The \$1,400,000,000 Steel Trust fixes the price of nails and wire used in fencing or other improvements.

"The \$120,000,000 International Harvester trust fixes the price of the machines used in saving the crops.

"The Standard Oil and Coal Trusts fix the cost of lighting or heating our homes, and the hundreds of other trusts, representing \$10,000,000,000 of capital, water or real, have the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer, and all the common people who have made this country prosperous and developed its wonderful resources, absolutely under their domination.

"The Grange was among the first great organizations to defend the rights of the people against the crimes of organized greed. Day by day, and year by year, the Grange has pointed out the disastrous results that would follow the allowing of combinations of capital and conspiracies intended to restrict trade, create monopolies, limit production, prevent competition, or to control prices. The earnest and determined efforts of the Patrons of Husbandry have aroused the people to the dangers incident to trust methods.

"All the American people (except those only who are directly interested in trusts) demand protection by State and National Law from these combinations.

"There is no political party that

defends them, and all declare against them. * * *

"The National Grange has been conservative and consistent, and the position of the order was taken at the great Trust Conference, held in the city of Chicago, September, 1899, and was more fully stated in brief, in the report of the special committee on Trusts, at the Springfield, Ohio, session held November, 1899. * * *

"The patrons of husbandry's position is right and has always been right. The people of the country are with us. *Patrons, the time has come when promises will not suffice! Action; decisive action, is demanded.* Any public official whose duty it is to act, and he does not perform his entire duty in the enactment and enforcement of laws to suppress evils of trusts, whatever political faith he may profess, with whatever political party he may affiliate, *should be defeated for renomination and election.* All politicians and political parties should understand that the rights of the people must be respected, and that special privilege will not be tolerated, and any law or laws now in force which enable manufacturers to sell, and they do sell, in foreign countries, any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, thus using the laws of our country to discriminate against our citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended or repealed, and all such practices made impossible.

"THE LAWS OF OUR COUNTRY MUST EXPRESS THE WILL AND MAINTAIN THE RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND SAID LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED AND OBEYED BY ALL INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS."

Such is the statement of the Worthy Master of the National Grange. This position was reiterated and emphasized in the annual report of the succeeding year, 1903. It was pointed out that the monopoly extortions from the selling prices of farm products for the preceding year amounted to seven hundred million dollars and the Worthy Master said:

"The majority of the people neither belong to trust associations nor labor unions. Whatever selfish advantage they have secured is taken from the majority of the people. The people are becoming exhausted and restive. If combinations of capital and labor will not consider the interests and rights of those outside their organizations, then it is time that the majority of the people, who pay most of the taxes and maintain the nation, should force their interests on the attention of these organizations and the country. *They, THE MAJORITY, can make laws and enforce them, upon which both organized capital and labor depends; AND IT CLEARLY BECOMES THEIR DUTY TO DO SO.*"

BUSINESS MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS ARE LIKEWISE FIGHTING MONOPOLY.

Every organization of business men that is not of itself a monopoly is working against monopoly. For example, there is a League of National Associations working to amend the Interstate Commerce Law so as to prevent discriminations in freight rates—prevent the monopolization of the transportation rate by great corporations which soon dominate the several industries. On this point the secretary of the national league, Mr. Frank Barry, in his testimony before the Senate Interstate Commerce committee, January 26, 1900, spoke for the amendment to prevent discriminations in freight rates, saying:

"This is the greatest anti-trust law that Congress can place upon the statute books, because it strikes at the conditions which make the industrial trust possible.

"Without the favors in transportation, which are not only granted to but are often forced by the great trade and manufacturing combinations, they could exist only with great difficulty and must finally succumb to the successful competition of independent manufacturers and tradesmen.

"The very broad public sentiment existing, favorable to this legislation, is mirrored in the press of the land at

the present time. Leading editorials and lengthy statistical arguments for this bill have appeared in the foremost daily and periodical publications of our principal cities.

"Commercial organizations throughout the entire country have taken an active interest in supporting this movement and indorsing the bill, such as they were never before known to evince in any subject. * * *

"I wish to say here that there are about fifty-nine national commercial organizations, all of which were communicated with, and with scarcely an exception we have their replies, stating that we might count them in on this movement, and expressing their approval of the bill in all of its terms.

"Since that time these national organizations have taken up the subject of the desired amendments with their memberships, and in convention have expressed the most hearty and unqualified approval of this bill. They have been joined in the movement by the National League of Commission Merchants, The National Wholesale Grocers' Association, American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers, National Paint, Oil and Varnish Association, National Hardware Association, National Association of Stove Manufacturers, and many others, beside local, State and interstate organizations, boards of trade, etc., too numerous to mention. * * *

"Just a word as to what these national associations are: Some of them are composed of State or sectional organizations, which in turn comprise in their membership the great majority of those carrying on the particular line of business in their respective territories. Of these, the Millers' National Association is a type. Nearly all of them are associations of subsidiary organizations of one kind or another which are located in all parts of the United States. None of these associations are small. They all fully represent what their names import—the persons, firms, companies and corporations who produce the immense commerce and carry on the great industries of the United States, with a working capital actually invested beside which the

enormous stated capitalization of the railways is not formidable. *These representative national societies are formed for the main purpose of protecting the trade and industry of this country, and it is no new thing to find them appealing to the Congress of the nation for remedial legislation. Two or three industrial combinations, which have reached such proportions that they are able to dominate and control the railway interest and railway rates, are not with us. WITH THOSE EXCEPTIONS THE SUPPORTERS OF THIS MEASURE, AS REPRESENTED IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS, ARE PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE FARMERS, ALL OF THE MANUFACTURERS, ALL OF THE MERCHANTS, ALL OF THE GENERAL TRADERS AND DEALERS OF THE UNITED STATES.*" (Pages 1 to 7, Hearing of Jan. 26, 1900.

WAGE-EARNERS ORGANIZATIONS ARE FIGHTING MONOPOLISTS.

The wage-earners, too, are oppressed by the monopolists. Says President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in an extra number of

the official magazine of the order, just issued:

"Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. Shall the monopoly of the political power of the country be in all the people or continued in the ruling few? It is the people against the monopolists."

Reviewing the preceding pages it is clear that the farmers, business men and wage-earners are all fighting the monopolists—the trust magnates. The Trust Question, then, is the dominant issue.

How can the trusts be controlled in the interest of the people? The people must take to themselves more power through the establishment of a right to a direct vote on the trust question. To install this system is one of the objects of the questioning of candidates by the Granges, the Unions of Wage-Earners and other non-partisan organizations, as is pointed out in the following chapter.

GRANGE METHOD OF SECURING LEGISLATION.

Past History an Inspiration to Present Generation.

The present-day system of questioning candidates by the Grange is an outgrowth of the past.

The first Granges were established in 1867, a time when railway corporations were dominant in state politics. The conditions about this time are described by Professor Edmund James in a report to the American Economic Association. He said:

"Suffice it to say that, taken as a whole, they [the railroad corporations] became unbearable. Arbitrary charges, high charges, discriminations between persons, things, and places, disregard of the right of the public in every direction, became characteristic of the management of such a large number of the roads as to make railroad fairness a mere by-word. A

general demand made itself heard for some sort of regulation. *But by this time the railroads had become so powerful that they were able in some states PRACTICALLY TO CONTROL ANY LEGISLATURE THAT COULD BE ELECTED in such a way as to prevent any action unfavorable to their interests, no matter how much their own action was unfavorable to those of the public.*"

THE GRANGER UPRISING OF THE '70'S

Relief to the people came through the Grange. A remarkable spread of the Grange organization throughout the States resulted in numerous organizations by means of which the rural population acted together in a non-partisan way and they were joined by business men's associations. These facts are set forth in the literature of

the day. For example, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1873, W. N. Grosvenor says:

"The few men who control the great railway lines have it in their power to strip Western agriculture of all its earnings, and not after the manner of ancient highwaymen, by high-handed defiance of society and law, the rush of swift steeds; the clash of steel, and the stern 'Stand and deliver!' The bandits of modern civilization who enrich themselves by the plunder of others come with chests full of charters; judges are their friends, if not their tools; and they wield no weapon more alarming than the little pencil with which they calculate differences of rate, apparently so insignificant that public opinion wonders why the farmers should complain about such trifles. Yet the farmers have complained, and complaining in vain, have got angry. The farmers' movement threatens a revolution in the business of transportation, if not in the laws which protect investments of capital."

Professor Hadley, in his book on Transportation, says (pages 133-135).

"The really widespread agitation for the control of the railways through State law dates from 1874 [the year after Mr. Grosvenor penned the foregoing].

"A state of feeling was developed throughout the community, which only wanted organization to become all-powerful. IT FOUND THIS ORGANIZATION IN THE GRANGES. * * *

"The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The Constitutional Convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning State control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871 establishing a system of maximum rates. This law was pronounced unconstitutional by Judge Lawrence. The result was that he immediately afterward failed of reelection, solely on this ground. The defeat of Judge Lawrence showed the true significance of the farmers' movement. *They were concerned in securing what they felt to be their rights and they were unwilling that any constitutional barriers should be made*

to defeat the popular will. They had reached the point where they regarded many of the forms of law as mere technicalities. THEY WERE DANGEROUSLY NEAR THE POINT WHERE REVOLUTIONS BEGIN.

"But they did not pass that point. The law of 1873 avoided the issue raised by Judge Lawrence against that of 1871. Instead of directly fixing maximum rates, it provided that rates must be reasonable, and then further provided for a commission to fix reasonable rates. Similar laws were passed by Iowa and Minnesota almost immediately afterward. The Legislature of Wisconsin went even further, fixing, by the so-called Potter Law, the rates on different classes of goods at figures which proved quite unremunerative. The railroads made vain attempts to contest these regulations in the courts. *They were defeated again and again, and finally, in 1877, the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws.*"

Such in brief is the history of the Granger Uprising. It was a most useful service to the entire country. It accomplished for the people what political parties had refused them.

But afterward the federal supreme court by a vote of 6 against 3 reversed its rulings, declaring that the constitution prohibited the states from regulating railway rates within their borders if the property or persons were destined to another state (*Wabash Ry. Co. vs. Illinois*, 118 U. S. 557, Chief Justice Waite and Justices Bradley and Gray dissenting). In the dissenting opinion it is pointed out that the Illinois Supreme Court disclaimed—"any idea that Illinois has any authority to regulate commerce in any other State. * * * To sum up the matter in a word, we hold it to be a sound proposition of law that the making of railroads and regulating the charges for their use is not such a regulation of commerce as to be in the remotest degree repugnant to any power given to Congress by the Constitution so long as that power is dormant and has

not been exercised by Congress. This case overrules the Peik case in 94 U. S. Reports, and is contrary also to the line of cases that the State has the right to regulate commerce within its borders until Congress acts in the matter through its power to regulate interstate commerce."

SECOND TRIUMPH OF NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATION.

After this release of railway corporations from state control, the Granges declared for an interstate commerce law, and the third year it was secured. This was a second triumph for the non-partisan organization of farmers combined with business men's associations. The restraint of the railway cormorants was gladly received throughout the country.

MONOPOLISTS AGAIN RELEASED.

But again the federal supreme court released them by declaring that certain portions of the interstate commerce law were unconstitutional. Clause after clause was nullified until in 1897 the railway corporations were released from practically all control by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the words of Judge Prouty of that commission in an article in the North American Review, November 1898:

"Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States within the year have determined that the Commission did not possess powers of the most vital consequence, which it had assumed to exercise from the first". (That is for ten years).

With this complete release of the railway monopolies from governmental control they extended their discriminations in railway rates and the few who received the monopoly of the shipping rate soon had a monopoly of trade. In the words of Judge Prouty in his testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission, October 5, 1899:

"I do not believe that there is a great trust today anywhere—that is to say, in any one of the staple commodities handled in this country—which could have established or maintained itself in the face of absolute equality of the freight rate.

"I do not mean by that that every monopoly has a rebate. I do not mean by that that every monopoly enjoys some concessions in the rate; but I mean if you would strip these great combinations of all dominion over, and of all participation in, the making of the rate, not one of them would be a very dangerous element in our social polity."

The industrial trusts, then, are largely due to monopolies in transportation, and will largely disappear, at least for a time, if equal shipping facilities and rates are provided and equal rights to raw materials. Competitive prices, actual or potential, will prevail.

ANOTHER NON-PARTISAN UPRISING IN PROGRESS.

But Congress has been and is so dominated by the railway and other corporations that it refuses to provide equal rights in transportation and to raw material. In other words the corporations are controlling Congress just as they used to control the legislatures before the non-partisan uprising under the leadership of the Grange. The time is ripe, therefore, for another forward movement by the Granges. Thirty years ago the success came by working for a constitutional convention and referendum vote in Illinois and Pennsylvania, while in Wisconsin the Granges questioned candidates for the legislature as to whether, if elected, they would vote for the Potter bill, and the candidates felt obliged to answer in the affirmative and they carried out their pledges. A similar line of action is

being applied this year, as is seen in questions to candidates for congress and the legislatures. The questions are:

IF ELECTED, WILL YOU VOTE TO INSTALL A SYSTEM WHEREBY THE PEOPLE CAN DIRECTLY VOTE ON THE INTERSTATE RAILWAY AND OTHER GREAT INTERSTATE QUESTIONS.

The effectiveness of questioning of candidates and of the referendum system is a demonstrated fact. The details of the questioning system are set forth in the following article and

should be carefully studied by the committees on questioning, and vigorous action taken. If the committeemen throughout the country will take a reasonable degree of interest the referendum system will be installed nationally in the incoming congress. No change in the written constitution is required, as is clearly shown in the proposed Rules of Procedure and Bill. Furthermore, a majority vote in the senate is to be secured by instructing the senators.

WONDER WORKING SYSTEM.

Questioning Candidates Terminates Machine Rule.

The strategic feature in questioning candidates is this: The measures are popular ones which the party managers are attempting to sidetrack, such as anti-monopoly measures, and the mere questioning of candidates makes each measure an issue, and as the candidates dare not openly oppose them they are compelled to pledge in writing, and they carry out their agreement if the people are persistent in demanding good faith.

It was this questioning system which secured the Potter railway law for the people of Wisconsin some thirty years ago. And during the past ten years the Anti-Saloon League has been making great headway along these lines, as is shown in the following report of General Superintendent Russell. In his annual report of 1902 he says:

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE SYSTEM.

"In the past we have allowed the liquor interest to organize the voters of every class, select the candidates, secure their nomination, insure their election, and then, when they were seated at the capitol, we have gone up with our applications for temperance legislation, and they have been refused by men who were sent to make certain that such legislation would be

denied. Now, under the new movement, high-minded citizens, who are loyal to home and flag, are first interested, then enlisted, then enrolled, then trained for action, and it has now become possible upon our part to select the candidate, induce him to consent to accept nomination, secure his nomination and election, and when this has been accomplished, and reliable men, sympathetic with our cause, are seated to the extent of a majority in both houses of the legislature, we may ask what we will, and the response is salutary and sure. It is right to call this revolution by as dignified a term as 'Christian politics.' It is a change of methods which, as the years come on, will more and more insure the enactment of such reformatory legislation as will constantly make it easier to do right and harder to do wrong, on behalf of the general citizenship."

The most important part of the plan has been that of Questioning Candidates—questioning them whether, if elected, they will vote to establish local option on the liquor question—the referendum system. The knowledge that this questioning is to come prevents, to a considerable extent, the nomination of those who would be opposed by the friends of temperance. It took time, how-

ever, to demonstrate to the machines the effectiveness of publicity. For example, in Ohio, where the league was originated by Dr. Russell, five times it appealed for a local option law before it was successful. "At first it was a hopeless petition," says Dr. Russell, "but as the league has grown from year to year in wisdom and strength, the petition has become a request, and the request a demand, and the demand a command upon the part of the people of the State, until the legislature at last bowed in submission to the royal will. The result has been wrought out by an entire change of methods upon the part of the temperance people."

Thirty-nine states and territories were covered by the Anti-Saloon League in 1902, and over two hundred persons devoted their entire time to the work, while the financial support in the various states and in the national league amounted in the aggregate for the year to a quarter of a million dollars. Such is the published statement of the league.

Three other organizations are pushing the questioning of candidates, the Granges in Washington State and in Pennsylvania, the referendum leagues and organized wage-earners.

SELF-EMANCIPATION OF CITIES BY QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The movement for questioning as to the referendum and initiative began in Winnetka, Illinois, some eight years ago. The candidates for village trustees were questioned as to whether, if elected, they would vote to refer all important questions to a referendum and carry out the advisory vote. They agreed to do so and lived up to their agreement.

Thus the people of Winnetka took to themselves a veto power. They did so without waiting for a constitutional

amendment or act of the legislature. It was self-emancipation.

Five years later the facts concerning this questioning of candidates as to the advisory referendum had become popularized and the system was successfully applied in Chicago, Illinois; Geneva, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Toronto, Canada; and Waco, Texas, and now in Buffalo, New York. In Toronto the advisory initiative was included.

In state and national affairs equally satisfactory results have been attained. In 1902 as the result of questioning of candidates by referendum leagues and organized labor a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives in seven legislatures was secured. The states wherein this remarkable success transpired are Missouri, Illinois, Colorado, California, Montana, North Dakota and Massachusetts.

ACTION OF STATE CONVENTIONS REVERSED.

In doing all this there was a reversal of the action of four state conventions of the great parties. The republican and Democratic State conventions of Montana refused to promise to submit a constitutional amendment, but the questioning of candidates secured more than a majority of the members of the legislature in both parties. In California the Republican State convention was reversed, and the same was true in Missouri.

This demonstrates that party conventions have lost much of their power, and that they have lost their entire power to sidetrack popular issues, for the mere questioning of candidates by organizations that stand ready to carry the case to the people causes the candidates to pledge themselves and in writing.

The questioning of candidates, then, is a wonder-working program. It enables the non-partisan organizations to prevent the evasion of the dominant issues, thereby terminating the reign of machine politicians. By applying the system to the installation of a system for the direct vote on public questions there is a complete and final banishment of machine rule.

MOST EFFECTIVE AS TO NATIONAL ISSUES.

Furthermore, the system is most effective as to national issues. In the campaign of 1902 nine of the sixteen congressmen from Missouri were pledged to the advisory initiative and advisory referendum in national affairs, and the chairman of the questioning committee said:

"Strangely enough the securing of

pledges from candidates for congress is more easy than for the legislature!"

The reason that national candidates are most easily pledged is because they are most responsive to public opinion. It is the national issues that are most fully debated in the campaigns, and the members of congress are seldom corrupted by vote-purchasing. Rumors as to graft are most frequent about common councils, less frequent in state legislatures, and least frequent in congress. In congress the rule of the few is through the machine and not by vote-purchasing.

It follows, then, that a widespread questioning of candidates as to national issues in this year's campaign is likely to secure a majority in both houses! In the senate the majority is to come through instructions by the legislatures.

WIDE-SPREAD QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES.

City and Country United to Terminate Machine Rule.

The remarkable success of two years ago in questioning candidates, described in the preceding pages, resulted in a continuation of the system by the Washington State Grange. A letter from the Worthy Master, J. O. Wing, dated July 2d, of this year, says:

"Washington has increased her membership 47 per cent. during the past year, thus adding considerable to her influence for Direct Legislation. At our last session the Grange again took a strong stand upon this question, and will follow up the plan of questioning candidates for the Legislature. We shall try to work with organized labor upon this question."

ORGANIZED WAGE-EARNERS' SYSTEM

The success in 1902, due to the questioning of candidates, resulted

also in the framing of a National System by the American Federation of Labor. At its next annual convention November, 1902, a system was established in which the 25,000 affiliated unions and 2,000,000 members are asking the candidates of all the parties:

"If elected will you vote to restore trial by jury—abolish government by injunction?"

"Will you vote to establish the eight hour day in government contract work?"

Those are the questions asked. The address to candidates concludes with these words:

"To each of the questions asked we would like a clear-cut yes or no. If you or any other candidate refuse to come out for the people, squarely, openly, and in writing signed by

yourself, we shall give the facts the widest possible publicity in your district, and there will be held, if need be, a series of meetings in which there will be discussed the need for the election of candidates who are pledged to abolish the rule of the few. Voters' non-partisan agreements, such as we enclose, will be circulated, setting forth the attempt to openly substitute throughout the United States the old-world system of sovereignty in the few. For the first time since the war of the Revolution the issue is that of the people's right to self-government.

"It should be clear that the conditions in this district are such that no candidate can longer defeat the people's sovereignty. We do not for an instant infer that you are against the establishment of a government that will represent the people's interests, but we state the case plainly for we are thoroughly in earnest.

"Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal to reply during the next 10 days will be a negative to our questions, and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

"Respectfully yours,

(Central Labor Union).

By _____
Chairman of Legislative Com.

In Pennsylvania the State Federation of Labor at its last annual convention, March of this year, instructed its executive officers to question candidates as to submitting to the people of the State a constitutional amendment for more power in themselves through the establishment of a people's veto and a direct initiative. And this measure was declared to be the dominant issue!

To wage an effective campaign the State Federation of Labor officials have established a monthly paper, *The Federationist Monthly*.

In many of the states other than Pennsylvania the State Federation of Labor has declared that in State affairs the dominant issue is the submission of a constitutional amendment

for more power in the people through a people's veto and a direct initiative. All the State Federations are pushing the national issues, as instructed to do by the National Federation.

The above is strictly non-partisan—no nominations are made and the only indorsement of candidates is as to the questions asked.

But the labor leaders in each community are instructed that should both the leading candidates refuse to answer favorably, then, if thought best, a People's Sovereignty League should be organized and a candidate placed in nomination by petition, the platform to be the one great issue, the establishment of the People's Sovereignty.

It is expected that the mere presence of this system will be effective in most cases.

PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE SYSTEM.

One of the objects of the Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry is the securing of legislation in the interest of the farmers and of the whole people. Only such measures are advocated as appeal to practically all farmers and the system is strictly non-partisan.

Remarkable success has been attained. But development in effectiveness is a Grange characteristic, and at the last meeting of the Pennsylvania State Grange the legislative committee recommended "that in order to secure the reforms advocated by the Grange that each county grange appoint a legislative committee to question candidates for the legislature and congress before they are nominated as to their position on these questions, and accept no doubtful answers."

This suggestion was adopted and questions to candidates for Congress

were framed, also questions to candidates for the Legislature. These questions were printed several months ago and distributed to the Grange committees throughout the State. The time has arrived when the state legislative committee desires to communicate with the legislative committees of the several Granges.

Furthermore, a program for the initiative and referendum in national affairs has recently been placed before the public by practically the entire body of wage earners of the country, as above stated, the object being to establish the people's sovereignty in the incoming congress, to the end that the railway trusts and

other great monopolies may be controlled in the interest of the whole people. The Pennsylvania State Grange is demanding these changes and gladly joins in the movement. This was decided upon at a joint meeting of the Executive and Legislative committees of the State Grange, July 27. It was unanimously agreed that supplemental questions should be issued, being those on the referendum and initiative in national affairs recently issued by the American Federation of Labor.

These questions together with those previously issued to Pomona and Subordinate Granges are as follows:

Address and Questions to Candidates for Legislature.

Mr. _____,
Candidate for Legislature.

DEAR SIR:—

We understand that you have announced yourself as a Candidate to represent our District. This is a worthy ambition but the citizens claim the right to know in advance how you stand on certain important measures affecting our interests.

To ascertain this the accompanying interrogations are propounded to all Candidates in this District for this office on all tickets. This is a general circular conducted under the auspices of the Grange but the entire public here is interested in getting this information and your position upon these questions will be made public. We expect a positive and direct reply. An evasive answer or failure to reply within a reasonable time—say ten days—will be taken to mean that you are opposed to the passage of these measures. Upon the character of your reply will largely depend our attitude toward you. Your attitude will be made known that voters may govern their voting accordingly.

Very respectfully yours.

Grange Legislative Committee.

Mail reply to the Chairman—the first address of the three. Detach here.

BLANK FOR REPLY.

Mr. _____, Chairman
Grange Legislative Committee,

Dear Sir:—

Replying to the letter of your Legislative Committee dated _____ 1904 I desire to say that, if elected, my influence and vote will be as indicated in my answers to the following interrogations:

Very respectfully yours,

Candidate for (House)
(Senate).

Dated _____ 1904.

Interrogation No. 1.

Will you, if elected, favor legislation giving to Trolley Companies the right to carry freight in Pennsylvania?

Answer.....

Interrogation No. 2.

This organization is in favor of good roads but we believe that all classes of property should bear an equitable

share in building and maintaining them. To equitably effect this we ask that tax of at least one mill should be placed on all personal and corporate property for road purposes and that this money should be applied locally in proportion to the road mileage to reduce road taxes. Will you, if elected support such legislation?

Answer.....

Interrogation No. 3.

The bill of rights in our State constitution declares that the people are the sovereign power and have the right to amend the constitution at will. The organized farmers and organized wage earners of the State are demanding the submission of a constitutional amendment for more power in the people through the extension of the people's veto (the optional referendum) and the adoption of a direct initiative (in addition to the indirect system which now exists), the details of both to accord with the enclosed specifications. If elected, will you vote to submit to the people this pro-

posed amendment? Bear in mind that we are not asking for your opinion of the proposed system, but whether you will recognize the right of the sovereign power to have the question come before it for discussion and a vote. Should you refuse to **promise** to let the people decide this question for themselves it will be an open repudiation of the fundamental principles of free government and will be so stated to the voters in your district.

Answer.....

Interrogation No. 4.

Will you, if elected, favor a law whereby all license taxes, personal taxes, and the tax on County and Municipal loans shall remain in the Counties and Municipalities? (As you are aware these taxes now all go to the State. As its Treasury is overflowing while many of the Counties and Municipalities are suffering from excessive taxation we insist that the State relinquish these taxes and by so doing local taxation will be relieved over \$3,000,000).

Answer.....

Address and Questions to Congressional Candidates.

The Grange letter to candidates for Congress is the same as the foregoing letter to candidates for the Legislature. The interrogations are as follows:

Interrogation No. 1.

Our Manufacturers of many lines of goods are selling their products cheaper in foreign markets than at home. Will you, if elected, assist in passing legislation which will enable American citizens to buy American products as cheap at home as they are sold for abroad?

Answer.....

Interrogation No. 2.

Will you, if elected to Congress, use your influence to secure the establishment of Postal Savings Banks?

Answer.....

Interrogation No. 3.

The people living in the rural districts are very anxious to have legislation permitting the Post Office Department to carry larger parcels than four pounds the present limit and also at a reasonable charge. Will you, if elected, favor the establishment of a Parcel Post?

Answer.....

Supplemental Questions—Advisory

Referendum and Advisory Initiative as to Interstate Trusts.

The supplemental letter and questions to candidates for congress and the legislature are as follows:

Mr. _____

Candidate for Congress.

Dear Sir:

Since addressing to you the three questions as to national measures advocated by the Grange, a fourth question has become prominent, the re-

ferendum and initiative in national affairs. We desire to learn your attitude that we may publish the same to the Patrons of Husbandry in this district and to all other citizens. You are asking the people of this district to commission you as their agent in the national house and it is highly desirable that your attitude as to the leading questions may become widely known. Please let us hear from you at an early day. A refusal to reply during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions and we shall so publish it to the voters in the district. Very respectfully yours,

Grange Legislative Committee.

—o—

The additional questions to candidates for Congress are as follows, three having been presented:

Question No. 4.

Will you, if elected, vote to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under the people's initiative and acted upon; the details of the advisory system to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the National Grange and of the American Federation of Labor? Bear in mind that a refusal to promise to vote for an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their representatives will be a flat-footed and open repudiation of the people's right to self-government!

Answer.....

Question No. 5.

If the people of this district select you as their agent in the National House, will you vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct?

Answer.....

These questions are to candidates for Congress. To the candidates for the Legislature the following additional questions are to be presented:

TO CANDIDATES FOR LEGISLATURE.

Question No. 5.

If elected, will you vote only for such candidate for the United States Senate as has promised in writing to vote for and help maintain an Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum, the details to conform to the measure we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the National Grange and the American Federation of Labor? Bear in mind that a refusal to promise to vote for this system whereby the people may instruct representatives will be a flat-footed and open repudiation of the people's right to self-government.

Answer.....

Question No. 6.

If elected, will you vote to instruct the hold-over Senators—instruct them to vote for and help maintain the above-described system for a people's direct vote?

Answer.....

Question No. 7.

Do you further promise that, if elected, you will help to enact a statute whereby five per cent. of the voters of the state, calculated on the basis of the last vote for governor, may call a special election for a referendum vote on a proposition to instruct United States Senators if one or both the representatives of the State fail to obey the legislature's instruction?

Answer.....

Question No. 8.

Do you promise, also, that if elected you will help to enact a statute that shall supply the machinery for verifying signatures to national petition, and the taking of a referendum vote when requested by Congress, the details to conform to the measure we herewith submit, subject to such minor

changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the National Grange and American Federation of Labor?

Answer.....

Details as to the proposed system are described in the above questions. If these details were omitted the candidates elected would be free to make an ineffective system. This occurred

in Missouri two years ago. The details were not described in the pledge and when the legislature came to frame the referendum system it provided a high percentage of signatures, and that they must be obtained in every one of the sixteen congressional districts in the state.

Let us turn again to the conditions in Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA BAR ASSOCIATION.

To Report on Establishment of People's Sovereignty.

At the last annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Bar Association the following program was adopted, Judge White of Indiana county, being the mover of the resolution:

"Whereas, The referendum principle in legislation is engaging the serious attention of thoughtful public men and many legislatures, and has been adopted by constitutional amendment in the state of Oregon by more than a two-thirds majority at the general election there, June 2, last; therefore,

"Resolved, That the committee on constitutional amendment is hereby instructed to examine and report to this association at its next meeting as to the wisdom and practicability of suggesting an amendment to the constitution of the commonwealth, embodying the principle of the referendum, as shall be deemed most practicable, thus having certain bills passed by the legislature referred to the people for a vote before they shall become a law."

In speaking for the adoption of this program Judge White said:

"There is discontent among our people, as well as bitter criticism and denunciation of the legislature. It is not confined merely to metropolitan newspapers, but finds utterance and sympathy in very high quarters. It is wise that the Bar Association take cognizance of this public discontent.

It is said pressure and influence are used in the passage of acts in the legislature, and some say that there is corruption. I do not affirm that, but I do say that suspicions are current that such influences are used in the passage of iniquitous legislation. What would be the result if the acts of the people's agents in the legislature should be subject to a veto power in the people, and should the people possess a power to directly propose bills? I do not think the result would be either anarchistic or confusing or tend to dethrone our constitution."

Reviewing the preceding pages it appears that in Pennsylvania a demand is being made on the candidates for the legislature by the Organized Farmers and Organized Wage-Earners. These combined organizations are asking the candidates, "If elected will you vote to give the people an opportunity to discuss and vote on a constitutional amendment for establishing their own sovereignty?"

The Organized Business Men and the untrammelled Press should join in establishing their own sovereignty and in dethroning the rule of the monopolists! To that end the following invitation is issued by the Pennsylvania State Grange:

TO BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, GREETING!

You are cordially invited to cooperate in questioning candidates, for we are mutually interested in overcoming private monopoly. Please present to your organization a resolution along these lines. If there is no meeting in the near future please lay the case before the Executive Committee. See also pages 7-10, above, showing how the Grange and Business Men's Organizations have been cooperating for years.

TO THE PRESS OF THE COUNTRY, GREETING!

The State Grange of Pennsylvania invites the press of Pennsylvania and throughout the Union to review the non-partisan program herewith presented for improving the conditions in our grand old Commonwealth and in National affairs. Those of you who will mention our efforts for social betterment will be placed on our mailing list and will receive soon a special number.

TO POMONA AND SUBORDINATE GRANGES THROUGHOUT THE UNION, FRATERNAL GREETING!

The referendum and initiative in national affairs became a live issue only recently, the organized wage-earners of the country having published on July 15th, their questions to candidates. The Pennsylvania State Grange Executive and Legislative Committees at a joint meeting July 27th instructed that supplementary questions to candidates be issued covering the referendum and initiative in national affairs. These questions are published in this issue.

Upon request of Bro. George H. Shibley, chairman of the National Federation for Majority Rule, to whose untiring and effective work this national movement is largely due, we invite the Granges in the other states to join in questioning candidates as to the referendum and initiative in national affairs. Mr. Shibley is a member of Eureka Grange, Hyattsville, Md. An outline of the national program for the referendum is published herewith. As the campaign is well advanced the Pomona and Subordinate bodies are urged to act at once.

TO REFORM ORGANIZATIONS IN GENERAL, FRATERNAL GREETING!

Back of every legislative or social reform is the need for abolishing the rule of the few through the Party Machine. Every reform organization, therefore, should join with organized farmers and organized wage-earners in questioning candidates as to whether, if elected, they will vote to establish the people's sovereignty through a people's veto and a direct initiative. Let us all pull together in this year's campaign!

REFERENDUM DEFINITIONS AND PRINCIPLES.

Short definitions and explanations of the Referendum, the Initiative, the Advisory Referendum and Advisory Initiative are herewith presented.

The referendum is the people's veto. It is the people's right to a direct vote

on measures which their legislative agents enact.

The referendum is of two kinds, the compulsory and the optional referendum.

The compulsory referendum is that

form of the referendum where the law prescribes that certain important measures, such as bills for the issuance of government bonds, shall not become law until approved by the people through a referendum vote.

The optional referendum applies to all bills enacted by the legislative body except urgency measures, the usual appropriations and measures that must go to a referendum vote. The measures enacted by the legislative body and subject to the optional referendum lie before the people for a certain number of days after the legislature or congress adjourns, usually ninety days, and during this time a small percentage of the voters, usually five per cent., may by petition request that one or more of the measures be referred to a direct vote of the people. The measures not ordered to a vote become law at the end of the ninety days. The people have approved them. Practically all the bills are thus approved, for the mere existence of the people's power to order a direct vote prevents the passage of bad bills just as the presence of a policeman keeps out the toughs.

The referendum, then, is the people's veto, which is exercised partly through the compulsory referendum and much more largely through the optional referendum.

This veto power is a negative force—it prevents the enactment of bad laws. The opposite power, a power in the people to secure needed legislation, is the Initiative, or Direct Initiative, as it is frequently termed. It is a power in a small percentage of the people, usually eight per cent., to directly propose measures and have them balloted upon by the people. In every state where the initiative exists except Oregon, the measures are proposed to the legislative body

first, which takes testimony, hears argument, votes upon the measure, enacting a competing measure if it so desires, and then both measures go to a referendum vote, the people taking their choice or rejecting both.

EFFECT OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

The mere existence of the people's veto is effective, as we have said. And the same is true as to the direct initiative. Scarcely a bill is ordered to a vote of the people for the legislative agents represent the people instead of special interests. This is because the people possess the final power—they can veto the acts of their legislative agents and can directly propose measures which must go to a vote of the people.

Not only do the legislative agents represent the people's interests but they are experts in their several fields, and are retained in office term after term. Thus statesmanship is a profession.

Furthermore, in voting on measures these expert representatives exercise their own best judgment. They are not instructed by a national convention or other form of party machinery, for the final power is in the people, who, having this veto power, are insistent that their agents shall exercise their own best judgment in recommending measures, just as all agents are expected to do.

This system includes a full and fair hearing for every public question which any five or ten per cent. of the people deem important.

The result, as a whole, is high class legislation. It is Enlightened Majority Rule, vastly different from mere majority rule.

Historical demonstrations of this are Oregon, South Dakota and Switz-

erland, while the direct vote is used to some extent in every state and city, always with the best of results—best for the people but adverse to the monopolists.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM AND ADVISORY INITIATIVE.

The system above described is that provided for in the written constitutions.

But it is exceedingly difficult for the people to change the written constitution of a city or of the nation. The party machines object. This has led to the pledging of candidates for congress to install a system whereby the people may instruct by referendum vote, the congressmen promising to obey the will of their constituents. This is the advisory referendum and advisory initiative—an efficient system for instructing representatives. It is precisely this system whereby presi-

dential electors have been instructed for more than a hundred years. The candidates agree that if elected, they will vote as instructed.

And for seventy-five years the members of congress, legislatures and common councils, have been agreeing to vote as instructed—that is, vote in accordance with the party platform. The improvement under the advisory referendum and advisory initiative is that the party platform system is modified, for the issues are separated, the people being able to bring a bill to a direct vote after the legislative body has enacted it, and the people can directly propose bills.

Furthermore, when the advisory initiative is installed in national affairs it will be an easy matter to change the federal constitution. Then the usual form of referendum and initiative can and will be installed nationally.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUES.

Nominations by Petition Where Necessary.

The establishment of the people's sovereignty is opposed by the national "machine" of both the great parties, and opposed by many of the state machines. But organized farmers, organized wage-earners and many of the business men's organizations are questioning candidates asking them, if elected, will you vote to install in the referendum and the Initiative?

In a few sections of our State, however, and in large sections of other states, the people are unorganized. Provision has been made for rapid organization of People's Sovereignty Leagues. Through these leagues the candidates can be questioned. Blanks can be secured by addressing the secretary of the legislative committee of

the Pennsylvania State Grange. No meetings are required to organize the League and the only necessary expense is for postage.

Another essential portion of the program for the non-partisan establishment of the people's sovereignty is a provision for the nomination of candidates by petition wherever the legislative candidates of both great parties refuse to pledge. The mere existence of this provision will doubtless be effective for party-candidates will not knowingly go to a probable defeat.

The system, and one which in no wise connects the Granges with the nominating petitions, is as follows:

**ORGANIZATION OF LEAGUE TO NOM-
INATE BY PETITION.**

If the legislative candidates of both the leading parties oppose the voters' interests by refusing to pledge in writing to vote for the establishment of the sovereignty of their constituents and of the entire people, a nomination by petition can be made under the leadership of a People's Sovereignty League and a Voters' Agreement can be circulated—an agreement to vote only for such candidates for congress and the legislature as pledge in writing that, if elected, they will vote to establish the sovereignty of those who elect them to office, such as is published below.

The league can be organized in two day's time if the conditions become ripe, and there is practically no expense and one or two public meetings will suffice. Secure charter members by getting signatures to the constitution, at the same time asking for pledges of funds. A printed constitution and other blanks will be supplied on application, write to the secretary of the Pennsylvania State Grange Legislative Committee.

The election of officers will require a meeting. The officers should select an Advisory Council, print letterheads and distribute nominating petitions throughout the district, including copies of the Voter's Agreement.

THE UNION LABEL
is approved, but there is
no Union printing office
in Chambersburg.

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W. F. HILL

Editor

G. W. OSTER

Editor Executive Committee Department

W. T. CREASY

Editor Legislative Committee Department

The Dominant Issue in this Year's Campaign.

THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

VERSUS

TRUSTOCRACY

Showing Need for People's Veto and Direct Initiative and Giving Program of
Pennsylvania State Grange, American Federation of Labor and Other
Non-Partisan Organizations for Installing the System Nation-
ally as Result of This Year's Campaign.

BY

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY

DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, BUREAU OF RESEARCH ;
COUNSELLOR AT LAW ; MEMBER OF AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND
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MEMBER OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF SCIENCE, SOCIAL SCIENCE SECTION.

Author of "Elements of Law," "The Monopoly Question," "Outline of Social Evolution,"
"History of Majority Rule Movement in America," etc.

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IN A NUTSHELL.

Representative Government is of two great classes, that in which the voters are completely sovereign, and that in which they are sovereign only as to a few things or none at all. The voters are sovereign if they have the power to initiate legislation and the power to veto such measures as they deem unwise or harmful.

Therefore, the voters of the United States, if they are to become the sovereign power, must possess this veto power and direct initiative.

The system is termed Guarded Representative Government. It exists in its completeness only in Switzerland, but we of the United States have been developing toward it for more than a century, and for a long time were far in advance of the Swiss. To install the system in the incoming Congress as the result of questioning candidates in this year's campaign is the program of organized labor, organized farmers and organized business men.

Guarded representative government is an entirely new thing in the world, tending to produce a practically ideal civilization. To the extent that it has been applied there is universal satisfaction except among the monopolists, but even they are really benefited, for all share in the higher civilization.

MONOPOLISTS SUPPRESS NEWS OF REFERENDUM AND NON-PARTISAN PROGRAM.

Associated Press the Instrument—Mr. Shibley's Letter Declining Presidential Nomination is Garbled.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1904.—*Special by Referendum News Bureau.*—It is clearly proven again that the Associated Press is suppressing the news of the referendum movement for the overthrow of machine rule and private monopoly. This time it has stricken three sentences from the middle of a paragraph in Mr. George H. Shibley's letter declining the Continental party's nomination for Vice President of the United States. *This suppresses the non-partisan program of the American Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania Grange and other organizations, for the immediate overthrow of the monopolists' power in Congress. The movement is gaining headway rapidly and is of such a character that it cannot be fought openly.*

Proof of the present grave charge against the Associated Press is the identity in the wording of introductory matter and garbled letter in the *Baltimore American* and *Washington Post*, which is as follows except that the omitted portions are in italics and small caps.

"George H. Shibley, of this city, who was nominated by the Continental Party at Chicago as candidate for vice president, has sent the following letter to the notification committee of the party declining the nomination.

DR. JAMES P. LYNCH,

*Chairman Notification Committee, Continental Party,
Chicago, Ill.*

Dear Sir and Brother:

With the general objects of the Continental party I am in hearty accord. But I place the initiative and referendum as the dominant issue, for it is only through the establishment of this system that the people can overcome the monopolists and secure the desired legislation. The mistake of the Continental party, in my opinion, and the mistake of every third party in the field is in asking that it, an organization outside the constitution and controlled by a committee (a "machine") shall be installed as ruler of the American people. *It is true that the platform includes a promise that the party machine, if placed in power, will abdicate by allowing the people to adopt a constitutional amendment for the people's veto and direct initiative, but not until it has legislated for several years. This is inconsistent, for elected representatives can immediately establish the people's sovereignty.* SEVERAL OF THE PRESENT-DAY CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS ARE PLEDGED TO THIS PROGRAM IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS, WHILE THE SYSTEM IS DEMANDED BY PRACTICALLY THE ENTIRE BODY OF ORGANIZED WAGE EARNERS, BY MANY OF THE GRANGES AND BY REFERENDUM LEAGUES. FURTHERMORE, THE MERE QUESTIONING OF LEGISLATIVE NOMINEES BY THE NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS AND BY INDIVIDUALS RESULTS IN THE PLEDGING OF ALL THE CANDIDATES, THUS WINNING THE DAY AND AT ONCE. So why attempt to build another party to place more candidates in the field? Emancipation is within the people's grasp and in this year's campaign if they will only question candidates. To foster this movement, I have devoted my time and energies for four years, and the ease and rapidity with which the movement has been and is progressing is an assurance that it is along the line of least resistance. The American Federation of Labor, with its 25,000 unions and two million members, also the Pennsylvania Granges and other non-partisan organizations, are unitedly pushing this wonder-working program. My duty is to continue with them. Therefore I must decline the nomination for the high office tendered me by the Continental party. *Thanking the party for the mark of confidence and trusting that my continued allegiance to the people's IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION FROM MACHINE RULE will on reflection, meet with the approval of the members of the party and cause them to CENTER THEIR EFFORTS ON THE QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES, I AM,*

Yours for the People's Sovereignty.

Washington, D. C., Labor Day, 1904.

(Signed), GEO. H. SHIBLEY.

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, GREETING:

We are living in a wonderful age—the TRUST ERA. It began in earnest only six years ago and already the monopoly extortions that are being wrung from the American people annually are so great as to be almost beyond comprehension—about two billion dollars yearly—\$125 per family each year—\$10 per month.

Even more alarming is the growing centralization of political power, which has reached the stage of open repudiation of even the forms of popular government in three states, Colorado, Utah and Illinois, with the abolition of even the last vestige of popular government in Colorado. Class war is in full swing. Conditions are steadily advancing toward class war on a national scale. The culmination will soon be reached unless the people assert their sovereignty.

To assert their sovereignty and in this year's campaign through the questioning of candidates is the program of the Granges of Pennsylvania and other states, the American Federation of Labor with 25,000 Unions and two million members, some of the Business Men's Associations, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and Referendum Leagues.

The people's sovereignty is to be attained by installing a right to a direct vote on public questions, through the referendum and the initiative, a system fully established in Oregon, South Dakota and Switzerland and in several of our large cities, and largely applied in every state in the Union. Only a slight change is required to extend the system to national questions.

The benefits from an extension to national affairs are assured, for the history of the system demonstrates that it peaceably opens the way to better social conditions—a tendency to equal rights to all, special privileges to none. The Swiss and the people of Oregon and South Dakota are experiencing this wholesome change and could not be forced back to machine rule, unequal rights, plutocracy and class hatred.

All these strong claims are fully demonstrated in the succeeding pages, and there is described, also, the complete cycle from political liberty that existed A. D. 100 among the Teutons down through feudalism and back to the full restoration of political liberty as it exists in Switzerland, the result of the referendum system.

There is described, also, the wonder-working system of questioning candidates as to the people's sovereignty, which has been in successful operation for two years in this country and is being applied nationally this year.

The system is wonder-working in that no candidate dares to openly oppose the establishment of the People's Sovereignty, *for his election is dependent upon the people's votes, which insures a clean sweep wherever the candidates are questioned by those who stand ready to take the case to the people.*

The system is wonder-working, also, in that the referendum is to be established nationally *without waiting to change the written constitution.* And it is to be established *as the result of this year's campaign*—no waiting for several years to elect a majority in the Senate, for the hold-over senators are to be instructed.

Viewed from another standpoint, the result of establishing a people's veto and direct initiative is to transfer the final legislative power from the party machine to the people—establish Guarded Representative Government, the next stage above Party Government.

To attain this higher stage in national affairs and in the incoming Congress is the program, as we have said, of the Granges in Pennsylvania and of many other non-partisan organizations throughout the country. *It should be the program of every non-partisan organization opposed to Trustocracy, Imperialism, Militarism, Graft and other evils of Machine Rule. To all such associations we earnestly appeal.* JOIN WITH US IN HELPING TO ESTABLISH THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND TERMINATE MACHINE RULE!

To individuals we say, HELP US TO SECURE DISCUSSION OF THIS DOMINANT ISSUE. ORALLY QUESTION EVERY LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE AT PUBLIC MEETINGS AND IN PRIVATE—PLUMP IT RIGHT AT THEM—DO YOU PLEDGE TO WORK AND VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY?

For details concerning the foregoing statements we refer to the following pages, the result of exhaustive research by one who is acknowledged to be foremost in developing the science of Representative Government. Under Mr. Shibley's scholarly leadership there has been developed the national program herein outlined for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the incoming Congress.

Yours for Political and Industrial Liberty,

W. F. HILL,

G. W. OSTER,

W. T. CREASY,

Editors Pennsylvania Grange News.

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THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

VERSUS

TRUSTOCRACY

BOOK I

TRUSTOCRACY.

CHAPTER I.

TRUSTOCRACY EXISTS IN UNITED STATES.

Society is either democratic, aristocratic or monarchical, as the following analysis shows.

The earth's surface is divided into states. But definite boundaries is only one of the distinguishing features of a state. Within these boundaries there is a supreme earthly power except as limited by international law. *This supreme earthly power is termed sovereignty or sovereign power* and is so largely the dominant characteristic in a state when considered politically that it is frequently used as synonymous with "state." For example, Louis XIV said: "I am the state," referring to his sovereign power. This synonymous use of the terms is the sense in which we shall principally use them.

In some states the sovereignty is in a few of the inhabitants, in other states it is in the many. Where it is in a majority or more the state is termed a Republic or a Democracy. Where it is in one individual it is a Monarchy. Where the sovereignty is in less than a majority, but in several, it is an Aristocracy.

In the words of Dr. Burgess, head professor of the Political Science Department of Columbia University:

Monarchy is the sovereignty of a single person, aristocracy the sovereignty of a minority, and democracy the sovereignty of the majority. * * * This classification of states is both correct and exhaustive.

In whom is the sovereignty in the United States? Is it in the majority or less than a majority? It is in less than a majority. *for private monopolies, usually termed trusts, exist on every hand.* The people cry out but thus far have been powerless.

The sovereignty in the United States, then, the supreme power, is in the trust magnates, who are far less in number than a majority. Therefore the form of the state is an aristocracy of trust magnates.—A TRUSTOCRACY.

Criticism will doubtless be directed against the definition on the ground that the trust magnates are not the sovereign power *even though it be ad-*

mitted that they enact legislation against the people's will. Such criticism is fallacious for it gives to "sovereign power" an unusual meaning. This juggling with terms is part of the system of false education, described in a later chapter. But even the most orthodox of university men, Professor Burgess of Columbia, admits that the sovereign power in a state is *that which really controls.* In speaking of the difficulty in locating the class in whom the sovereignty exists, he says:

The old state does not perceive the change at all or, at least, not for a long time, and not until after suffering many bitter experiences. * * * The new sovereignty comes very slowly to its organization. Moreover, it organizes itself, for the most part, in the government, and only very imperfectly outside of and supreme over the government. For a long time it has the appearance of being only a part of the government.*

This description applies to the trust magnates, as is demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

Comparison of trustocracy with other forms of aristocracy emphasizes its odious character. Aristocracies based upon birth have brought to the state a trained body of legislators and administrators. Aristocracies based upon mere wealth—plutocracies—were declared by Cicero to be the most hateful of all the forms of the state. But since the days of Cicero a more odious rule of the few has developed, an aristocracy of monopolists, a Trustocracy.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRUSTOCRACY.

The era of private monopoly in America began with the issuance of bank charters for the issuance of paper money by private corporations. It began in Massachusetts in 1680† and has continued to the present day.

* Political Science and Constitutional Law, by Burgess, Vol. I, p. 69.

† Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay, by Davis, Vol. I, p. 7.

With the growth of cities and the need for a water supply began the contest between public and private monopoly as to municipal utilities. In New York City in 1799 were erected the first water works, since which time the multitude of municipal monopolies have developed, most of which are in private corporations.

With the invention of the steam engine and its application to cars began the monopolies in transportation, exclusive rights being granted to a railroad corporation in Massachusetts in 1825, since which time the mighty Railroad Trusts have developed.

With the invention of the electric telegraph and the installation of the first practical line in 1844 began the development which has resulted in the Telegraph Trust, also the news disseminating trust—the Associated Press.

With the issuance of the telephone patents in 1876 began the development which resulted in the Telephone Monopoly.

With the purchase of the charter of the south improvement company some thirty years ago by John D. Rockefeller and the sale or gift of portions of its stock to railroad directors in exchange for exclusively low rates on petroleum and its products, began the development which soon became the Standard Oil Monopoly.

About that time Andrew Carnegie did the same thing in the iron business, and thus began the special privileges in the iron industry which have resulted in the Steel Trust.

In 1897 the Supreme Court repealed the last of the restrictions against interstate rebates, which resulted in a wide-spread reign of special

privileges in transportation, which brought forth the swarm of Industrial Trusts. Since 1897 these have extended to monopolies of iron ore beds, coal lands, salt beds, etc., and are rapidly extending to every line of manufacture and trade.

This brief survey demonstrates the modern character of Trustocracy.

You may ask, how about the dominancy of the Creditor Class? We answer that they have lost their power to limit the volume of money. This is demonstrated by the currency law of 1899, which authorized an increase of \$500,000,000 of paper money by the banks but resulted in only a hundred million increase, the price of bonds rising too high to make it profitable for the bankers to issue paper money.

Trustocracy has not only wrested the sovereignty from the creditor class but has used its power to openly enslave ten millions of Filipinos on the other side of the globe, and to openly enslave the Porto Ricans. In the eyes of the law itself these people are subjects and not citizens. The products of their toil are controlled by laws enacted in the United States by the agents of the trusts. In short, the United States has become a Trustocratic Empire. A republic has no subjects.

It is clear from the above that there exists in this country the rule of the few and that it is a Trustocracy or Trustocratic Empire.

Next we shall show that those who are ruled are a specie of slaves, and then we shall point out that this white slavery is maintained through deception, and is being overturned by the adoption of the referendum as rapidly as the deception is exposed.

CHAPTER II.

TRUSTOCRACY MEANS SLAVERY OF THE PEOPLE.

The individuals in a state who are not members of the families of the ruling power are slaves.

Slavery has various stages. The lowest form is chattel slavery; the next higher is crown colonies and the insular possessions of the United States Government; the next higher grade of slavery is serfdom, then comes peasantry, then freemen who cannot vote, next voters who do not rule. The next higher stage in evolution is voters who rule—who are sovereign.

Where the voters rule it is a democracy. In some of the democracies the only ones who vote as yet are the men, but the tendency is for women to become voters, and in proportion as they do the position of women will change in many respects. For example, under man-made laws one portion of the women are slaves of so low a class that their names cannot be mentioned in society. When women become sovereigns they will protect themselves and their daughters.

The slavery of the present day is partially described in a volume by Count Leo Tolstoi, published in 1901. It is entitled "The Slavery of Our Times," and he says:

Imagine a man from a country quite different from our own, with no idea of our history or of our laws, and suppose that, after showing him the various as-

pects of our life, we should ask him what was the chief difference he noticed in the lives of our world? The chief difference which such a man would notice in the way people live is that some people—a small number—have clean, white hands *but only amuse themselves, spending on these amusements the results of millions of days devoted by other people to severe labor*; but other people, always dirty, poorly clothed and lodged and fed, with dirty, horny hands, *toil unceasingly from morning to night, and sometimes all night long, WORKING FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT WORK, BUT WHO CONTINUALLY AMUSE THEMSELVES.* *

The above is applicable to Russia as well as to the United States. But we in the United States have a special brand—a trustocracy, which has resulted in a centralization of wealth far beyond the dreams of anyone of a hundred years ago, and whose lavish expenditures and debaucheries far outrival oriental monarchy at its height. And all of this wealth is heaped into the laps of the few by bondmen, most of whom imagine that they are freemen! If they have attended a college or university, the teachings have been pretty sure to strengthen the hallucination, as we shall show.

* The Slavery of Our Times, by Count Leo Tolstoi, p. 77.

CHAPTER III.

RULE OF TRUSTOCRATS IS THROUGH DECEPTION.

A Two-Faced System of Government and False Teachings.

One of the marvels of the age is that in a land where the people are acknowledged to be the sovereign power they really are slaves and only a few know how it is done! The system will be pointed out after the forms of government have been analyzed.

In each state the sovereign power erects machinery through which it governs. This machinery or series of institutions is the Government.

Government is primarily of two types: *The sovereignty is declared to be IN THE PEOPLE OR IN A MONARCH.* In the one case the people are termed citizens, in the other subjects. The one is a Republican form of government, the other Monarchical.

Within the above described primary forms of government, namely, those in which the people are either citizens or subjects, there are secondary forms classified as follows:

(1) Legislation is direct by the sovereign power;

(2) Legislation is by those whom the sovereign appoints;

(3) Legislation is by those whom the sovereign elects;

(4) Legislation is by combination of these systems.

The first is Direct Legislation—the laws are directly enacted by the sovereign. The next system of government is Conciliary,—the sovereign power is in a king who acts through a council, the members of which he appoints. The third system of government is Representative. The fourth is Mixed Government—a combination of two or more of the other systems.

The earlier forms of democracy were all of them direct. *Legislation through elected representatives did not come into existence till about a thousand years ago, that is in the eighth or ninth century.* It was confined to county affairs till 1213.

Legislation through a council, the members of which were appointed by the king, existed in England nationally from about 827 till 1213.

The first participation of elected representatives in the national government of England was in 1213, but only occasionally till 1295, from which time till 1430 the people were represented in the commons/continually except for three years, between 1397 and 1399. During the years 1295 to 1430 the system of government as a whole was mixed, for the barons legislated directly through the house of lords, the king through the council, and the people through the house of commons by means of elected representatives. Each of these three branches of the government had a veto on the others, but only the two houses could initiate legislation.

In 1707 the king of England lost his veto power, leaving the legislative power in the two houses of parliament. In 1832 the house of lords lost its veto power as to such measures as the house of commons should choose to refer to the people by dissolving and standing for re-election and securing a majority for the controverted question. Where this procedure is gone through with the system of government is purely representative, but on all other questions the English system is still a mixed government.

In America up to 1776 the system of government was mixed, while since 1776 it has been representative government.

Let us analyze representative government and we shall find the solution of our problem—how it is that the people are held as slaves to the trusts.

Representative government is of two great classes: that in which the voters are the sovereign power and that in which they are sovereign only as to a few things or none at all.

The voters are sovereign if they possess a veto power as to all bills and resolutions except urgency measures, and possess a direct initiative as to all questions. **IF THIS VETO POWER AND DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE PEOPLE IS LACKING, THEY ARE NOT THE SOVEREIGN POWER.**

That is a self-evident proposition, for a sovereign power is one that is supreme within the state except as limited by international law. *Therefore the voters of the United States if they are to become the sovereign power must possess this veto power as to the acts of congress and as to the acts of legislatures and of common councils.* As yet the voters in this country possess only a partial veto power (the referendum), and possess only partially the direct initiative, consequently they are not the sovereign power. That power is in the few who control congress, the legislatures and common councils, namely, the monopolists. The sovereignty is in the monopolists, and the result is the protection of their legislative privileges and the securing of more privileges. *The only states in this country where the monopolists are out of power are Oregon and South Dakota, where there is a people's veto and a direct initiative.*

Representative government, then, is of two great classes: That in which the voter's sovereignty is guarded or partially guarded, and it follows that *representative government may be classified as GUARDED AND PARTIALLY GUARDED.** Essential machinery in the guarded system is a people's veto (through the referendum) and a direct initiative, usually termed the referendum and initiative.† The machinery of the opposite system

* Some years ago Prof. Frank Parsons in a chapter on Direct Legislation in "City for the People," described representative government as Guarded or Unguarded. In the above text there is a slight change, the classification is Guarded and Partially Guarded.

† In the writings of Prof. Richard T. Ely and Prof. Vincent, of Johns Hopkins, they both say "referendum and initiative." This distinguishes the people's veto power from the direct initiative. This is of great importance. Where the terms used are "Initiative and referendum" the idea is conveyed of the initiative of legislation by petition followed by referendum vote. This leaves out of account the people's veto power. Both of these terms are included in Referendum System. Some people, however, describe it as Direct Legislation. This is a misnomer, as all admit. Direct legislation is law-making by the people without the employment of a representative. The referendum (the people's veto) and the initiative is a system that is the exact opposite of direct legislation—it is part of an improved system of Representative Government. The term "direct legislation" was applied many years

partially guarded representative government, by which the few rule the many through deception, is as follows:

The statement in the federal and state constitutions of this country that 'the people are the sovereign power,' is a myth, for the laws are enacted through a system in which the people are not the sovereign power, as is demonstrated by the prevalence of trust prices. The people are unitedly opposed to trust prices yet are unable to control the great corporations.

*This two-faced system of government, one portion declaring that the people are the sovereign power while the other portion is such that they are not, is designated by the word Diarchy.**

The object of this system is to hold the people in bondage. Did the ruling few openly declare themselves as rulers and that all the people are their subjects and slaves there would be an end to their power. If, for example, the monopolists in the United States should attempt to take a legal title to themselves and thus openly attack the people's sovereignty, there would be short work of their sovereignty.

The dominance of the monopolists is shown in the swarms of private monopolies termed Trusts. These special privileges of the ruling few take from the people without giving anything in return about two billion dollars worth of products annually—\$125 per family each year—\$10 per month.† The cost of police and military equipment for enforcing this dominancy of the few is probably \$10 per family each year.

Such are the results of the two-faced system of

government. It is an effective system from the standpoint of the ruling few. It is a Trustocracy. The people are the slaves of these trusts: This is shown most effectually in Mr. Oppen's cartoons.

But the deception of the ruling few extends farther than the two-faced system of government, for they control the educational system and employ only such professors as teach that this two-faced system of deceptive rule of the few is democracy and republicanism. There isn't a professor in any university or college in the country who has fully exposed the two-faced system of deceptive rule and held his job! If academic freedom had been permitted the whole structure of falsehood and deceit would have fallen long ago like a house of cards. Attempts to maintain academic freedom have been made in various educational institutions in this country but never in any of the private or state universities has academic freedom been complete. The fundamentally deceptive portions of the scheme have not been pointed out. The most radical of the professors, even, have not done so, for they were bounced before they got that far, or they concluded to go slow.

But every American citizen can see at a glance that a veto power and a direct initiative are elements of sovereignty, and he knows that the American voters do not possess a veto power nor a direct initiative and therefore are slaves, for he who is not a ruler is ruled—the people are bondmen or freemen.

ago by those of the Swiss who advocated that all laws be referred to a referendum vote. But the compulsory referendum of all laws is demonstrated to be an absurdity and wholly impracticable for a complicated civilization such as ours. Further details along this line are stated below, page 52. If real direct legislation is impracticable, is it right to apply the term to a practicable system and one to which we are endeavoring to win converts?

* The literal meaning of diarchy is the rule of two persons, but political scientists use it to indicate the rule of the few through a two-faced system of government.

† Adding together the monopoly extortions from farmers, business men and wage-earners they probably exceed two billion dollars per annum. This is based upon four estimates.

(1) In the last annual report of the Master of the National Grange, he says: "More than \$150,000,000 has been lost to the live stock industry in the past year by the manipulations of the meat trust. If the entire product of the farm—wheat, corn, hay, cotton, live stock, dairy and fruit—is taken into account, farmers have lost more than \$700,000,000 in the past year through manipulations of combines and trusts. * * * Farmers have also suffered another great loss in the purchase of supplies needed in their business.

(2) The yearly earnings in all the gainful occu-

pations are about twenty billion dollars. That one-tenth of this goes to monopolists from excessive charges, is a conservative estimate. For example, the dividends of the Standard Oil Company for 1901 were 48 per cent. of its capitalization. And 47 other trusts averaged 7.44 per cent. on their capitalization of that year. This capitalization averaged about three times the amount of capital invested, making a 22 per cent. dividend on capital invested. In railways the profits for 1901 were as high as 16 per cent. on the par value of some of the stocks, which doubtless were half watered, thus making a rate as high as 32 per cent. of the capital invested in some roads.

(3) The capitalization of certain specified monopolies of the country is shown in "The Truth About Trusts" to be twenty billions of dollars, while all the other capital in the country is only eighty billions of dollars. In other words, the capitalization of the principal monopolies is one-fifth the total capitalization of the country, and much of the monopoly capitalization, such as Standard Oil stock and street railway stocks, is earning so much that it sells at from two to eight times its face value.

(4) The tax levied last year by means of the monopoly prices of the American Steel Trust has been carefully estimated by Mr. Byron W. Holt, an eminent statistician. He places it at \$180,000,000. This of itself is ten dollars per family for the year.

CHAPTER IV.

DETAILS OF TWO-FACED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

Sovereignty Actually in Party Machine.

Let us consider the details of the two-faced system of government.

1. SOVEREIGNTY DECLARED TO BE IN THE PEOPLE.

All the written constitutions in the United States declare that the sovereignty is in the people. This is stated in the preamble or in a bill of rights. For example, the constitution of Massachusetts framed in 1779, after the people by direct vote had rejected a proposed system of government, declares:

Art. IV. The *people* of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state, and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

The Federal constitution declares:

We the *people* of the United States * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Though the sovereignty is declared to be in the people, *it is actually in the party machine*, which operates through the governmental departments erected by the written constitutions:

II. SOVEREIGNTY ACTUALLY IN PARTY MACHINE.

The written constitutions *delegate the law-making power to the few*. For example, the federal constitution declares that all legislative power shall be vested in congress, subject to a limited veto power in the president and an absolute veto power in the supreme court, (it being authorized to declare invalid such measures as it asserts to be in violation of the written constitution).

Here, then, the final power as to legislation is declared to be in a few men *who are to be elected*, for the people reserve no veto power or direct initiative, except in Oregon and South Dakota.

Though the written constitutions declare that the legislative power is in the few who are in office, *it is false, for the power is in the party organizations*, as everyone knows. It is the party organizations that control legislation, which they accomplished by controlling the nomination and election of congressmen, president, judges, and all state officers. It is Party Government.

This system is outside the written constitution—is extra-legal.

The supreme power within the party organization is the national convention. The federal constitution does not apply, nor do the state constitutions.

Furthermore, each national convention is in no wise controlled by the proceedings of any former convention, except as the dominant element believes that the recognition of preceding principles or policies will help them when their candidates go before the people.

It follows from what has been shown that *the principles and policies which dominate the national convention CHANGE AS THE CONDITIONS CHANGE. Since the days of Benton and Calhoun the conditions have been TOWARD CENTRALIZATION AND THE CONVENTION SYSTEM HAS INEVITABLY GRAVITATED IN THE SAME DIRECTION. THE DOCTRINE OF MAJORITY RULE—THE BASIC PRINCIPLE IN A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT—IS ABOLISHED IN BOTH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS, as we shall prove in a later chapter.*

After the adjournment of each national convention the supreme power in the party is in two sets of men, those who directly control the machine and those who dominate these men and the machine by supplying the party funds.

The supreme power; then, is the men or corporations who supply the party funds. In this way they dominate the machine and the machine controls the laws and the execution thereof. Surely this system is complex! But added to the natural complexity is the false teachings which aim to keep the people in subjection to the few. The situation, however, is clarified by bearing in mind that the people can only become sovereign by taking to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative.

Returning to the dominancy of those who supply the party funds, the question arises, who are they—*what interests do they represent?* History demonstrates that in the existing stage of development in the United States they are the monopolists, except where the people have taken to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative. As long as the final power is in the "machine" it pays the monopolists to invest, and they outbid all competitors.

The foregoing facts are quite generally understood, but only a few know *how* it is that the machine of the party in power operates through the departments of government erected by the written constitutions—congress, the presidency and the supreme court; the legislatures, governorships and state supreme courts; common councils, village boards and the executive departments of the cities and towns.

HOW THE PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH THE DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Bear in mind first that the benefits to be secured by those who control the party organization are (1) control of the legislative departments in nation, state and city; (2) control of the decisions in the courts by controlling the nominations and the elections, and (3) control of the policies of the executive department of the government by controlling the nominations and elections. *In this way the entire powers of the three departments of constitutional government are controlled by the party organization, BACK OF WHICH ARE THE MONOPOLISTS WHO SUPPLY THE CAMPAIGN FUNDS.* In the words of William Allen White, in

a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "The Dollar in Politics:"

The entrance of the corporation into American politics has been followed by grafting not only in offices *but in laws*. The corporation that desires special privileges contributes cash to the central committees of the two dominant parties, and if party managers are honest, according to the rules of the game of politics, *those contributions are the purchase prices of desired privileges*.

If a corporation running a railroad wishes to maintain high rates it is no longer necessary to buy members of the legislature—at least, not in a well-regulated state. *But it is necessary to buy the party organization that controls the legislature;* and this is done before the legislature is elected. The deed is recorded on the books of the state central committee, and if a member or group of members appears with a bill in the interest of the shippers, the chairman of the state committee makes it his business to see that the "organization" is against the bill.

Similarly, in the lower walks of politics, the county central committee protects the saloonkeeper, and, similarly, in the higher walks, the national central committee fries the fat out of great manufacturing corporations and protects them when tariffs are made; banking corporations are protected in the framing of currency laws, and ship-building corporations are promised laws to their liking.

Through the party system, as it has been organized for twenty-five years in America, a general system of grafting has arisen, involving not only the offices but the laws of the country, and through this grafting system has arisen a group of persons having the power but not the respectability, of the barons whom the English-speaking people overthrew several hundred years ago.

To the same effect are the descriptions of the party system in Lincoln Steffens' "Enemies of the Republic." In McClure's Magazine for August, page 396, he sums up the case in these few words:

Political corruption, then, is the force by which a representative democracy is transformed into an oligarchy representative of SPECIAL INTERESTS, and the medium of the revolution is the party.

It is clear that the machines of the leading parties are owned by those who find it most profitable to invest in politics—the monopolists. *They operate these machines through the departments erected by the written constitution, endeavoring to keep within the limits prescribed by the written words, EXCEPT WHERE IT IS DEEMED NECESSARY TO CHANGE THEM BY JUDICIAL CONSTRUCTION OR TO BRUSH THEM ASIDE COMPLETELY.* Illustrations of what has actually been done are stated in subsequent chapters, here we are interested in nothing but the outline of party government.

Viewed at different periods of time the workings of machine rule show a development. Each step in the development has followed a develop-

ment of industry and of monopoly, which is part of the world-wide evolution of mankind. This development of industry has made more and more valuable the control of legislation, and administration, *resulting in a development of the machinery of party government, which in turn has become so great an evil to the people's interests that they have hemmed in the power of these party machines.* Details are stated in a subsequent chapter.

Though the people have limited in some directions the power of the party machines, the development of machine rule in other directions *has exceeded the curbing process.* To-day, for example, the power of the party machines is greater than ever before. An explanation of how this has come about will be stated in a moment.

One of the means of limiting the power of the party machines has been the establishment of a people's direct vote on public questions, terminating to that extent the final power of the party machines. The name of the improved system is Guarded Representative Government. For more than a century the people of the United States have been taking to themselves a people's veto and a direct initiative. Until 1830 the American people were far in advance of the Swiss, who have forged to the front since 1830, because their system of government had no judiciary veto or executive veto. The evils of party government quickly forced the Swiss to the people's veto. In the United States, however, the forefathers erected an entirely new system of government, avoiding party government from 1789 to 1896, since which time we have had a party system with a judiciary veto and an executive veto, which have caused the departments of justice and of administration to become saturated with the evils of party government, namely, control by those whose power is through the excessive use of money in politics.

The order of development, then, has been and is, first the development of industry, *followed by the growth of the party organization, which means an increased robbery of the people by the ruling few, then the people have terminated the worst of the evils by applying to one question and then another a people's veto or a direct initiative or both.*

This development has been quite steady in the several states, for the state constitutions are more easy to change than the federal constitution, which is an almost unalterable instrument under the existing system. Even the direct election of senators, demanded almost unanimously by the people, is still unaccomplished. *Owing to this difficulty in changing the federal constitution, combined with the development of industrial monopolies till they have become interstate, there IS AN ACCENTUATION OF THE EXCESS OF PARTY GOVERNMENT WHICH IS STIRRING THE PEOPLE.* Smooth sailing will come when the people establish their sovereignty in national affairs. Whatever they then desire can be carried into effect.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF PARTY GOVERNMENT IN UNITED STATES.

Party government first came into being in England, shortly after the power of the crown was emasculated in 1688. William at first refused to recognize party, inviting to his cabinet

both Whigs and Tories. "The consequence," says Prof. Goldwin Smith, in his political history of The United Kingdom, "was discord and jarring in every department, except that of foreign affairs,

which, as not being national, but European, the chief of coalized Europe kept in his own hands. Sunderland taught William that *to give unity and efficiency to his government he must call to his councils men of ONE PARTY ALONE.* To choose between the parties was after all not difficult, since it was upon Whig principles that William had been raised to the throne, and the Whigs, however some of them might have swerved from their fidelity, were enemies of the house of Stuart. *A Whig ministry, accordingly, was formed, and the Whig party in parliament was organized AS ITS BASE under a junto of powerful leaders.* * * * Here we have the historical origin, not of party, which, besides tearing the Greek, Roman, and Italian republics, had raged in England under Charles I, and Charles II., but of Party Government, which has now been accepted as the regular system, not only of Great Britain and her colonies, but of other parliamentary countries, and whether legally recognized, as in America, or not, is, wherever it prevails, *practically the constitution.*"

In the United States after the Revolutionary War there was party government in the several states. When the federal government was framed in 1787 *the aim was to terminate party government.* It was provided that the head of the government, the president, should not be chosen by the people acting through a party organization, but that he should be elected by presidential electors who should exercise their own best judgment. This would take the power out of the people, it was supposed. It was provided, also, that he who should receive the second highest vote for president should be vice-president. This is clear proof that the aim was to avoid party government. Furthermore, the senators were not to be elected by the people, nor were the members of the Supreme Court, who are clothed with power to veto the acts of Congress by declaring them unconstitutional. And Washington carried out the non-partisan idea by calling to his cabinet the leaders of both factions.

This new system of non-partisan government worked well while Washington was president. The new republic was successfully launched. But with Washington's retirement and even before that time, the two parties were well developed, the Federalist and the Republican parties. In 1796 the two leaders, Adams and Jefferson were elected president and vice-president. But the autocratic laws and administrative acts of the Federalist party brought the organization into disrepute, and Jefferson was elected to the presidency in 1801 by the House of Representatives. For a time it looked as though the house would deliberately defeat the people's will by electing Aaron Burr as president. This, combined with the fact that party government *was an established fact,* resulted in a constitutional amendment, that the president and vice-president should be of the same party. The amendment became part of the constitution during 1803.

The Republican party came into power March 4, 1801. Its basic principle as stated in Jefferson's inaugural address was said to be "absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the fundamental principle of a republic."

So successfully did the party leaders apply the principle that *by 1817 the Federalist party as a national organization became extinct.* In the

words of Professor Johnston, of Princeton University:

The idea that the people were to impose their notions of public policy upon their rulers, and not altogether to receive them from their rulers, which the federalists had always detested at heart, *had now been accepted by all politicians.**

From 1817 to 1828 there was but one national party, the Republican party.

There being but one party *it resulted in a change in the nominating system.* In 1824 the nomination of president and vice-president by caucuses of congressmen broke down, for there were four strong candidates in the one great party. At election time neither candidate received the vote of a majority of the presidential electors. The election was by the House of Representatives, resulting in Adams' election, whereas Jackson was most popular with the people. This led to a split in the party and out of it came the Democratic party with Jackson at its head and the National Republican with John Adams as leader. Four years later, 1828, Jackson was nominated by several legislatures and at many mass meetings, and was elected.

Three years afterward, 1831, *a new nominating system was invented, the National Convention.* The first one held was by the Anti-Masonic party, at Baltimore, September 26, 1831. The following December the National Republican party held a national convention and nominated Clay and Sargent. The next May the Democratic party held a national convention and renominated Jackson.

Thus originated the national convention system.

Till 1844 the conventions voiced the people's sentiments, *but in 1844 the innate evils of delegated power appeared: The Democratic National Convention defeated the people's will, refusing to nominate VanBuren to whom were pledged more than a majority of the delegates. The nominee, Polk, was a man whom the people scarcely knew.* This led to the following statement by Senator Benton in his Thirty Years' View:

Until the convention system is abolished and the people resume their rights, *the elective principle of our government is suppressed.* The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be their President, than the subjects of kings have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.†

This defeat of the people's will in 1844 by the national convention was the first time that such a thing had occurred. Since then it has been the general rule. Says Prof. Lowell, of Harvard University:

During the earlier history of the United States every president was a man of great personal eminence, but since the nominating convention has become fully developed, very few of them have had at the time of their first election a really high reputation in national political life.||

The evil of delegated power in the national convention system was pointed out by all the leading Democrats. For example, John C. Calhoun withdrew his name from the national convention of 1844. He did so in a letter setting forth the evils which inevitably follow the selection of presi-

*Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science and United States History, Vol. III., p. 1101.

† Thirty Years' View, Vol. II., p. 596.

|| Government and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. II., p. 321.

dential nominees by delegates who themselves are elected by other delegates. "and of course removed, in all cases, at least three, if not four degrees from the people." These were Mr. Calhoun's words and he added:

At each successive remove, the voice of the people will become less full and distinct, until, at last, it will be so faint and imperfect, as not to be audible. To drop metaphor, I hold it impossible to form a scheme more perfectly calculated to annihilate the control of the people over the presidential election and vest it in those who make politics a trade, and who live or expect to live on the government.

DEVELOPMENT OF POWER IN PARTY MACHINES.

But when Calhoun penned the above indictment, the convention system was in its infancy. Four years later 1848, the national committee system was inaugurated, which holds through from convention to convention and is ramified by state committees, county committees, township committees, and even precinct committees. In short, Machine Rule has developed, and in some cases the control is in one man—the boss. The result of the system is well described in *The American Commonwealth*, written by the noted English statesman, Hon. James Bryce. He points out that each party in the United States is controlled by a machine, then he describes "How the Machine Works" and in conclusion says:

THE WORK OF THE MACHINE.

Observing the form of consulting the voters, it substantially ignores them, and forces on them persons whom they do not know, and would dislike if they knew them. It substitutes for the party voters generally a small number of professionals and their creatures, extracts prearranged nominations from packed meetings, and calls this consulting the pleasure of the sovereign people. * * * Thus the machine works on, and grinds out places, power and opportunities for illicit gain for those who manage it.

This description was written some fifteen years ago, since which time the trusts have developed resulting in a worse and worse tendency to autocracy and more and more money in campaigns. In the 1896 campaign something like eighteen millions of dollars was expended by one of the parties, while the other stood for such principles that it was unable to collect a quarter of a million—about one per cent of the amount expended by the monopolists and creditor class.

But this year, 1904, the national conventions of both the leading parties are controlled by the monopolists. As between contesting delegations in the national conventions many of the monopolists' representatives were seated who had no equitable title to the seats. In the Republican party the anti-monopolists from Wisconsin were turned down in the national committee and without hearing a particle of testimony!

REPUBLICAN MACHINE ABOLISHES MAJORITY RULE WITHIN THE PARTY.

The following is the written protest filed with the committee on credentials appointed by the convention:

That said committee [the national committee] did not examine said record or appoint any subcommittee to do so, but at the close of the argument immediately

decided said contest upon the conflicting and wholly contradictory oral statements of counsel for the respective parties. * * *

We now find upon the credentials committee a number of the gentlemen who as members of the national committee were most active in their support of the cause of the contesting delegates. Other members of said credential committee, as we are credibly informed, have been approached in advance of the hearing in some manner, for the purpose of securing a determination of said contest in favor of said contesting delegates.

Believing, in view of the foregoing, that it would be futile to present our cause before the committee, we prefer to rest it with the Republican voters of the State of Wisconsin for their determination.

This illustrates the system whereby the great corporations defeated their enemies in Wisconsin, keeping them out of the Republican National Convention. Further details are supplied by Mr. Walter Wellman, correspondent to the Republican independent paper, the *Chicago Record-Herald*. The morning after the defeat of La Follette in the Republican National Convention, he said:

In writing the history of the day it is well to adhere to the actual facts, and the truth of history compels us to set it down in the record that the railroads are looking after their end of the business with their accustomed skill and assiduity.

Little Governor La Follette of Wisconsin may still have enough life left in his body to know by this time what ran over him. It was a railroad train.

This is what happened: Appeals went out from the presidents of railroads in Wisconsin to their brethren all over the country to help down this political train-wrecker of the Badger state. This was an opportunity to dispose of him which must not be neglected. And to a man the brethren responded. They went to work among the national committeemen from their regions, and when the railroads start out on a trail like that they are able to use a good deal of steam.

Every railroad in the United States that knows its business makes a specialty of attending to what are called the fine points of politics, and one of these fine points is to make sure of having friends in the organization of both of the great political parties. They may not be able to control primaries and delegates and voters, but they are strong when it comes to the selection of committeemen.

It would be interesting to know how many of the members of the committee that passed on the Wisconsin case paid their fares to Chicago. At any rate, the case of Governor La Follette and the half-breeds was lost before the members of the national committee left home. For aught I know it was a bad case, one which deserved to be lost on its merits. But it would not have made the slightest difference had it been otherwise. If La Follette had been as regular as *Regulus* himself, he would have been thrown out just the same. *The bullgine had its orders to run over him. And it obeyed.* It took the national committee just one minute by the watch to decide the case, 'and we could have done it much quicker if it hadn't taken us a few seconds to close the doors' said one of the jury.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPUDIATES MAJORITY RULE WITHIN PARTY.

In the Democratic National Convention, at St. Louis, the monopolists were equally triumphant

and equally unscrupulous. They controlled the convention and seated the delegates from Illinois that had been elected in violation of every principle of popular government. The facts are vividly described in a speech by Mr. Bryan before the convention. He said:

My friends, it is because I want the Democratic party to stand on that Jefferson principle of majority rule that I come here and present the minority report in this case. * * * These men [members of state committee and contesting delegates] say that because they certify that what they did was regular, you cannot go behind their certificate.

If this is a good law in a Democratic convention, it ought to be good doctrine in a court, and if it is good doctrine in a court, then the only thing that train robbers have to do in the future is to make a report of their transactions over their own signatures. (Great laughter and applause.) I repeat that after they have committed their crime, all that train robbers will have to do is to certify over their own signatures that it was a voluntary collection taken up for religious purposes and deny you the right to go behind the returns. (Laughter and applause.)

They tell you that the law of the party in Illinois permits the state committee to present the chairman, and they deny the right of the convention to override the wishes of the committee. Such a doctrine would be un-Democratic, if true, for such a doctrine would permit a past committee to fasten itself upon a new convention and dominate a new set of delegates. (Applause.)

But, my friends, that is not all, for John P. Hopkins two years ago (the same chairman of the committee) presented the recommendation of the committee, and asked a vote upon it and submitted it to the convention. Two years ago he recognized the rights of the Democrats in the State convention to elect their temporary chairman. This time he did not dare to do it, for if he had done it he would have been repudiated by the convention assembled. The minority presented a minority report, or wanted to, but the chairman of the committee, Mr. Hopkins, brought Mr. Quinn up to the convention platform, and, handing him the gavel, said that he was the chairman of the convention, and Mr. Quinn, seizing the gavel began his rule of tyranny, despotism and unfairness. (Great applause.)

They had their state committee put on the roll the delegates whom they wanted, but when the credentials committee brought in a minority report they refused to consider it and refused to allow a report upon it. And yet in spite of the fact that that convention was not allowed to act upon its own credentials; was not allowed to decide the merits of its own delegates yet, with all they seated they did not seat enough, for more than half of the men actually seated by the Hopkins committee have signed petitions asking that they be sent back home and that Democrats

who represent the people of that state be substituted for them in this convention. (Cheers.) * * *

Their whole conduct shows that their purpose was conceived in sin, born in iniquity, and carried out to the destruction of Democratic hopes in that state. Give the Democrats of Illinois something to hope for. Do not tell them that when they go to a Democratic convention they must go armed as to war, prepared to fight their way up to the chairman of the convention.

You have not this condition in other states to-day, but let this convention indorse this conduct, and the next national convention will see more than one State here as the result of gavel rule. And it is because this question transcends the interests of any state or any candidate, or any faction that I am here to present the minority report, and ask you to do the Democrats of Illinois that justice that this gang denied them, deliberately and insolently. (Cheers and continued applause.)

In replying to the above Mr. Quinn said:

We put in our time, we organize the counties, and I want to say to you that the gentlemen whose seats are here contested are the men who are in the saddle, who control the party, and who delivered its electoral vote to Grover Cleveland in 1892. (Applause.)

These men who are "in the saddle" through the infamous methods described, were continued there by the convention, SUCH IS THE EXTREMITY TO WHICH PARTY GOVERNMENT HAS DESCENDED. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are equally bad, as we have seen.

CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS INSTRUCTED BY NATIONAL CONVENTIONS—MACHINE RULE, THE ESTABLISHED SYSTEM.

Each national convention not only decides who shall be party "boss," but it declares as to public questions, THEREBY INSTRUCTING ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY. In other words, the national legislation for this great country is largely determined at national conventions, each composed of a thousand members, meeting together once in four years and for only two or three days, while the members themselves are selected, not by the people, but through a system of delegated power in which the winner is the one with the biggest pile of money! AND BEGINNING WITH THIS YEAR THE CONVENTIONS HAVE DECIDED TO SEAT THE DELEGATES CHOSEN BY THE STATE COMMITTEE AND AGAINST THE WILL OF THE STATE CONVENTION ITSELF! ALL SEMBLANCE OF MAJORITY RULE IS OPENLY REPUDIATED! Clearly the national convention system has declined to where the monopolists are in full sway except that the patronage of the president enabled him to secure the nomination to the head of the Republican machine!

CHAPTER VI.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

I. Outline.

We have shown in the second preceding chapter that the sovereign power in the United States is in the party in power, an organization that is outside the written constitution. The dominant

power in the machine is the men who supply the campaign funds, and in this the monopolists are supreme for they out-bid all competitors and can continue to do so. The party machine thus con-

trolled by the monopolists operates through the legislative, executive and judicial departments of governments, the institutions erected by the written constitution.

In thus operating the monopolists keep the machine within the limits prescribed by the written words of the constitution except where it is deemed necessary to change them by judicial construction or to brush them aside completely. This was outlined in a preceding chapter. Here we are interested in the details.

The necessity for altering the written constitution by judicial construction and by an open repudiation of it has *increased with the development of private monopoly, for the opposition has become more and more powerful*, as the following statements demonstrate:

DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSED TO THE MONOPOLISTS.

The development of organization among the business men and farmers is almost as phenomenal as has been the development of monopoly. A recent census by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a book of 296 pages, contains the names of about ten thousand of these organizations of farmers and business men.

Turning to wage-earners we find a big increase in organization, though only a fraction have as yet begun to co-operate. In 1897, when the federal supreme court removed the legal restrictions against monopoly, the American Federation of Labor had but 265,800 members. During the succeeding six years the membership increased 700 per cent.—to 1,745,270.

The arbitration of the anthracite coal strike is one of the victories of organized labor against monopoly. Arbitration, however, would not have been agreed to had President Roosevelt worked against it. In Colorado the monopolists have been more successful, as is shown in a later chapter.

A third great contest between wage-earners and monopoly is the meat-packers strike throughout the great cities, in progress at this writing.

In the domain of strikes and lockouts the monopolists have a decided advantage for they are drawing to their side nearly all the employers of labor, most of the professional classes and many of the unorganized wage-earners. This is because the strife appears to be between capital and labor, *the real basis of conflict being concealed*. In the words of Henry George, Jr., in an article from Colorado telegraphed to the New York American, June 12th, of this year:

The real underlying question in Colorado at this time, then, is not one of issue between capital and

labor, but a struggle between the great allied monopolies on the one side and the body of the plain people on the other.

The question of monopoly, however, is by the monopoly managers skillfully kept in the background, while the collateral and superficial aspects are deftly brought and kept to the front. The word 'trade-unionism' is caused to be made the shibboleth, and fierce passions are inflamed for and against it.

Back of the allied monopolies, of which Mr. George speaks, is a monopoly of the law-making power, through the contribution of funds to the party machines. The monopolists possess this monopoly, owing to the failure of the people to retain a veto power and a direct initiative. This is recognized by the American Federation of Labor, the Grange and the other non-partisan organizations that are pushing for the referendum and initiative. In a subsequent chapter their position is fully stated.

RESULT OF GROWING OPPOSITION TO MONOPOLISTS.

Owing to the increase of opposition to private monopoly, it has come about that in extreme cases the will of the people, even though expressed through a referendum vote, is unheeded by the legislative department of the government, and at times there is legislation by the executive department, also by the judiciary, with abolition of trial by jury and even the abolition of trials themselves—the abolition of the writ of habeas corpus,—and the machine fortifies itself with a standing army and a huge militia, all subject to its command. In extreme cases private funds are contributed to arm the public troops. Proof will be presented that these charges are true.

Returning to a consideration of the forms of popular government, we find that Congress while ostensibly sitting in the interest of the people refuses to enact laws that will curb the monopolists, with possibly one exception, the law creating a Bureau of Corporations and empowering investigations.

Passing to the judiciary branch of the government we find that it is so controlled that the unlawful combinations of capital are untouched. Few suits are started against the trusts and in no case has it lessened trust prices. These facts are known to everyone. All parties while in power have been equally backward in bringing suits against the unlawful combinations of capital. The trusts exist in open violation of law, while the people who are attempting to protect themselves from the trusts find that the government is used against them and most unfairly.

Some of the facts which prove these statements are as follows:

CHAPTER VII.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

II. The Congressional Machine—Monopolists Protected and People Robbed.

The fact that national laws concerning the railroads and other great monopolies are controlled by the monopolists themselves is *demonstrated by the character of the laws*. For example, the railway

corporations are charging all that the traffic will bear except as discriminations are made to a favored few, who in one way and another reciprocate to the railway directors. The following

is an instance of how the public secured a statement of the exact facts as to railway domination in Congress.

The Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Hon. Edwin A. Moseley, in an address during the year 1900, before the National Hay Association said:

Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1897 *the interstate monopolies are practically free to charge their patrons what they please and as much as they please for the public service they render.*

All this has been placed before Congress in the annual reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in the past three years two earnest efforts have been made to secure the needful amendatory legislation. The first, known as Senate Bill No. 3354, was not reported by the Senate Committee. The second, Senate Bill No. 1439, known as the Cullom Bill, was at the last session reported adversely by a vote of five to four of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce; but the bill was placed upon the calendar, and it is, therefore, in shape to be acted upon at the next session of Congress in the same manner as if it had been favorably reported.

It is a melancholy fact that remedies for public wrongs are not easily obtained in our country. Here is a great remedial statute which practically the whole people believe to have been wisely enacted, but which has become inoperative in its most important respects through defects brought to light by judicial interpretation. With a popular legislature, such as our Congress is, a majority of each branch, forty-six in the Senate and one hundred and seventy-nine in the House, must not only be secured, *but the measure must run the gauntlet of the regular committees and receive the approval of the steering committee, to say nothing of the many pitfalls which may be dug for it in the legislative practice.*

Thus it follows that the Cullom Bill, though indorsed by commercial interests generally and by petitions containing thousands of names, receiving active support in all sections of the country, AND PLAINLY CERTAIN OF PASSAGE IF PUT TO A BALLOT OF THE VOTERS, *can be delayed in committee and finally passed over in the rush of business at the close of a session, AS THE RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF A NUMERICALLY INSIGNIFICANT MINORITY of those who would be affected by its provisions.*

What has happened in 1900 to the Cullom Bill has happened in preceding sessions, in one respect or another, to other bills having the same object. Bills to regulate commerce can be advanced, and even passed with facility, *when the regulation ASSISTS THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS OR THE POWERFUL CARRYING INTERESTS*; but when the measure seeking enactment is designed to cut off the illegitimate advantages of the first and to regulate the charges for common carriage by the other, though the object be the welfare of the whole public, the success of the undertaking can only be secured through a popular demand which has sternly impressed itself upon the managers of parties and those who for the time being are in control of legislative policies.

THE PEOPLE'S REMEDY.

The foregoing is proof that at present the control of National affairs is in the powerful Few, and not in the Majority. The remedy, manifestly, is for the voters to take to themselves the power to *directly ballot upon an Interstate Commerce bill.* This, in the language of Secretary Moseley, above quoted, would make the measure "PLAINLY CERTAIN OF PASSAGE."

To adopt this system in National affairs would simply be to extend the system that is in use in all the states, and through which the Granger Uprising operated in the '70's., as is pointed out in a subsequent chapter.

Since the delivery of the foregoing speech by the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission the railway law has been amended, *but in favor of the monopolists and against the people, AS IS PROVED BY THE FACT THAT IT INCREASED RAILWAY RATES WITHOUT GIVING TO THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION ANY POWER TO REGULATE RATES.* These facts are proved by the following quotations from the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, December 15th, of last year:

ELKINS' LAW A BOON TO MONOPOLISTS.

The legislation passed by the last Congress, commonly known as the Elkins law, approved February 19, 1903, may properly be made a leading subject of comment. * * * In its present form the law appears to be about all that can be provided against rate-cutting in the way of prohibitive and punitive legislation. * * * *The effect in many cases was to bring about AN INCREASE OF RAILROAD CHARGES.*

Thus the Elkins' amendment to the interstate commerce law increased the people's burdens for the benefit of the monopolists. Furthermore, this Elkins' amendment has not shut off all discriminations. In the words of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the report above quoted:

We are only saying that tariffs as published and filed are now generally observed. But in some cases *the tariffs themselves are so framed and contain such provisions AS TO PERMIT PREFERENCES without departing from their terms.*

The Commission also says:

The other class of offenses which the original act prohibited are not at all restrained by the amendment in question. Valuable as this law is in the direction and for the purpose above outlined, *it has added nothing whatever to the power of the Commission to correct a tariff rate which is unreasonably high or which operates with discriminating effect.*

Congress had a purpose in keeping from the Commission the power to fix rates. The monopolists intended to put up the rates, for the formation of railway trusts had shut out competition and made it possible to mark up the rates, provided there should be no interference by Congress. On this point the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission says:

One of the most significant things in recent railway operations is the steady advance in the cost of the transportation of freight by rail. * * * First. The published rates itself has been advanced. * * * Second. Many advances have been brought about by changes in classification. * * * Third. Many commodities which formerly took a special commodity rate have been restored to the classified list. * * * Fourth. Of greater importance is the maintenance of rates already referred to in this report. Up to within a recent time many of the most important commodities were moved under special contracts and upon actual rates much below the published tariff. No exact information is obtainable to show the extent of these secret concessions; but they were very considerable. The traffic manager of one large railway system testified that *rebates and similar concessions allowed by his*

company amounted to approximately 10 per cent. of its gross freight revenues. This was probably greater than in the majority of instances, but beyond question a maintenance of the published schedules has added many millions of dollars to the net income of our railways.

What the total amount of increase from all these causes has been can not be stated with any degree of certainty, [except that] since 1897 the average railway net receipts have INCREASED 57 PER CENT., while railway capitalization has only increased 4.5 per cent.

* * * The freight rate has been properly termed a tax, imposed for the benefit of the carrier rendering the service. The effect of this advance has been to enormously increase the tax laid upon the general body of producers and consumers FOR THE BENEFIT OF THAT SPECIES OF PROPERTY WHICH RENDERS THE SERVICE. * * * We desire to repeat in this connection that there is to-day no way in which these advances can be prevented. * * * At present this Commission can investigate and report. It has no power to determine what rate is reasonable, and such orders as it can make have no binding effect.

These advances in rates have been through a trust agreement and therefore unlawful. On this point the Interstate Commerce Commission in its report says:

They [the advances in rates] have been almost without exception the result of concerted action. * * * Without expressing an opinion as to whether what is done amounts to a violation of law, we wish to point out clearly and emphatically that SUCH CONCERT OF ACTION DOES PREVAIL, and that the prohibition resting upon carriers in this respect AFFORDS THE PUBLIC NO PROTECTION WHATEVER AGAINST SUCH ADVANCES.

These concerted advances in rates have been arbitrarily ordered by those who knew nothing about the local conditions. The Commission says:

It has been frequently said in the past that the adjustment of freight rates was a delicate problem, which could only be dealt with by those having a long understanding and intimate knowledge of conditions, and which could not be intelligently revised by any outside body. These recent advances have not been made upon that theory. They have not originated with the traffic representatives of the various systems, but rather with the financial heads of those systems.

The general situation as to railway rates is that the shippers consider it intolerable. Advances in published rates have been arbitrarily ordered, as has been pointed out, and, besides, the full collection of the published rates has operated to intensify whatever was wrong in the tariffs themselves. On this last named point the Commission says:

Barring discriminations between shippers caused by the payment of rebates, the secret rates actually applied were, perhaps, in some cases, less unfairly adjusted, as between different localities and articles of traffic, than were the rates named in the tariffs. When these tariff rates are exacted from all shippers, as they now are for the most part, and such rates remain unchanged or are materially advanced, THE EFFECT IS TO ACCENTUATE ANY INJURY WHICH IS SUFFERED BY THE PUBLIC. * * * This is doubtless one explanation of the marked increase in the number of formal complaints made to the Commission during the present year, which are more than double those of the previous year, and more than four times the number received the year before. On the face of it, this

is an indication that the general maintenance of rates which now occurs increases greatly the instances in which particular shippers or entire communities believe they have grievances, on account of such tariffs, which demand redress. Yet the authority of the Commission in respect of these matters has not been enlarged in the least by the amendment in question. However plain a given case may appear, or however clearly injustice may be established by pertinent proof, the only order which the Commission has power to make is the limited and inconclusive order to "cease and desist" from charging rates or doing the things found to be unlawful. Even that order has no binding force upon the carrier, but can be disregarded with impunity until compliance is decreed by the courts at the end of tedious and expensive litigation. That there is such an increasing number of complaints under these circumstances, when the substantial result is little more than investigation and publicity, is accounted for by the fact that aggrieved shippers have no other recourse, and so appeal to the Commission in the hope of some relief from conditions which they regard as INTOLERABLE.

MONOPOLISTS SHELTERED BY TARIFF WALL.

Furthermore, Congress has left the tariff to shelter the trusts. This is no part of the protective tariff system. In the words of the Republican platform of 1896:

It [the protective tariff] is equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly.

But only eight years after the above principle was announced the sections of the tariff law which shelter the monopolists are continued. This unfair use of the tariff is pointed out in the last annual report of the Master of the National Grange. He says:

While competition existed in this country, prices were normal, but merging of competing interests into great combines or trusts, destroyed competition and arbitrary prices took the place of competitive prices. Corporations fixed the prices of what they bought and what they sold. Foreign competition was shut out to the extent of the wall of protection, and the manufacturer was enabled to fix a higher price in America, and make a lower price for the same article in foreign lands, thus using the laws of the UNITED STATES TO IMPOSE EXACTIONS ON AMERICAN CITIZENS HIGHER THAN ON THE FOREIGNER, thus giving the foreign agriculturist who is in competition with the American farmer an additional advantage. I said one year ago in my annual address, when that condition prevails, and it is now admitted that it does prevail, "Any law in force which enables manufacturers to sell, and they do sell, in foreign countries any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, thus using the laws of our country to discriminate against our citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended or repealed, and all such practices made impossible." I again repeat it, and assert that if those who have the power to correct these abuses to American citizenship do not correct them, THE PEOPLE SHOULD AT WILL CORRECT THEM.

FARMERS ROBBED ON EVERY SIDE.

Immediately following the above statement the Master of the National Grange says:

The American farmer meets the products of all lands and countries in the open market of the world—is in competition with the cheap lands, labor, trans-

portation and taxes of South America, Australia, Russia, and all other countries, and if the burden of paying higher taxes, discriminating and excessive transportation charges, higher prices for the machinery and all the necessary supplies with which he cultivates his lands are imposed on him, *the burden becomes unendurable, and humiliation and loss of that sturdy manhood on which the liberties and glory of this republic rest ARE UNDERMINED AND DESTROYED.*

WAGE-EARNERS ROBBED AND LIBERTIES CURTAILED.

The ruling few are robbing the wage-earners through trust prices just as they are fleecing the farmers and business men. Furthermore, the ruling few have abolished trial by jury in many of the cases in which the wage-earners are interested. This has been accomplished by extending the use of the injunction, for the procedure is such that trial is by a judge alone, and the facts in the case cannot be reviewed by a higher court. The basis of all these wrongs is a monopoly of the

political power by the trust magnates. In the words of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, in the instructions to trade unions to question candidates:

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. *Shall the monopoly of the political power of the country be in all the people or continued in the ruling few? It is the people against the monopolists.*

SUMMARY.

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate that the monopolists control Congress, using it for their own personal ends and against the people. The farmers, business men and wage-earners are all injured. All, therefore, are vitally interested in terminating the rule of the few by establishing the Referendum System. In short, the people should establish their sovereignty, thus terminating the rule of the Trustocrats.

CHAPTER VIII.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

III. Judiciary Used by Trustocrats to Protect Themselves and Injure Their Opponents.

A. JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT NOT USED EFFECTIVELY AGAINST UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL.

The reader has doubtless asked, How is it that the unlawful combinations of capital continue in the face of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and common law provisions against monopoly prices? The answer is this: Congress has legislated in such a way that *the only individual who can bring suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is the Attorney General of the United States, and the appointments to this office have been so controlled that few suits have been brought, and these suits have in no wise lessened the monopoly prices, nor has the criminal clause been applied at all.*

Such has been the result under both the political parties. The trouble is in the system of delegated power, for the monopolists with their billions of money are so strong that a president acting alone cannot overcome them, but if the people take to themselves a direct vote on public questions they will immediately control the situation.

Until the people change the system there is little likelihood that the judiciary will be used against the unlawful combinations of capital. The trustocrats will continue to use the government to protect themselves and injure their opponents. Examples of how the judiciary is used against the farmers, business men and wage-earners are as follows:

B. THE JUDICIARY USED TO ABOLISH FREE GOVERNMENT.

1. RELEASE OF RAILWAY MONOPOLISTS FROM CONTROL THROUGH REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN THE STATES.

In the early '70's the Granger Uprising brought the railways under control through the use of the Referendum System. It came about in this way.

The legislatures in the several states were controlled by the railway monopolists, who charged extortionate rates and discriminated as between shippers and places. The order known as the Patrons of Husbandry was established in 1867. It began to establish lodges, each of which was termed a grange—subordinate, county, state and national granges. In Illinois, under the leadership of the granges, a call for a constitutional convention was secured from the legislature. Care was taken to elect anti-monopoly delegates, and the anti-monopoly measures which they framed were enacted into law by a referendum vote.

This was in 1870. Three years later a constitutional convention and anti-monopoly measures were secured in Pennsylvania and adopted by referendum vote. The leadership was in the granges.

In Wisconsin there was a failure to secure a constitutional convention, but an anti-monopoly bill in the legislature, introduced by Mr. Potter a grange delegate, was enacted into law by a succeeding legislature owing to the questioning of candidates under the leadership of the granges of the state.

In Iowa, too, the candidates for the legislature were brought into line, laws were enacted and railway rates were effectually controlled.

This effective control of railway rates by the states was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1877, *Munn v. Illinois*. During the same year the court held in the *Peik* case that the several states could control the railway rates within their borders until such time as Congress should exercise its power to regulate interstate commerce.

But seven years later the monopolists secured from the federal supreme court, by a vote of six against three, a release from state control. The court reversed itself *by holding that a state had no power to regulate railway rates WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS* if the property or persons were

destined to another state (Wabash Ry. Co. vs. Illinois, 118 U. S. 557, Chief Justice Waite and Justices Bradley and Gray dissenting.) In the dissenting opinion it is pointed out that the Illinois Supreme Court disclaimed

any idea that Illinois has any authority to regulate commerce in any other state. * * * To sum up the matter in a word, we hold it to be a sound proposition of law that the making of railroads and regulating the charges for their use is not such a regulation of commerce as to be in the remotest degree repugnant to any power given to Congress by the Constitution so long as that power is dormant and has not been exercised by Congress. This case overrules the *Pelk* case in 94 U. S. Reports, and is contrary also to the line of cases that the state has the right to regulate commerce within its borders until Congress acts in the matter through its power to regulate interstate commerce.

Thus did the United States Supreme Court *arbitrarily change the Federal Constitution* by a vote of six against three. IN THIS WAY IT RELEASED THE RAILWAY CORPORATIONS FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTION OF THE CONTROL WHICH THE STATES HAD BEEN EXERCISING.

Two years later Congress enacted an interstate commerce law and *railway stocks rose*, demonstrating that the law favored the monopolists and was against the people.

But there was some considerable control of freight rates through the Interstate Commerce Commission. Gradually, however, the Supreme Court has nullified these provisions, finishing it in 1897. The railroads are completely released from effective control by the commission or the courts.

In the words of Judge Prouty of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the *North American Review*, November, 1898:

Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States within the year have determined that the Commission did not possess powers of the most vital consequence, which it had assumed to exercise from the first.

With this final release from governmental control the railways extended the discriminations in railway rates, and those who received the monopoly of the shipping rate soon had a monopoly of trade in nearly the entire industry. In the words of Judge Prouty in his testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission, October 5, 1899:

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GREAT TRUST TO-DAY ANYWHERE—that is to say, in any one of the staple commodities handled in this country—WHICH COULD HAVE ESTABLISHED OR MAINTAINED ITSELF IN THE FACE OF ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF THE FREIGHT RATE.

I do not mean by that that every monopoly has a rebate. I do not mean by that that every monopoly enjoys some concessions in the rate; but I mean if you would strip these great combinations of all dominion over, and of all participation in, the making of the freight rate, NOT ONE OF THEM WOULD BE A VERY DANGEROUS ELEMENT IN OUR SOCIAL POLITY.

The foregoing pages prove that the judiciary has assisted the monopolists and has injured the great mass of the business public, the farmers and the wage-earners.

2. OVERTHROW OF REPUBLIC BY JUDICIARY—TEN MILLION FILIPINOS HELD AS SUBJECTS AND NOT CITIZENS.

The monopolists have done their best to influence the appointment of judges to the United States Supreme Court bench. No judge can be appointed until his nomination is ratified by the Senate, composed largely of the monopolists' representatives. But the life tenure of the judges has resulted in many votes for popular government which otherwise would have been lost. The release of railways from state control was dissented from by three of the nine judges as we have pointed out. Recently in the Filipino cases by a vote of five against four it was decided that the constitution of the United States authorizes Congress to hold slaves, for that is the meaning where people are held as subjects instead of citizens. Furthermore, chattel slavery actually existed in the territory acquired, and it continued to exist.

That the action of the five judges was judicial legislation is stated in so many words by Mr. Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion. He said:

The decision of the majority in this case is "JUDICIAL LEGISLATION," "THE ENGRAFTING UPON OUR REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS OF A COLONIAL SYSTEM, SUCH AS EXISTS UNDER MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENTS. That result was never contemplated by the Fathers of the Constitution, and if that instrument had contained a word suggesting the possibility of a result of that character, it would never have been adopted by the people of the United States. The idea that this country may acquire territories anywhere upon the earth, by conquest or treaty, and hold them as mere colonies or provinces, the people inhabiting them to enjoy only such rights as Congress choose to accord to them—IS WHOLLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT AND GENIUS, AS WELL AS WITH THE WORDS, OF THE CONSTITUTION."

3. GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION ESTABLISHED BY JUDICIARY AND NOT INTERFERED WITH BY CONGRESS (TRIAL BY JURY ABOLISHED AT WILL OF THE JUDGES—NO APPEAL—LEGISLATION BY JUDGES).

Before the judicial branch of the government had gone to the length of declaring that Congress could hold subjects and legislate for them as it alone should choose—before this occurred and leading up to it, the United States Supreme Court placed the people of the United States under Government by Injunction, which overturns every principle of free government. This is demonstrated by the following facts.

Government by injunction is that system of government which came into being with the new uses to which the injunction was put.

These new uses of the injunction have resulted, first, in the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases, which is being gradually extended as occasion requires; second, the system prevents a review of the facts by higher courts, and third, a new legislative system is installed whereby certain acts in opposition to the rule of the few are declared unlawful by judges whom they nominate and elect. Incidentally, the system abolishes indictment. Furthermore, one becomes a prisoner as a result

of a mere filing of charges by an attorney of the ruling few, coupled with an order by a judge. In this proceeding there are no witnesses, and no appearance of the defendant or his counsel. This is neither better nor worse than Russian despotism, and it has gone so far that in Colorado men are banished without any sort of a trial, after having been rounded up like so many cattle.

Before presenting the testimony to prove the existence of these changes in the system of government, we will outline the causes which led to the changes and show that they have come about step by step, one wrong leading to another.

The causes which led up to these changes in the system of government are deep-seated.

The development of large-scale productions is familiar to all, as also is the corresponding development of organization among the wage-earners. Both are in the line of progress.

During this development the system of government has been such that the control of legislation and administration has been in the few, except that in Oregon, South Dakota, and Switzerland the people are in power. Outside these countries the ruling few are principally the monopolists—those who have found it exceedingly profitable to invest in politics, thus securing legal privileges.

These monopolists have controlled and do control legislation. Proof of it is the legal privileges secured and the continuance of them, which now include a swarm of industrial, financial, and commercial trusts.

All of this is familiar to everyone. The features that are not usually understood are some of the ways in which the few rule.

THE RULE OF THE FEW.

The ruling few use the popular forms of government as far as they can, but wherever necessity compels they set them aside, as we have said. For example, the trusts can not be legalized for the people wouldn't tolerate it, so the machinery in the judicial department is such that *few suits are started against them*. All political parties while in office are equally bad. It is the system that must be changed. The direct ballot must be installed.

But the mere continuation of the unlawful monopolies has not been sufficient. The contest with the growing power of organized wage-earners has caused the monopolists and other large capitalists to induce the courts to take away the right of trial by jury. This abolition of trial of criminal charges by the people lodging it in a judge, an appointee of the "machine" and in violation of the consti-

tutional guarantee of trial by jury, was brought about by issuing injunctions, forbidding wage-earners to do that which the laws had already declared to be unlawful, the object being to arrest for contempt of court, thereby abolishing trial by the people, also preventing a review of facts by a higher court.

The people have allowed all this to occur, and the powers that be went a step further. The courts began to declare unlawful that which had been lawful; for example, the judges began to declare that certain specified persons should not *speak* to certain others, *nor mail them a postal card or other writing*.

Thus the judges were installed as *lawmakers*. And on petition of an attorney and without notice to the wage-earners these judges issue warrants of arrest for violation of the injunctions, landing the wage-earners in jail where they must lie until the court's convenience to try the case. There are no witnesses, merely the bare accusation by an appointee of the corporation interested.

The use of this system is frequently sufficient to defeat the wage-earners. If it is not sufficient, then the guilt or innocence of the accused is determined by the judge who issued the injunction—jury trial is abolished, and the judge's verdict as to questions of fact can not be reviewed in a higher court.

Even this perversion of constitutional government is not the worst: the courts began to issue blanket injunctions. There is no naming of defendants, but the officers of the court can arrest whoever they choose, charging them with violation of the injunction. The trial is by the judge who issued the injunction, and there is no appeal from his verdict as to questions of fact. This is Government by Injunction. As rapidly as applied it abolishes every principle of liberty.

The foregoing statement of the case is by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in an extra number of the official magazine, July 15, 1904.

But even government by injunction did not reach the limit, for the ruling few became more and more powerful and so did the opposing forces. Open repudiation of popular government followed, succeeded by a repeal of certain sections of the bill of rights by the judiciary in Colorado which has legalized one-man rule. This was preceded of course, by militarism and civil war, just as one-man rule has always been established. These conditions must become national if the people do not assert their sovereignty. Some of the details of the open establishment of militarism and of autocracy are set forth in the following sections.

CHAPTER IX.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

IV. Monopolists Openly Repudiate Republican Form of Government in Three States.

In Colorado five years ago the people pledged the legislature to enact an eight-hour day in the unhealthy work of reducing and refining ore. A law was enacted, but the great corporations fought it and the Supreme Court of the state declared it unconstitutional, though a similar law in Utah had been upheld by the United States Supreme

Court, and a similar law now exists in Kansas, Utah, Montana, Nevada, Arizona, British Columbia, and elsewhere.

After the decision in the Colorado Supreme Court the people of the state secured from the legislature the submission of a constitutional amendment for the eight-hour day in unhealthy

and dangerous occupations and then the people adopted the amendment by an overwhelming majority. But again the private corporations got in their work, this time fixing the legislature—the legislature refused to put the people's will into force, *thus openly terminating a republican form of government.*

This, however, was no new thing in this country, for in Utah during the preceding three years there was an open repudiation of a republican form of government, two legislatures having refused to install a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. Likewise in Illinois the legislature elected in 1902 refused to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative as instructed to do by a direct vote of the people at the November election, 1902.

This repudiation of a republican form of government in Illinois by the monopolists was not the first offense. Two years before a measure known as the Allen bill, intended as the opening wedge for a fifty-year franchise for street railways in Illinois, was in danger of being lost and the bosses "saw that the measure must be advanced under the gavel," says Lincoln Steffens in his description of the "Enemies of the Republic." "Under the Gavel" means that the speaker refuses to order a roll-call in the face of a demand for it by the required number of members. In the case under discussion "Speaker Curtis was afraid to use force," says Mr. Steffens, "and he suddenly developed a 'gum boil' and was sent off in a special car to Mammoth Cave. The speaker pro tem. *hammered the bill through to the third reading, then it was passed by both houses and Governor Tanner signed it.*"*

Two years later the Allen bill was repealed owing to an uprising of the people during the campaign. The monopolists however, elected the Governor and Speaker of the House, *it being a condition of the Speaker's election that he would use the gavel when necessary to defeat the legislation aimed at the monopolists.* During the winter a bill authorizing Chicago and other cities in the state to undertake municipal ownership became so far advanced that the voting showed that the "organization" (the party machine) was in a precarious condition. What followed is thus described by Mr. Steffens:

* McClure's Magazine, August, 1904, p. 403.

At last the Speaker rose, pale, but with gavel in hand, to force the amendments to the Lindley Bill [the monopolists' bill]. Back of him were some women; *beside and before him stood a score of strong men ready to defend him.* The bill was called up, and Mr. Lindley offered Lorimer's Amendment Number One. The law required a roll-call upon a demand of five members. Ninety-six rose and shouted 'Roll-call!' The Speaker would not hear; *he put the amendment and, amid confusion and outcries, swung down his gavel and declared the amendment carried. Amid great excitement Amendment Number Two was offered; members cried 'Roll-call! Roll-call!' But again the gavel fell and the second amendment was 'carried,' and so, with the storm waxing, Numbers Three, Four, Five, Six were hammered through. But at the sixth the HOUSE BROKE AND THERE WAS A RUSH FOR THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR. If it hadn't been for the women back of him, missiles would have been showered upon him; as it was the wave of angry members rose up to the chair AND THE SPEAKER FLED THROUGH A BACK DOOR.*

One of the members nominated a presiding officer, who was elected, and the anti-monopoly bill was put to a vote and carried. During the day an agreement was made with the speaker and his backers whereby he resumed his office and put the questions which had been voted upon in his absence.

It was during this session of the Illinois legislature that the people's instructions to submit a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative were openly repudiated. The placid way in which the people tolerated it in Illinois and Utah led the monopolists to do the same thing in Colorado, as we have pointed out. The non-partisan organizations of the country, however, are awakening to the situation and are making the people's sovereignty the dominant issue, and during the campaign the people who possess the spirit of liberty can question the candidates on every stump and compel a discussion of the dominant issue. With the people's sentiment aroused there will be no question but that the candidates must pledge to install the direct ballot, and then an aroused public sentiment backed by the non-partisan organizations will compel the legislators to heed their pledges. Examples of how the people have forced an observance of their sovereignty will be cited in a later chapter.

CHAPTER X.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

V. Militarism: Growing Use of Physical Force by Ruling Few—Bill of Rights Openly Repudiated.

The standing army in the United States was formerly a small one and principally used to keep the Indians in subjection while the white men encroached on their lands. Now the standing army is more than twice as large and is used almost entirely to keep the wage-earners in subjection—overawe them while congress and the courts abolish trial by jury, substituting trial by appointees of the ruling few, and laws are enacted by the same appointees terminating free speech and a free press. Congress refuses to interfere, thus ratifying the system. Illustrations of what has

already been accomplished in a few short years are as follows.

During 1894 President Cleveland sent federal troops into Illinois without a request from the Governor, thus overriding the constitution.* *This was done at the request of monopolists. They refused to abide by the constitution yet dared not seek to change it openly.*

* CONSTITUTION VIOLATED.—The federal constitution declares:

"Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to

Five years later, 1899, federal troops were employed in Idaho, the open and avowed object being the breaking up of labor unions. The following statement was issued by the officer in command:

You are therefore notified that the employment of men belonging to said [unions] or other criminal organizations during the continuance of martial law *must cease. In case this direction is not observed, your mines will be closed.*

During 1902 the Pennsylvania coal strike occurred, and the state troops were employed and government by injunction was used. The monopolists refused to arbitrate and refused for months, until the President of the United States personally induced them to do so, holding over their heads his power to call a special session of Congress, which would have been compelled by public opinion to curb the monopolists' power.

Immediately after the first great defeat, the monopolists started out to increase the military strength of the government, state and national, and to defeat the renomination and election of the nation's chief executive. The Dick Military Bill was quickly and quietly enacted into law, January 21, 1903. Its chief provisions are as follows:

THE DICK MILITARY LAW—TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN NATIONAL FORCE AND INCREASED EFFICIENCY IN EACH STATE.

Fifteen million men are made subject to military duty at the call of the chief executive, who may

every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

The situation in Illinois at the time the federal troops were ordered into the state by President Cleveland is described by the Governor of Illinois, Hon. John P. Altgeld, in his book, "Live Questions," pp. 661-2. He says:

Let me repeat here that up to this time [the appearance of federal troops] there had been no serious disturbance of mails, no destruction of property and, according to the reports of the railroad managers themselves no serious interference with the operation of the railroads or with interstate commerce.

"STATE AUTHORITIES IGNORED."

"And let me also repeat that up to this time the state and local authorities had been completely ignored, the state was not asked to do anything or to assist in any manner, although it was not only able to entirely control the situation, but stood ready to do it. The special counsel for the government was also the representative of the railroads, and assistance from the state was not wanted, but every step was taken to establish a new precedent that might be used in the future; that is, to apply only to the federal government, so that the corporations might at any time in the future be able to get federal troops at pleasure and also that the precedent might be established of authorizing the President to interfere at pleasure in any community, because if interstate commerce is to embrace any car or any article of merchandise intended to be shipped out of the state, then there is scarcely a neighborhood in America but what some pretext could be found for sending federal troops into it."

order them to any part of the United States and keep them in the field for nine months. In other words, every male citizen of the United States between the ages of 18 and 45, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, and who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, is now a member of what is termed the National Guard or the Reserve Militia and liable to be drafted into active service and used in any part of the United States and against his countrymen whenever a one-man power may demand it. The only reason this one-man power need assign is that in his opinion the presence of death-dealing instruments is required to compel the people to obey Machine Rule or to repel an invasion—an invasion which the Machine, or a less fair-minded man than the present chief executive, may invite to divert the people from their domestic troubles.

This is the greatest military power ever placed in one man's hands, the object being to insure the people's submission to trust domination—the continued sovereignty of the monopolists.

NEW MILITARISM INSTALLED BY COUP D'ETAT.

The adoption of this great military system was a coup d'état. The revolutionary change to militarism was accomplished between elections—the people were not consulted.

This required the co-operation of both the great party machines, for had it been fought by the minority party it would have so aroused public opinion as to compel a more slow approach to militarism.

This dominance of plutocracy in both the great party machines is startling, for only five years before when the bill for increasing the standing army was before Congress it was fiercely combated by the minority party machine, but last year the leadership in Congress had changed, for the minority party turned from the people's defense to their military enslavement.

TEN MONTHS' OPERATIONS UNDER NEW MILITARISM.

Ten months' operations under the new system are described in the report of the Secretary of War, December 7, 1903. He says that the military forces subject to the call of the president have increased from 55,500 (the regular army) to 155,800, this increase being "the officers and men now in the service of the organized militia who have declared themselves ready to respond to a sudden call of the President."

Increased effectiveness in the states is accomplished by several provisions in the law, which was "supplemented by an appropriation of \$2,000,000 in the Army Appropriation act of March 2, 1903."

While the increased effectiveness of the militia is generally desirable, yet the purpose of those who are bringing it about is to increase the power of the ruling few. The people's remedy is to oust the monopolists by installing the Referendum System.

We next come to militarism in Colorado.

MILITARISM IN COLORADO, 1903—1904—SUCCESSFUL REBELLION BY MONOPOLISTS.

After the Colorado legislature refused to install the constitutional amendment for the eight-

hour day, which the people had enacted by direct vote, the wage-earners started in to quit work till the eight-hour day should be granted. The military forces of the state were ordered into the field to force the men to resume work under the conditions imposed by the ruling few or leave the state. When the state ran out of funds and the legislature if called together would not have appropriated money for a continuation of militarism, and President Roosevelt had refused to supply federal troops, *the executive of Colorado, Gov. Peabody, supported the troops from funds supplied by the private corporations—an infringement of liberties which even the despotic English kings never dared to attempt.*

These Colorado troops, munitioned and fed by corporations for private profit, waged war against the lawful organizations of wage-earners, *the object openly and avowedly being the military suppression of trade union organizations.** In this undertaking the several steps are described by Ray Stannard Baker in McClure's Magazine for May, this year. He states that private property was seized for military headquarters, the local government was overturned and subjected to military orders, a military censorship of the press was established, free speech was terminated, private homes were entered and searched without warrant, an ex-congressman who defended his office against unlawful invasion was shot, and peaceable wage-earners were arrested without warrants and locked up in bull-pens without charges and not permitted to communicate with friends. When the United States Circuit Court issued the writ of habeas corpus ordering the military authorities to bring the prisoners into court, the courthouse was surrounded with armed troops, sharpshooters were stationed on the roofs of buildings, a gatling gun was stationed opposite the entrance to the court, and to cap the climax there was marched into the courtroom an overawing body of troops who were planted squarely in front of the judge's bench. When the United States judge approached his own court he was halted with a bayonet at his breast and kept waiting the pleasure of a military officer! In the face of this open violation of the constitutional guarantee that courts shall be open and free, the attorney for the prisoners left the court. But the judge ordered that the prisoners be surrendered, for they were deprived of liberty without being charged with crime. This order of the United States Court was deliberately violated:

* There is abundant testimony to prove the above assertion. Says Mr. James H. Teller, of Colorado, brother of Senator Henry M. Teller:

In fact, the evidence is overwhelming that this [the breaking up of labor unions] was the sole purpose of calling out the troops in every instance. That purpose has been repeatedly expressed not only by the members of the Mine Owners' Association, but by Sherman Bell and the other officers of the National Guard.

It is a suggestive fact that the mine owners with all the powers of military government in their hands for nine months, have not convicted a single member of the miners' union of an offense against either life or property. And this is not due to any miscarriage of justice. On the trial of the few cases prosecuted to trial, in which it had been proclaimed that the evidence of guilt was abundant and damning, the prosecution utterly broke down, in some cases producing no evidence at all.—*The Public*, August, 1904, p. 294.

under cover of sharpshooters and the gatling gun the military officers marched the prisoners back to the bull-pen. Finally the Governor released this batch of prisoners but other citizens were subsequently arrested without warrant, thrown into the bull-pen and held for considerable periods. Then the Governor himself deliberately suspended the writ of habeas corpus and for weeks. And peaceable wage-earners were arrested by the soldiery without warrants and marched out of the country without trial, being told that if they returned they would be killed. Even small boys and women were arrested and hurled into the bull-pen.

Later, in June, fourteen non-union miners were killed by a charge of dynamite placed under the platform of a railway station. Bloodhounds placed on the track of the one who exploded the dynamite tracked him, it is said, to the home of a well known detective in the employ of the mine owners and thence to a powder magazine of the mine owners. *It looks as though an agent of the mine owners had committed the crime to center against the strikers an enraged public opinion.*

Additional proof is the fact that shortly after the dynamite outrage and while the sheriff and coroner, who were elected by the votes of union workmen, were tracing the criminal they were called to the headquarters of the Mine Owners' Association and forced to resign or be hanged, and the jury impanelled by the coroner was discharged. *The Mine Owners' Association placed its men in office and they have not investigated the above line of incriminating evidence, and any one making public reference to such suspicions would be immediately imprisoned.**

In a former case a detective employed by the Mine Owners' Association was held for perjury committed at a trial of union men. Spikes had been pulled from the railway ties just before a train was due bearing troops and non-union men. The engineer had been quietly given the word to stop and examine the track, which he did. Union men were arrested for attempting to wreck the train, but on the trial "it clearly appeared that the loosening of the rail was the work of detectives of the Mine Owners' Association, who employed a worthless character to testify to facts incriminating the president of one of the unions. Not only was the accused acquitted, but the cases against his alleged accomplices were all dismissed, while the principal witness for the prosecution, this tool of the detectives, was held for perjury committed at the trial."†

* Says G. H. Shoaf, in a letter widely published throughout the country:—

Several persons have given an account of how the bloodhounds trailed the scent from the end of the wire at the Delmonico shaft to Harry Memore's house and thence to the Vindicator Powder Magazine. There are several other little things connected with the crime which the union people regard as valuable in disproving the theory held by the Citizens' alliance that the deed was committed by union men.

None of the things have been investigated by the sheriff or his aids. Public reference to them would result in the immediate imprisonment of the man who dared to state his suspicions.

† Statement by Mr. James H. Teller in *The Public*, August, 1904, p. 294.

Reviewing the military portion of the Colorado situation it is clear that all the tenets of our heretofore well-established principles of liberty and free government have been violated, and a revolution by force was inaugurated in Teller county by the monopolists and other capitalists, and the co-operative stores of the Miners' Union were looted. Says the Springfield Republican:

If it were a mob of the propertyless classes which had thus gained the upper hand in the state of Colorado, and were closing the courts, compelling judges to decamp, locking up crimeless citizens in bull pens, driving others out of the state by hundreds, dumping them without food or shelter on the prairie of an adjoining state, and destroying their property and means of livelihood, this country would shake from end to end with consternation. The mob in this case, however, is composed of the "best citizens," and is representative, particularly of the property interests. Hence its extraordinary proceedings are viewed elsewhere with astonishment, but not alarm.

COLORADO JUDICIARY LEGALIZE ONE-MAN RULE.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Governor Peabody of Colorado, was taken before the supreme court of the state, which by a vote of two judges against one, *upheld his action, but not citing any precedent*. Excerpts from the dissenting opinion by Judge Steele are as follows:

If there is any one question positively and finally settled it is that the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus is solely a *legislative* power. * * * The executive department cannot legislate. It was against such a tyrannical monster that we triumphed in our revolutionary conflict. Our fathers sealed the conquest by their blood, and their posterity will never permit it to tarnish our soil by its unhallowed feet, or harrow up the feelings of our gallant sons by its ghastly appearance. All our civil institutions forbid it; and the manly hearts of our countrymen are steeled against it. * * *

During the great rebellion * * * when millions of soldiers were in the field and when hundreds of persons in the loyal states were suspected of actively aiding those engaged in the rebellion, and arrested, the courts might have held that the necessity for putting down the rebellion carried with it the power to arrest and detain suspected persons, notwithstanding the guarantees of the constitution, *but not one of them did so*. * * * If one may be restrained of his liberty without charge being preferred against him, every other guarantee of the constitution may be denied him.

Judge Steele also said:

A Union Congress declined to invest the beloved Lincoln with such enormous power [power to be the sole judge of when the writ of habeas corpus should be suspended], and although it authorized a suspension of the privilege of habeas corpus, it declared the superiority of the civil power by requiring the release of prisoners unless indictment was returned within a limited time.

The concluding paragraph in the dissenting opinion is as follows:

Our fathers came here as exiles from a tyrant king. Their birthright of liberty was denied them by a horde of petty tyrants that infested the land—sent by the king to loot, to plunder, and to oppress. Arbitrary

arrests were made; and judges, aspiring to the smile of the prince, refused by "pitiful evasion" the writ of habeas corpus. Our people were banished; they were denied trial by jury; they were deported for trial for pretended offenses; and they finally resolved to suffer wrong no more, and pledged their lives, their property, and their sacred honor to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves, and for us, their children. But if the law is as this court has declared, then our vaunted priceless heritage is a sham, and our fathers stood "between their loved homes and the war's desolation in vain."

Strong as this language is, the judge in an earlier portion of his opinion said:

[The decision of my colleagues] is so repugnant to my notions of civil liberty, so antagonistic to my ideas of a republican form of government, and so shocking to my sense of propriety and justice that *I cannot properly characterize it*. * * * We shall depend for our liberty, not upon the constitution, but upon the grace and favor of the governor and his military subordinates.

To fully appreciate why the judge could not find language strong enough, one must examine the history of the Anglo-Saxon people. For eighteen hundred years, at least, one-man rule has never been a legally established system. The Colorado Supreme Court cited no precedent, thus demonstrating that it was a new departure. Even English Kings never possessed legally the power which the Governor of Colorado now possesses. Up to the time of William the Conqueror, A. D. 1066, there was unquestioned constitutional liberty (see page 33 below), and Magna Charta (A. D. 1215) restated constitutional rights. Among other things it declared:

"No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or anywise destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, *but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land*."

The English kings during the years A. D. 1430 to the beheading of Charles I. endeavored to legally possess the power to imprison without charging an offense, but this claim was steadily fought by the House of Commons and resulted in the beheading of Charles I. Some thirty years later James II. was checkmated by the Habeas Corpus Act, and nine years later he was dethroned and the liberties guaranteed in the Great Charter were re-enacted in the Bill of Rights. This magnificent history of our people was in the mind of Judge Steele when he declared that the decision of the Colorado Supreme Court was so shocking that he could not properly characterize it.

ONE-MAN RULE IN OPERATION.

The right of one man to rule in Colorado has been applied in numerous cases. Says ex-Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska, a strong Republican and an able lawyer:

The act of the Colorado militia in driving out of the state members of the Western Federation of Miners Saturday, was purely an exercise of despotic power. * * * It is an outrageous exhibition of power on the part of the authorities. * * * It is simply a case of mob law exercised by the authorities of the state of Colorado [acting under the orders of Governor Peabody].

Governor Peabody, however, is simply an agent of the monopolist corporations. And he appointed as Adjutant General of the state a man who is a paid agent of the Mine Owners' Association. It is confidently believed that the Association pays him a salary.

Furthermore, the monopoly corporations openly supplied the funds for the troops which backed up the unconstitutional acts of their agents, the Governor of the State and his Adjutant General,—THE OPENLY AVOWED OBJECT BEING TO BREAK UP THE LABOR UNIONS. On these points the evidence is convincing.

As stated in the preceding paragraph, the Colorado legislature if called together in special session would not have voted the funds for the campaign proposed by the monopolists, therefore the monopoly corporations advanced to the governor the money to pay the state militia. On this point the Army and Navy Journal says:

But that he [the Governor] should virtually borrow money from the mine owners to maintain the troops whom he had assigned to guard their property was a serious reflection upon the authorities of the State. That arrangement virtually placed the troops, for the time being, in the relation of hired men to the mine operators, and morally suspended their function of state military guardians of the public peace. It was a rank perversion of the whole theory and purpose of the National Guard, and more likely to incite disorder than prevent it.

In speaking of this phase of the question Mr. Baker in McClure's Magazine observes:

Subsequent developments show that the troops really made no attempt to do impartial police duty: they sided openly with the mine owners, were paid and directed by the mine owners. The Governor himself sided with the mine owners. The troops came out not merely to prevent violence, but to break the strike, "to do up this anarchistic federation," as General Sherman Bell himself told me.

In this connection we may also quote Mr. Baker's words in reference to a remonstrance made to the officers on account of the unconstitutionality of their action:

And martial law has been neither gentle nor forbearing; when accused of violating the Constitution, Judge-Advocate McClelland remarked:

"To hell with the Constitution; we are not following the Constitution."

Colonel Verdeckberg, commanding officer in the Cripple Creek district, declared:

"We are under orders only from God and Governor Peabody."

CLASS WAR.

The above described reign of revolution, militarism, repeal of the bill of rights in Colorado by the judiciary and the legal establishment of one-man rule in that state is the logical and inevitable outcome of the centralization of power in the monopolists and the growth of organization by the wage-earners. DIVISION INTO CLASSES HAS GONE FURTHER THAN HAS HERETOFORE EXISTED AMONG ANGLO-SAXONS. Never before was one-man rule legally established, nor has government by injunction existed with its loss of trial by jury, no appeal to a

higher court, and with law itself enacted at the will of an appointee of the ruling power—the judge.

It will help us to realize this if we compare it with what existed before the monopoly development of 1897 began. At that time the principles of a republic existed. The supreme court of the United States declared:

The Constitution is a law for rulers and people equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false.

This doctrine of equality before the law has given way before the concentration of power in the monopolists. *In order to protect their unfair advantages they have felt obliged to install in office only such judges as will repeal the doctrine of equal rights. The legislative bodies back up the change.*

COMPARISON WITH 1824—1844.

Compare that with the power of the people when the American republic was at its height! From 1815 to 1822 the property qualification for voting was removed wherever it existed. Then followed "an uprising of a free people." It split the one great party and there came forth from the Democratic party and the National Republican party. The Democratic leaders, Jackson, Van Buren, Benton and others, did their best to secure a direct vote for President and Vice President in 1824 and again in 1825-6, but were prevented by the unfortunate requirements for amending the federal constitution. *The people, however, dominated in legislation.* Says De Tocqueville, who visited America at about this time:

The deeper we penetrate into the inmost thought of these parties, the more do we perceive that the object of the one is to limit, and that of the other to extend, the authority of the people. * * * When the democratic party got the upper hand, it took exclusive possession of the conduct of affairs. *The more affluent classes of society have no influence in political affairs; and wealth, far from conferring a right, is rather a cause of unpopularity than a means of attaining power.* The rich abandon the lists, through unwillingness to contend, and frequently contend in vain, against the poorer classes of their fellow-citizens. As they cannot occupy in public a position equivalent to what they hold in private life, they abandon the former, and give themselves up to the latter; and they constitute a private society in the state, which has its own tastes and pleasures. They submit to this state of things as an irremediable evil, but they are careful not to show that they are galled by its continuance; one often hears them laud the advantages of a republican government and democratic institutions when they are in public. * * * But beneath this artificial enthusiasm, and these obsequious attentions to the preponderating power, it is easy to perceive that the rich have a hearty dislike of the democratic institutions of their country. The people form a power which they at once fear and despise.

CHAPTER XI.

DETAILS OF HOW PARTY MACHINE OPERATES THROUGH DEPARTMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT:

Part VI. Chief Executive a Dominant Power—Monopolists Endeavor to Own Him.

Reviewing the foregoing it is clear that the system of machine rule is such that the chief executive is the dominant power in Colorado until there is an uprising of the people.

But it is in national affairs that the chief executive is most important. He is commander of the entire army and navy and through the power of patronage largely dominates congress. It is he alone who can call it in special session or refuse to do so. And it is he who nominates to the vacancies in the court that has an absolute veto on the acts of congress.

It follows that the monopolists are extremely careful who shall possess these mighty powers.

The people should be equally careful until they attain their sovereignty.

This concludes our description of Party Government. It has been shown that the sovereign authority is the party in power and that the control of the party is in the trust magnates. In short, the state is a Trustocracy.

The remedy, manifestly, is to abolish the system through which the few are in power, which is accomplished by establishing a people's veto and a direct initiative. These additions to congress, the legislatures and common councils result in a system in which the people's sovereignty is guarded—it is Guarded Representative Government.

The people's veto and direct initiative have had a gradual development extending back through the centuries. This history in considerable detail is presented in the following division, Book II.



BOOK II.

REMEDY FOR TRUSTOCRACY—HISTORY OF EVOLUTION OF SOVEREIGNTY AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

It has been assumed that the establishment of the people's sovereignty in this country is in the line of progress, and that it will make for peace. To demonstrate this and to describe in detail the wonderfully effective results of the people's sovereignty, is the purpose of this division, Book II.

The development of the human race is governed by the laws of the universe, just as surely as is the development of the universe itself. Therefore, to ascertain the future of a people we must examine their past and ascertain the principles of

their evolution, and know also the existing conditions. A knowledge of these facts and principles enables one to broadly outline the immediate future. Everyone impliedly recognizes this possibility, for he himself plans for the morrow, basing his expectations on certain principles and a knowledge of existing conditions.

In the following pages is considered the evolution of sovereignty and of representative government.

CHAPTER XII.

STATES HAVE INCREASED IN SIZE AT TEMPORARY EXPENSE OF SOV- EREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE.

History shows a development of the human race, as we have said. This development or evolution is seen in all the departments of life, one of which is *the increasing size of the state*. Back in the year A. D. 100, among the ancestors of the German people and of the Anglo-Saxons, the states were so small that the men met annually in a public assemblage and enacted the state laws, acting also as the supreme court, and electing executive officers for the ensuing year. In the several counties and townships, also, there were direct legislation assemblages and the direct trying of law suits and direct election of executive officers.

This and much more is described in "Germania," written about the year A. D. 100, by Tacitus, the Roman historian. The substance of the book, together with the results of researches by modern students, is set forth in "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution," a two-volume work by Hannis Taylor, LL. D., professor of constitutional common law of England and of international private law, Columbian University.

These small Teutonic states, as we were saying, have been consolidated until there exists the great area of the British Empire, the German Empire, and the American Empire, while over all there is a World-State, as is evidenced by a large body of international law, and an international tribunal at the Hague, with occasional international congresses. This world-state is becoming more and more organized and soon will provide for compulsory arbitration in place of war; and then will come the disarmament of the world. Such is the tendency of evolution.

But while the state has been undergoing the in-

crease in size, which implies a larger and larger increase in the area over which human law becomes dominant and war ceases, THERE HAS BEEN A LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY REGAINED ANYWHERE EXCEPT IN SWITZERLAND. In Switzerland only are the people the supreme power, for in that country alone is there, as to national, state and municipal law, a People's Veto and a Direct Initiative. In the other states the tendency is in that direction, with the United States in the lead. In the words of Hon. James Bryce in The American Commonwealth (chap. 78):

UNITED STATES ON THE VERGE OF COMPLETE POLITICAL LIBERTY.

One of the chief problems in America is to devise means whereby the National Will shall be most fully expressed, most clearly known, most unresistingly and cheerfully obeyed. * * * Towards this goal the Americans have marched with steady steps, unconsciously as well as consciously. *No other people now stand so near it.* * * * She has shown more boldness in trusting public opinion, in recognizing and giving effect to it, than has yet been shown elsewhere. Towering over presidents and state governors, over congress and state legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, Public Opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it.

This was written fifteen years ago, and during these years the same trend toward majority rule has continued, and is about to be fully realized, as we shall demonstrate.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part I. Outline.

A. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT A DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF GREAT MODERN STATES.

Turning from a consideration of the near approach of a guarded system of representative government in the United States, the reader's attention is directed to the fact that Representative Government is a distinguishing feature in all the great modern states, and that in Switzerland the system is developed into the guarded form. Let us briefly trace its development.

B. SPIRIT OF LIBERTY THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Representative government did not exist at the time of the Roman Republic or Empire. It did not appear among the Roman people because there was not enough of the Spirit of Liberty. Sons were ruled by the father so long as he lived, and this rule extended to the grandchildren.

To the north of the Roman state, however, in a colder climate and with more rugged scenery, a race existed which evolved more slowly, developing a spirit of liberty which emancipated the son when he attained his growth. And these liberty-loving, hospitable, strong and courageous men, insisted upon political freedom—public business was transacted in assemblages in which each possessed a vote.

Under this system of direct legislation self-interest prevented the granting of legal privileges. And there being no legal privilege the result was equal rights in the land, which each year was apportioned equally.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF STATES—TEMPORARY LOSS OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

But as the states grew in area, principally through conquest, there was an interference with the sovereignty of those who were annexed. The Teutons, however, endeavored to engraft their liberty-giving institutions and as rapidly as possible, though without permanent success for the slavish ideals and customs of the conquered people finally overturned the transplanted institutions.

In Britain, however, which later became known as Engla-land, the land of the Engles, the conquest was by small bands from the mainland who drove back the native population instead of holding them as subjects. *Thus the invaders transplanted their own institutions and in their purity. Britain became "a Germany outside of Germany"* AND IN THIS LAND OF THE FREE THERE DEVELOPED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, FIRST IN THE HUNDRED AND SHIRE AND THEN UP INTO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. This has been copied by all the states of Europe except Russia and Turkey, by all the states of America and Australia, by Japan, and by the world-state which holds international congresses and has an international court. The earliest form of representation was as follows:

D. EARLIEST FORM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

In each township of the transplanted Anglo-Saxons there were elected annually by the as-

sembled citizens an executive board consisting of five, a chairman and four associates, termed the Gerefa and four Selectmen known in later days as the Reeve and four Selectmen. To-day in New England there are elected annually four Selectmen and a Chairman. In the Central and Western States they elect four Supervisors and a Chairman. Thus the system has come down for at least 1800 years, the only change being in the names. The system, therefore, is the natural expression of a people who possess local self-government.

Back in the early days the Gerefa and the four Selectmen attended the public assemblage known as the hundred-moot or court and the shire-moot or assemblage, *but in their individual capacity at first*, though they must have been looked up to because of the qualities which caused them to be elected as public officials, and looked up to because they knew the needs of the public and were public officials.

In the course of time the attendance at the annual meeting of the hundred-moot and shire-moot was by the selectmen only except that a few of the citizens attended. Freemen who were not selectmen attended only in small numbers. The great majority remained at home attending to their work, for the mere power to appear prevented bad legislation.

THUS ORIGINATED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS. THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY WAS GUARDED, FOR THEY WERE ENTITLED TO ATTEND IN PERSON.

E. DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH STATES TO A SINGLE ORGANIZATION—SUPPRESSION OF WAR, ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW.

As the small Anglo-Saxon states confederated or were conquered there was no interference with the annual assemblages except that the power to make treaties and to make war and to suppress war was in the dominant king and assemblage, or in the king and council.

About the year 600 the number of states was reduced to seven, the Heptarchic kingdoms, and about this time the people became Christians.

National unity came first in the Church. In 673 the Pope through Theodore, his representative, held the first national church council in Britain.

Political consolidation gradually took place. By 827 the seven kingdoms became merged in a single state under the King of Wessex, who styled himself *Rex Anglorum*—King of Englishmen. Thus was a great state evolved.

And the state continued to increase in area along with a development of national government.

F. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND LEADING UP TO DOMINANCY OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHO ARE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

National organization progressed slowly. The united kingdom was harassed by the Danes and

the Northmen, who conquered considerable areas, only to be ousted from most of them. In 958 the Danish portion of England became united to the Anglo-Saxon portion. At various other times other small states or portions of states were incorporated.

The national government was the king and a council of wise men—the Witangemot or Witan.

This national government had a most important function, for between the various sections of the country *it preserved peace, thus preventing encroachments and warfare between the several localities, WHICH HAD BECOME MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS.* The people had lost their liberties, the unrestrained desire for conquest of each other had led to a military system of government, the Feudal system, in place of Majority Rule. The baron and every man within the baronage were tied together as "lord and man," and pledged to stand together against the neighboring communities. This compact was enforced by a land tenure. Every land-holder was bound to render definite military service in exchange for protection by the lord. And to prevent division and weakness the lordship descended to the eldest son.

Thus the sovereign people of early times lost their liberties. *It came about during the era of an increasing size of the state.*

The evils of this feudal system are almost beyond comprehension. Something of an idea is gained by the following statement as to what occurred in 1135, forty-eight years after the death of William the Conqueror:

As soon as the royal authority gave way in the struggle for the crown, [says Prof. Taylor], the land was rent by strife between baron and baron, who arrogated to themselves all of the powers of petty despots. They fortified their castles, they engaged in private war, they struck their own coins, they exercised private jurisdiction,—in a word, they reproduced for a time all the evils of continental feudalism which the Conqueror, by his far-sighted policy, had hoped to render impossible in England.

The manner in which political liberty was re-established in England out of this military system of feudalism is instructive, for it outlines in a broad way the principles of political development, especially a step by step progress. Some of the principal features are as follows:

The evils of feudalism, coupled with the war spirit which led to it resulted in Britain in one great state in 827, a date we have already mentioned. In subsequent years the area of the kingdom continued to increase.

The functions of the national government did not at first include the levying of a direct tax. This power was first exercised in 1008 in a tax levied for defense against the Danes, and for the building of ships, and was termed ship money. The tax was on land. Previous to this time the only direct tax levied among the English people had been by the subdivisions of the state *and each levy had been by direct legislation or through a guarded system of representative government.* This fact is of great significance. We of to-day who are ruled and taxed by the trusts have an idea that we are far superior to our ancestors, whereas we have no such conception of liberty as they had.

Returning to the history of taxation without representation, we find that the ship money tax of 1008 was continued year after year, and with

the development of national functions the taxes levied by the Witan were increased in various ways.

During these early years of the national government it was comparatively weak and it tempted a great robber. William, Duke of Normandy, who visited England during the reign of Edward the Confessor and saw its condition, laid claim to the throne upon the death of the king, A. D. 1066. He demanded that the witan elect him, but it chose Harold, whereupon William summoned his vassals, hired other troops, invaded England, killed Harold in battle and defeated his army. Then the earls and barons who constituted the witan invited William to become king. He diplomatically hesitated, consulted his followers, and accepted. On Christmas day he was crowned and took oath to abide by the laws and administer justice. This made him the legal king and stamped as treasonable the acts of all who should henceforth oppose him.

As to national questions he was an absolute ruler, but he ruled through the existing forms. He dominated the witan. Such uprisings as occurred among the barons he put down and appointed Normans in their place. He abolished the overlords of the barons—abolished the four earldoms, and strengthened the national government in other ways. He succeeded admirably and nineteen years after he began, and two years before his death, he caused a survey or census to be taken. The ownership of every piece of land was tabulated, likewise every piece of personal property, including the white slaves—the vassals of the barons, with a comparative statement as to who owned the property under the preceding king. Then William summoned every landholder to a meeting at Salisbury—some sixty thousand landholders, "and all bowed down to him and became his men," says the Chronicle, written at that time. They "swore oaths of fealty to him, that they would be faithful to him against all other men." And a statute was enacted that every freeman should take the oath of fealty to the King. William then passed over to Normandy and the next year he died.

The inestimable value of William's work is shown in the fact that it enabled his successor to put down a revolt of the chief men of Norman blood in England, who rose under the leadership of Bishop Ode. William II. appealed to the loyalty of his English subjects, promising to surrender all unjust taxation, to surrender his hold upon their forests and to surrender other privileges. The plan succeeded. The people rallied to the king's standard and sustained the national government. The power of the barons was greatly weakened *and the people received back some of the privileges which the King had wrung from the barons and people.*

This system of transfer, namely, from the barons to the king and thence to the people has continued to the present time. By 1832 it extended to where both the House of Lords and the king had lost the veto power and direct initiative. The House of Commons and the people were in possession of the sovereignty. The lords acknowledged that in case of disagreement with the commons the commons by dissolving and going to the people could place the final decision in the people.

BEGINNING OF REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, A. D. 1213.

Next we will turn and note the steps whereby the people came to be represented in the national

legislature. It first came about in 1213. King John, in an endeavor to limit the power of the barons and clergy summoned from the townships to a national assembly the people's representatives—the Reeve and four Selectmen.

Thus did local self-government force its way up into the national assembly.

WINNING OF THE CHARTERS, 1087-1688.

Two years later, 1215, the barons, clergy and people forced from King John the Great Charter of Liberties, Magna Charta, *which had been preceded by charters from all the successors of William the Conqueror except Richard and John.* This securing of charters by the English people as the result of a determined demand for political and economic rights DEMONSTRATES THAT THERE EXISTED CONTINUALLY THE OLD-TIME SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

OUTLINE OF ENGLISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, 1213 TO PRESENT DAY.

Changes come slowly in evolution. The people were not represented continuously in the national government till 1295. At this time elected representatives became permanently seated in parliament and it divided itself into two houses, the Lords and the Commons, each with a veto on the other, with their combined action subject to a veto by the King.

The system continued for one hundred and thirty-five years except for three years, 1397-1399. During this one and a third centuries, the power of the people increased and to a remarkable degree.

But by 1430 the power of the barons was greatly diminished, and at that time the self-interest of the clergy caused them to turn and exert their political power against the people. *thus enabling the king, acting through his council, to become dominant.* Parliament was so controlled that it disfranchised all the people except those who "have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings the year at least, above all charges." The far-reaching effect of this can be seen when it is considered that the modern equivalent of this forty shillings rental is probably 150 to 200 dollars per year. This qualification for voting disfranchised most of the people. *It was the first disfranchising statute ever enacted by the Anglo-Saxons.*

From this time on the king ruled through his council. This conciliary system continued till 1641, when it was terminated at the beginning of the Long Parliament.

Then came a contest between the king and parliament, which continued until the establishment of a republican form of government in 1649—The Commonwealth.

But the system soon lapsed into a monarchical form which has continued to the present day.

In 1688 the king's power was emasculated. William and Mary were elected by parliament *and upon condition that they should recognize the continued supremacy of parliament.* The agreement is known as the Declaration of Rights or Bill of Rights. For a time, however, the king exercised a veto power but discontinued it in 1707, *since which time no English king has vetoed an act of Parliament.* Party government has prevailed.

In 1832 the House of Lords lost its veto power whenever there is a disagreement with the House of Commons and it chooses to refer the case to the

people. The members elected to the new House of Commons enact a bill incorporating the people's will and the lords ratify it.

G. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES—SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MONOPOLISTS.

But in the United States the people have no such powers as in England. Here in the Western world *there is an absolute veto power in nine men who hold office for life and whom the people do not elect.* Furthermore, their verdict has not been changed by the people since 1803, except through civil war, so difficult is the amendment of the federal constitution.

And there is a veto power and the power of patronage in one man whom the people do not nominate, for this is determined by delegates who are elected by other delegates, who are named by committees that are known as machines. In the words of Senator Benton in his Thirty Years' View, describing the national convention system:

Until the convention system is abolished and the people resume their rights, *the elective principle of our government is suppressed.* The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be their President, than the subjects of kings have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.*

Furthermore, *one branch of the national legislative body, the Senate, is not elected by the people but by the railroads and other special-privilege corporations,* the exceptions being in the southern states where direct nominations are made.

And there is the still further fact that *a great question never goes to the voters for settlement, as is the case in England,* for the Senate and Supreme Court are not elected by the people and the House is elected for two years while the president is elected for four years.

And, worst of all, congress and the president are *INSTRUCTED by National Conventions that are dominated by a "machine."*

H. PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE THE REMEDY FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MONOPOLISTS.

The remedy, and one that is being forced in this year's campaign, as we shall show, is to transfer the sovereignty from the monopolists to the people by urging them to vote to establish in themselves a right to instruct congress and the president through a referendum vote—a direct ballot. This is reasonable, practicable, and the system can be installed in the incoming congress. Then through the direct initiative the people will secure the submission of constitutional amendments for direct election of senators and president and vice-president, also direct nominations for these offices and for the national house, and a constitutional amendment for the usual form of the referendum and the initiative. And at the same time that these amendments to the constitution are being proposed, bills will be framed for the control of interstate railways and other national monopolies, then the bills will be circulated for signatures along with proposals for constitutional amendments and when sufficient signatures are secured will be filed with Congress, which will

* Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, p. 596.

have a full year in which to consider them, take testimony, hear argument and frame competing measures, which will be submitted to referendum vote along with the measures as originally framed, the people taking their choice or rejecting both.

This is a practicable and safe system, for *the bills will be carefully framed and the truth brought to light BEFORE THE MEASURES CAN GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE*, and then when the bills go to referendum vote *the people can accept one or more bills and reject the others*. This is conservatively progressive.

I. WHY THE REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS IN UNITED STATES IS SURELY TO BE ADOPTED IN NEAR FUTURE.

Before going into farther details as to this national program it is best to demonstrate that the referendum system is in full operation in some of

the states, in partial operation in all of them, *and that the interstate monopolies of to-day were formerly only state monopolies and actually controlled through a direct vote of the people*. Now THAT THE MONOPOLIES HAVE BECOME INTERSTATE THE DIRECT BALLOT MUST ALSO BECOME INTERSTATE, THEREBY OUSTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE MONOPOLISTS.

This evolutionary phase of the direct ballot is all-important. Progress is step by step, as is evidenced by the preceding history. Unless it is shown to the people that a contemplated step is actually safe and sure they refuse to take it. With this fact in view there is herewith presented in considerable detail the Rise and Progress of the Referendum in the United States, first as to the people's veto and then as to the direct initiative, including an outline of the development of these systems in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part II. People Gradually Assert Sovereignty by Establishing Referendum System.

A. DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

1. CHANGES IN SYSTEMS OF STATE AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS IN UNITED STATES.

The regulations which prescribe a system of government are termed the constitution. The first Referendum Vote upon a state constitution anywhere in the world was in Massachusetts in 1778.

This marks the beginning of a new development in constitution-making. Before this time every constitution of a state wherein the people were too numerous to meet in public assemblage had been adopted by delegates. The people of Massachusetts inaugurated a change. They were accustomed to a direct vote on public questions at town-meeting and they extended the system to the taking of a direct vote on the proposed constitution *and rejected it*. They did so because it did not limit the power of the legislature, whereas all Americans and their ancestors, from the time of the successor of William the Conqueror, had been protected from legislative usurpation by a Bill of Rights.

The people who next secured a veto as to the system of state government were the people of New Hampshire, in 1779. And practically the same thing occurred as in Massachusetts—they vetoed the proposed system of government. They did so because it placed too much power in the hands of the few. A revised system was adopted without referring it to the people.

Gradually the people in states other than Massachusetts and New Hampshire secured a veto as to constitutional law. This right was secured in Kentucky in 1799; in Mississippi, 1817; Connecticut, 1818; New York, 1821; Virginia, 1830; Tennessee, 1834; North Carolina, 1835; Pennsylvania, 1838; Rhode Island, 1842; New Jersey, 1844; Maryland, 1851; Ohio, 1851; Georgia, 1865; South Carolina, 1868. And in all the new states the constitution was adopted by the voters instead of

the few men in the constitutional convention. Thus the voters in all the states except Delaware have secured a veto power as to constitutional law. In later years, however, the race question has interfered with the direct ballot in the southern states.

Before this veto power was secured at all widely, manhood suffrage had been attained. It was secured in the older states from 1810 to 1822, while in the western states the system grew up with the country.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO AS TO LEGISLATION—A RELATION BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEED FOR A PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

Next we shall trace the development of a people's veto as to law-making as distinguished from the framing of the system of government, and shall point out a relation between industrial development and the extension of the people's veto.

From the time of the independence of the thirteen states till about 1825, industrial development was slow. In 1825 the Erie Canal was opened. Its pronounced success and evident bearing upon the prosperity of New York gave a new impetus to the internal improvement idea. During the same year, 1825, the New York Central Railway system was begun. From this time on, especially after 1832-33, when an era of paper money inflation began in this country and in England, there was a period of speculation and railroad building. *The political party in each state was in full control of legislation, and history shows that they granted legal privileges in all directions, and bonded the states to get funds to build railroads, turnpikes, canals, and other improvements.*

The growth of public debts during the twelve years succeeding 1830 was from \$13,000,000 to \$200,000,000, an increase of 1,600 per cent. in twelve

years. The rake-offs which the legislators secured from this huge expenditure of public funds can readily be understood by every one who is at all familiar with public contracts under party government. This, also, was at the time when the spoils system was extended to national affairs. Manhood suffrage prevailed and every one was awakening to the possibilities of political "graft."

Of the railways started under state ownership, in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Virginia,* *they were all sold out to private corporations.* On this point and the granting of subsidies, Prof. Edmund James, in a report of a committee on transportation to the American Economic Association in 1887, says:

The states were eager to have railways, so eager, in fact, that they began to construct railways on their own account, or to grant large subsidies to those who would build them. When grave abuses showed themselves in this policy, instead of trying to remedy them by securing a better administration, they [the party in power in each state] allowed their administration to grow worse, and threw up the attempt to build government railways [sold out to private corporations the people's properties] and opened the doors to so-called competitive building. They allowed any five or ten men to start in on the construction of a railway who could scrape together a few thousand dollars to start with.†

This looting of the public was added to *by legislation which permitted the canals to be bought up by their competitors, the railways.* On this point Prof. James says:

The railway promoters saw very quickly that the best thing for them to do was to get hold of the canals and let them go to ruin. Accordingly, in all countries they began to acquire the canals. They were most successful in this in England and the United States, where they were able to ultimately get possession, if not of all of them, at least of enough to enable them to control practically the waterways.||

Beginning in 1839 a depression set in and continued for several years. The parties in power in the several states did not levy sufficient taxes to pay interest charges on the state debts, *and repudiation began.* The result was that in Rhode Island in 1842 the constitutional convention limited the authority of the party in power in the legislature by providing that each proposal to increase the state debt beyond a total of fifty thousand dollars *should be subject to a veto by the people.* The only exceptions provided for were in times of war and in case of insurrection or invasion.

The next year (1843) the people of Michigan secured a similar change in their constitution. A year later the people of New Jersey did likewise. Two years later the people in Iowa and New York placed similar provisions in their constitutions. The system has been adopted in many other states.

Thus the beginning of the era of internal improvements was followed, necessarily, by the installation of a people's veto as to the creation of state debts. And we shall find that *each indus-*

trial development has been followed by a misuse of authority by the party in power wherever it has possessed the final power.

For example, during the early period of railroad building the party in power in each legislature could give money to private corporations to build railroads, taking in exchange stock or bond. This occurred in Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, New York, South Carolina, and other states.* This practice, extremely beneficial to party managers, *was terminated by the people. They took to themselves a veto power.*

And there are instances of where the power to sell or lease state property is transferred from the party managers to the people. For example, the Illinois constitution of 1870 provided that the sale or lease of the state canal must receive the approval of the voters. The legislature of 1882 passed an act ceding the canal to the United States "to be maintained as a national waterway for commercial purposes." The people voted on the proposed law and ratified it.

The determining of the cost of a public building has also been placed in the hands of the voters. This was done in the Illinois constitution of 1870, and in the Colorado constitution of 1876.

The voters have also taken from their elected representatives the power, in many cases, to finally determine the amount of taxes. The Colorado constitution of 1876 thus restricts the legislature. Similar provisions appear in constitutions of Montana, Idaho, Minnesota and other states.

Of more importance was a provision placed in the constitution in Iowa and in several other states that the chartering of corporations to issue paper money should be subject to a people's veto. *This system, wherever applied, terminated the wild-cat paper money.*

This was during the years 1846 to 1865, at which time congress levied a ten per cent. tax on all paper currency issued by state banks. About the time of this withdrawal of the currency question from state legislatures, another monopoly question came prominently before the people—the railroad question.

RAILWAY MONOPOLIES IN STATES CURBED BY INDIRECT INITIATIVE AND PEOPLE'S VETO.

In the domain of railways, the political parties in the several states granted such legislation as the private corporations desired. The result is thus described by Prof. Edmund James in a report to the American Economic Association in 1887:

Suffice it to say that, taken as a whole, they [the railroad corporations] became unbearable. Arbitrary charges, high charges, discriminations between persons, things, and places, disregard of the right of the public in every direction, became characteristic of the management of such a large number of the roads as to make railroad fairness a mere byword. *A general demand made itself heard for some sort of regulation. But by this time the railroads had become so powerful that they were able in some states PRACTICALLY TO CONTROL ANY LEGISLATURE THAT COULD BE ELECTED in such a way as to prevent any action unfavorable to their interests, no matter how much their own action was unfavorable to those of the public.*

But the voters in the several states had it in their power to correct the evil. In the words of

* American Economic Association Series, Vol. VI, p. 47.

† American Economic Association, Vol. II, pp. 251-2.

|| American Economic Association Series, Vol. V, p. 288.

* American Economic Association Series, Vol. VI, p. 45.

Mr. Justice Bradley, of the United States supreme court:

If our legislatures become too arbitrary in the exercise of their powers, the people always have a remedy in their hands: *they may at any time restrain them by constitutional limitations.*

And the voters in many of the states did thus restrain their legislatures. In Illinois a constitutional convention was secured during 1870 and the instrument as framed was enacted into law by a direct vote. *In this way voters tied the hands of their elected representatives.* The article on corporations provides:

Railroad corporations, that parallel or compete with another line *shall not be consolidated*; that "the general assembly shall from time to time pass laws establishing *reasonable maximum rates of charges* for the transportation of passengers and freight on the different railroads in the state"; that "the general assembly shall pass laws to *correct abuses and prevent unjust discrimination and extortion* in the rates of freight and passenger tariffs on the different railroads in this state, and *enforce such laws by adequate penalties, to the extent, if necessary, for that purpose, of forfeiture of their property and franchises.*"

These are some of the constitutional limitations in Illinois. In Pennsylvania and one or two other states the voters likewise provided that freight rates should not be unduly high, and that no discrimination should exist against individuals or places.

This constitutional legislation in two or three states and statutory legislation in other states was secured by the voters after a prolonged and somewhat tumultuous uprising. It was generally known as

THE GRANGER UPRISING.

The term Granger, however, is too narrow; for the revolt against railroad over-charges and discriminations extended throughout the country. In the words of Prof. Hadley, of Yale University, the people "were dangerously near the point where revolutions begin."

The situation in 1873 is well described by W. M. Grosvenor, in the Atlantic Monthly for November. He said:

The few men who control the great railway lines have it in their power to strip Western agriculture of all its earnings—and not after the manner of ancient highwaymen, by high-handed defiance of society and law, the rush of swift steeds, the clash of steel, and the stern 'stand and deliver!' The bandits of modern civilization who enrich themselves by the plunder of others, come with chests full of charters; judges are their friends, if not their tools; and they wield no weapon more alarmingly than the little pencil with which they calculate differences of rate, apparently so insignificant that public opinion wonders why the farmers should complain about such trifles. Yet the farmers have complained, and, complaining in vain, have got angry. *The farmers' movement threatens a revolution in the business of transportation, if not in the laws which protect investments of capital.*

Prof. Hadley, in his book on Transportation, says (pages 133-135):

The really wide-spread agitation for the control of the railways through state laws dates from 1874 [the year after Mr. Grosvenor penned the foregoing].

The state of feeling which was developed through the community only wanted organization to become all-powerful. It found this organization in the Grangers. * * *

The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The constitutional convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning state control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871 establishing a system of maximum rates. This law was pronounced unconstitutional by Judge Lawrence. The result was that he immediately afterward failed of re-election, solely on this ground. The defeat of Judge Lawrence showed the true significance of the farmers' movement. *They were concerned in securing what they felt to be their rights, and they were unwilling that any constitutional barriers should be made to defeat the popular will.* They had reached the point where they regarded many of the forms of law as mere technicalities. They were dangerously near the point where revolutions begin.

But they did not pass the point. The law of 1873 avoided the issue raised by Judge Lawrence against that of 1871. Instead of directly fixing maximum rates, it provided that rates must be *reasonable, and then further provided for a commission to fix reasonable rates.* Similar laws were passed by Iowa and Minnesota almost immediately afterward. The legislature of Wisconsin went even further, fixing, by the so-called Potter law, the rates on different classes of goods at figures which proved quite unremunerative. The railroads made vain attempts to contest these regulations in the courts. They were defeated again and again, and finally, in 1877, the supreme court of the United States sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws.

But seven years later, 1844, the federal supreme court reversed itself. By a vote of six against three it arbitrarily changed the federal constitution by holding that *a state had no power to regulate railway rates WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS* if the property or persons were destined to another state (Wabash Railway Company vs. Illinois, 118 U. S. 557, Chief Justice Waite and Justices Bradley and Gray dissenting.)

Thus did the United States supreme court release the railway corporations from the principal portion of the control which the states had been exercising.

GRANGES WORK FOR INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.

The Granges then began to urge Congress to protect the people from the monopolists. The house passed the Regan bill for an interstate railway commission, but the senate rejected it, and submitted a bill more favorable to the monopolists. At the next session of congress the same progress was gone through with; and during the succeeding session a similar deadlock occurred, but conference committees reached an agreement and the compromise measure became a law. *Railway stocks went up*, thus demonstrating that the monopolists were well protected.

MONOPOLISTS AGAIN RELEASED BY SUPREME COURT.

But the supreme court whittled away the people's slight protection. Various features in the interstate railway law were declared unconstitutional, and by 1897 the interstate commerce commission was deprived of practically all power over railway rates and discriminations. The people were completely at the mercy of the monopolists, and have been kept so, see page 10, above.

SUMMARY AS TO THE PEOPLE'S VETO IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

Reviewing the foregoing subdivision it will be observed that there is a relation between industrial development and need for a people's veto and direct initiative. Whenever in any state, the development of industry and of the party system was such that the rule of the few, through party government, became excessively oppressive the voters worked together until they secured from their so-called representatives—the party in power in the legislature—its consent that they the people, might cast their ballot upon the question of holding a constitutional convention (or of amending the constitution). Then at an election the people voted to hold a constitutional convention, and a still later day elected representatives who met together and decided what changes the people would be allowed to vote upon. These changes were then submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection.

Through this clumsy and incomplete initiative and clumsy referendum—the submission of a constitution with no opportunity to vote separate sections—the voters remedied the worst of the evils until the monopolies became interstate.

To such an extent have the people taken to themselves a veto power in the several states that *the constitutions resemble statutes*. This stripping of power from the political party is described by the Hon. James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth" as—

A salutary effort of the forces which make for good government, opening for themselves a new channel.*

Oberholtzer, in "The Referendum in America," says:

We have to-day come to the point when our state constitutions are nothing short of codes of law giving instruction to the legislature and the other agents of government on nearly every subject of general public concern, and often stating the methods which shall be used in legislating, if not, indeed, actually legislating, on local questions. * * *

The constitutions have been the repositories for much of the legislation, which before was left to be enacted by the legislatures.†

Although many of the worst evils have been rectified by legislating through constitutional conventions and the compulsory referendum, it is readily seen that *during these years the people were largely ruled by the few*. They had no direct initiative as to constitutional law, no direct initiative as to statute law, and no veto as to statute law except in a few of the more important instances above noted. There is great need for a direct initiative and veto as to statute law, for the control of legislation is largely in the party managers, who usually are the agents of the men who contribute the campaign funds—the monopolists. These few men have successfully prevented direct nominations and other forms of direct initiative, and have successfully fought the people's veto. Until the people secure a direct initiative and a veto power, they are subject to the rule of the few. The statement in the bill of rights that

the people are the sovereign power is false *except as they make themselves so*. This has been done in South Dakota, Oregon and Utah, and will be accomplished in Missouri in this year's campaign, for the people are to vote upon the acceptance of more power for themselves through the adoption of a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative. And in all the other states there is being waged an effective campaign for the optional referendum and direct initiative, as will be shown in a later section.

The third great fact to be drawn from the history of the people's veto in the several American states is that the optional referendum in Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Missouri *applies only to the less important statute law*, for the compulsory referendum has already been applied to the more important legislation, such as changes in the system of government and laws for the issuance of bonds, subscriptions for capital stock in private corporations, franchises to private corporations to issue paper money and the control of railway rates. It follows that the only question as to the policy of adopting the optional referendum in the states is, shall the people's veto, which already is absolutely necessary in the more important affairs, such as state bonds, *be extended to the less important legislation*? In other words, the people's veto being necessary to the more important affairs, shall it be extended to the less important? One naturally asks, Is this optional referendum practicable? If so it should surely be applied in order to terminate special privilege legislation and the corruption of voters and legislators.

OPTIONAL REFERENDUM IS PRACTICABLE.

The answer is, the optional referendum is practicable, and unquestionably so, for in South Dakota and Oregon where the system has been in operation *not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote, and at the same time the system did its work*. The mere existence of an option or power in the voters to veto bad bills is effective just as the mere presence of a policeman keeps out the toughs. In the words of a speech in the Toronto Parliament by a Canadian who had visited South Dakota:

The Governor of South Dakota said: "Since *this* referendum law has been a part of our constitution we have had no chartermongers or railway speculators, no wild-cat schemes submitted to our legislature. Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the Referendum has been a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes on the legislature, and hence there is no necessity for having recourse to the Referendum."

Such is the testimony as to South Dakota.

In Oregon there has been one session of the legislature since the establishment of the optional referendum. The legislature enacted a law that was opposed by the railroads, and it enacted another law granting an appropriation for an exposition in Portland, which was opposed by the labor unions of Portland for sound reasons from their standpoint, but opposed without success. They started to circulate a petition to bring the question of the appropriation to direct vote of the people but stopped before the required five per cent. of signatures were secured, it clearly appearing that the people favored the appropriation.

* The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 476.

† Referendum in America, by Oberholtzer, pp. 38-44, first edition (1891).

The railroad started to circulate a petition against the bill which it opposed, but ceased circulating the petition before securing the signatures for a direct vote, it being a foregone conclusion that the people would approve the bill. Said the Portland *Oregonian*, the leading Republican paper in the state:

The mere presence of the optional referendum has done the work. Its insurance features are left unimpaired. It stands accordingly a safeguard in the people's hands and is stronger for its trial.

Another result of the system is pointed out by Hon. W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City:

The first effect of the referendum in Oregon is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature.

CONDENSED SUMMARY AS TO PEOPLE'S VETO.

We have demonstrated,

1. That a people's veto in state affairs is applicable to all laws except urgency legislation, and promotes the general welfare;

2. That for a century and a quarter the people's veto has been more and more applied in the United States, first to the most important of all state legislation—the changes in the system of government, then to the most important state laws, and finally to the less important of the state laws, each step demonstrating the system's value to social progress;

3. That there is a relation between industrial progress and the adoption of a system which places more power in the people; and

4. That for years the monopoly question has become interstate and therefore the referendum system must become interstate.

CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT:

Part II. People Gradually Assert Sovereignty by Establishing Referendum System.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

1 MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE AND KENTUCKY.

In the proposal for the Massachusetts constitution submitted to the people in 1780 after they had vetoed the first one, there was provision not only for a people's veto as to changes in the system but also a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention in fifteen years.

And in New Hampshire in the constitution adopted in 1784, after the people had vetoed a proposal, there was provision for a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention in seven years.

When the seven years rolled around the people voted upon the question and decided to hold a convention and afterward they elected delegates. The convention submitted to the people a constitution in which was retained the provision for a direct vote of the people every seven years as to calling a constitutional convention. This has been retained to the present day and no political machine has stood between the people and the calling of a constitutional convention, as has been the case where there was no direct initiative.

In Massachusetts, ere the fifteen years came to an end, the people sadly needed a change in the system of government but could not secure the calling of a constitutional convention even though they fought for it. Shay's Rebellion of 1786-87 was unsuccessful in securing a constitutional convention, whereas a direct initiative would have resulted in the people's sovereignty and have prevented bloodshed and the other evils of civil war.

When the time came that the people of Massachusetts voted upon the question of calling a constitutional convention in 1795 it was defeated. The constitution contained no further provision for a direct initiative and the people of Massachusetts have not yet regained the liberties of 1795.

Kentucky, when admitted as a state, enacted a constitution without submitting it to the people,

but the instrument provided that in five years the people should possess a direct initiative as to calling a constitutional convention, and if they decided in the affirmative the question should be voted upon again the next year. They called a convention at the first opportunity, but the instrument framed and submitted to the people dropped out the direct initiative in the people and they have not regained it since.

Next in order of time we find the direct initiative in Switzerland, and later in the United States.

2—SWITZERLAND: DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

In Switzerland there began in 1830 the direct initiative for ousting the ruling few in the cantons (the equivalent of our states), but the form adopted was a demand for a constitutional convention coupled with threats of physical force. This resort to physical force was the only way out, and therefore was justified, just as was the American Declaration of Independence. But in the Swiss cantons the dominant few had no military force to order against the people, and as they did not care to risk their own lives they called a convention. Between October 22, 1830, and the middle of the following December the constitutions of nine of the cantons were revised, the new instruments being on progressive lines and each enacted into law by direct ballot of the voters. This resulted from a spirit of liberty inspired by the French Revolution of July, 1830. These nine states secured their constitutions without civil war, but during the next year there were serious conflicts in three cantons—Basle, Schwyz and Neuchatel.

In federal affairs there were serious attempts to oust the ruling few, but the efforts were effectually checkmated until 1848, some eighteen years

after the cantonal changes, and then it was preceded by civil war during part of 1844. Four years after the war the Liberals secured a constitutional convention which was at work when the French Revolution for popular government broke out and set all Europe ablaze. The constitutional convention resulted in a complete triumph for the Swiss people—a federal constitution in which they secured a liberal system of government, including a people's veto and a direct initiative as to changes in the system of government, and this power in the people as to constitutional law was guaranteed as to changes in the cantonal constitution.

This great advance in popular government in Switzerland was carried to completion without meeting with objection from the Allied Powers, which in 1815 had recognized Switzerland's sovereignty and had agreed that it should not be violated by any European power. In 1848 none of the European powers objected to the change in the Swiss system of government because the revolution extended throughout the continent, making the ruling few too busy in holding themselves in power to interfere with the establishment of democracy in Switzerland.

Swiss democracy, by its mere example, is not only aiding in the liberation of all Europe but is helping to liberate the people of the United States—a people whose courageous action in 1776 and subsequent years inspired the French and Swiss to adopt republican forms of government. We see, therefore, that national good-deeds set forces in motion which re-act even after a century has passed, helping to liberate those whose example in previous times had been an inspiration to the present-day liberators.

3—SWITZERLAND: DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO STATUTE LAW.

In the adoption of more popular forms of government in the cantons in 1830 there was no provision for a people's veto as to statute law except in two cantons—St. Gall and Rural Basle, and no provision for a direct initiative as to statute law.

In these two cantons the people's veto was in the form that had existed centuries before, namely, to defeat a measure the votes against it must equal a majority of all the voters in the district instead of a majority of the votes cast. Nine years later, 1839, the system was partially applied in the canton of Valais. Two years later, 1841, the system was adopted in Lucerne.

In 1844 the canton of Valais changed the optional veto to the compulsory referendum of all laws, and the next year adopted the direct initiative as to statutory law.

This was the earliest application of the direct initiative through referendum vote.

In 1846 the constitution of Berne conferred upon the Great Council (the legislature) the right to submit a law to the voters. This is the referendum at the option of the Great Council. A similar privilege was subsequently inserted in most of the cantonal constitutions. This system was started also by the legislatures in the American states, chiefly as to the adoption by the people of laws empowering counties and other local communities to vote upon the establishment of prohibition districts and free school districts. But our supreme courts declared the system unconstitutional except in Vermont, though in later years

the local option laws were upheld in most states, but never so as to referendum voting on an act of the legislature except in Vermont.

Shortly after 1850 the canton of Valais struck from her constitution the compulsory referendum as to all statute law. Two years later, however, it was restored as to the more important laws, namely, "every change in the financial system and every proposed increase in taxation."

The same year (1852) the people of Aargau adopted the direct initiative as to statute law, and the system was quite complete in its details.

From this time on (1852) the people in many of the cantons adopted the referendum and a few of them the direct initiative. In 1869 six of the cantons within a few months of each other adopted the compulsory referendum as to all laws, and all of them except Berne adopted the direct initiative. This left only three and a half cantons out of twenty-two in which the people were without a veto and direct initiative as to cantonal statute law. At the present time there is only one small canton, Freiburg, with 119,000 population, in which the people are without a veto power as to statutes, and in most of them they possess a direct initiative as to statute law. They all possess a veto power and direct initiative as to constitutional law.

The above demonstrates the gradual and permanent changes that have taken place in Switzerland. THE RULE OF THE FEW GRADUALLY GAVE WAY TO A SOVEREIGN POWER IN THE PEOPLE.

This is demonstrated also in the changes in the federal government of Switzerland. In 1872 a proposal for a new federal constitution was framed by the Swiss Radical leaders and rejected by the people. Then the leaders struck out some of the provisions for an increase of power in the federal government and it was adopted (1874). There was also stricken out a provision for the direct initiative as to statutory law, which was in the proposal of 1872. This striking out of the direct initiative resulted in the continuance of paper money by private banks and it protected other special privileges.

In 1879 the people used the direct initiative to propose a constitutional amendment for terminating the issuance of paper money by private corporations. The people attempted to apply the direct initiative to the constitution because there was no direct initiative as to statutory law. But the private corporations which issued paper money and possessed other privileges prevailed upon the Swiss Congress to claim that the provision in the federal constitution for direct initiative as to a revision of the constitution did not include a right to demand a revision of *part of it*. In other words, they claimed that the greater did not include the less, whereas the convention which framed the constitution had distinctly stated otherwise.

This illustrates the twists and turns which the ruling few interpose. Through the use of their money they are able to obstruct the people's progress. The Swiss labor unions, however, insisted strenuously for a constitutional amendment for a direct initiative for a partial revision and won the day. The amendment was installed in 1891. *The final stand of the monopolists was that the direct initiative system should be such that the people should instruct their representatives in congress to prepare an amendment, but this was defeated, it being pointed out that nothing short*

of a power to propose a definite amendment would constitute sovereignty in the people and effectually terminate the legal privileges.

THUS THE SWISS PEOPLE REGAINED THEIR POLITICAL FREEDOM AFTER MORE THAN A THOUSAND YEARS OF BONDAGE, DURING WHICH TIME THE MINATURE FREE STATES OF THE TEUTONIC PEOPLE HAVE DEVELOPED INTO THE GREAT STATES OF THE PRESENT DAY AND INTO A WORLD-STATE.

4. THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1846 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

Returning to the history of the direct initiative in America we find that after the abolition of the property qualification for voting, which took place in the eastern states from 1810 to 1825 and never existed in the territories, there occurred what is frequently termed "the uprising of a free people." This was under the leadership of Jackson and others. *The ruling few were changed—the opponents of popular government were exchanged for the advocates of popular rights BUT WHO WERE UNABLE TO SECURE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES THAT WOULD MAKE THE PEOPLE THE SOVEREIGN POWER.* For example, in 1824 and again in 1825 and '26 the Democratic leaders, Jackson, Van-Buren, Benton and others worked hard for a constitutional amendment for direct nomination and election of president and vice-president, but without avail. Said Benton in his "Thirty Years' View:"

[The Senate and House] are not the places for popular reform. These reforms are for the benefit of the people and should begin with the people.

In subsequent years, about 1842 to 1860, legislatures controlled by the advocates of popular government attempted to refer close questions to the people direct by providing that laws should go into operation if approved by the people. *But the ruling few prevented this,* they had seen to it that the men who became supreme court judges were those who would veto a movement for more power in the people. All the supreme courts except that of Vermont, vetoed the action of the legislature in referring public questions to the voters. They declared that the people, through the state constitutions, had abdicated their sovereignty by placing it in the legislature, supreme court, and executive department of the government. This idea was drastically scored by the supreme court of Vermont, and later the supreme courts in most of the states held that the people of a county, city or town might decide for themselves whether to adopt a law which the legislature should authorize, but they refused to sanction the submission of a state question.

Thus was "local option" held valid except in Delaware and a few other states, but in all the states except Vermont, as we have said, the supreme courts prohibited the legislatures from submitting state law to direct vote.

STRATEGIC FEATURES IN STATE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

And even in Vermont, the only state where the supreme court in 1854 allowed the legislature to refer a state question to the people, the subsequent legislatures have been so controlled that no further state questions were referred to the people *till the liquor power chose to have it done.*

In 1902 the legislature was induced to resubmit to the people of the state the issue of Local Option versus State Prohibition. The people rejected State Prohibition, which had been among the statutes of the state for 48 years. They repealed the system and adopted Local Option *because the administration of the law had been by a political party in which the policy as to the execution of law against intoxicating liquor WAS LARGELY CONTROLLED BY THE LIQUOR INTERESTS. Nothing short of complete termination of the sovereignty of the liquor interests and the other monopolists will give a fair trial to State Prohibition, and then the executive department must be in those who are determined that the people's will shall prevail.* Such are the teachings of history. The strategic features in the State Prohibition movement, then, are,

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE—the establishment of the referendum and initiative in combination with the legislatures and congress. Every Prohibition district of modern times has been made such through this system, namely, the direct ballot.

2. THE ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS WHO WILL EXECUTE THE PEOPLE'S WILL. This will be accomplished when the system of government is changed by establishing guarded representative government, for it brings direct nominations and a host of other improvements, as will be demonstrated in a subsequent section. The establishment of this improved system of representative government is near at hand, as will also be shown in subsequent paragraphs.

DIRECT INITIATIVE AS TO CALLING CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS IN AMERICAN STATES.

We have stated that when there occurred "the uprising of a free people" under the leadership of Jackson and others, the people simply changed rulers, for the people were unable to secure constitutional provisions for the establishment of the people's sovereignty. But in several of the state conventions they secured a *direct initiative for calling a constitutional convention at stated periods—every eighteen or twenty years.*

This was accomplished in Iowa and New York in 1846; Michigan in 1850; Ohio and Maryland in 1851; Virginia in 1870.

DIRECT INITIATIVE AT ANY TIME IN SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, OREGON AND MISSOURI.

After the supreme courts of the several states declared during the years 1847 to 1854 that a direct vote by the people was prohibited by the state constitutions and the federal constitutions there ensued nearly a half century before the people again began in a general way to push for a direct vote as to state laws. In the meantime the local option laws had been held to be constitutional in most of the states, and last year the clause in the federal constitution guaranteeing to the states "a republican form of government" came squarely before the Oregon supreme court and the referendum system was upheld. In *Portland versus Kadderly*, it was held that a people's veto and direct initiative are parts of a republican form of government.

This decision removes another of the legal obstructions which the monopolists have raised. But should they be more successful in other supreme courts it will not materially interfere, for a rule-

of-procedure system has been developed whereby the direct ballot can be installed without changing the written constitution, and it can be adopted in a single campaign. Details are published in a later section.

Previous to this holding by the Oregon supreme court, the system had been adopted by two other states. The movements leading up to this are in brief as follows.

About the year 1888 the use of the optional referendum in Switzerland attracted the attention of Belgium, England, and the United States, as also did the direct initiative. Several books were written describing the Swiss system and the development in America. The third parties in the United States declared for the system, as also did the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor.

But the actual change in the system came slowly, for the political machines and the interests back of them did not wish to lose their power. In 1896 the Fusion party in SOUTH DAKOTA submitted a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, the people adopted it, and a Republican legislature placed it in operation.

In UTAH in 1898 a Fusion legislature submitted the system to a vote of the people and they adopted it, but two Republican legislatures have refused to enact a statute for putting the amendment into operation. This demonstrates the need for the system.

In OREGON in 1898 a Republican legislature submitted a constitutional amendment for the system, and two years later another Republican legislature repeated the process, and two years later the people voted upon the question, accepting it by a practically unanimous vote, 11 to 1. The system was installed by the next legislature.

Next we come to the year 1902, which marks a NEW ERA. *Organized Farmers and Organized Wage-earners began questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties as to whether, if elected, they would vote to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for more power in themselves through a people's veto and direct initiative.* The details are set forth in a subsequent chapter. At this time we will merely state that in MISSOURI it resulted in the submission of a constitutional amendment, which the people will vote upon at the coming election and of course they will take to themselves the long-desired sovereignty.

In NEVADA a Democratic legislature in 1903 submitted a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, but the incoming legislature must also agree to the proposal before the people can vote on the question.

In MASSACHUSETTS the legislature of 1903 voted to submit a modified form of the direct initiative as to the state constitution, but the legislature in session this year voted it down. The monopolists demonstrated their sovereign powers.

In ALL THE OTHER STATES there is a widespread demand for more power in the people. The movement is described in a subsequent chapter, as also is the NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

5. SUMMARY AS TO DIRECT INITIATIVE IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

Reviewing the history of the direct initiative, one is struck by its steady and gradual develop-

ment, there being scarcely any reversions. The splendid results of the direct initiative are described in the next division.

6 SUMMARY AS TO RISE AND PROGRESS OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE IN UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND.

Reviewing the history of both the people's veto and direct initiative, one can see a broad tendency to popular government which is fully attained in Switzerland and is far along in the United States. *It is an element in Social Evolution and therefore is irresistible.*

This referendum system re-establishes the people's sovereignty—a sovereignty that was lost when the Teutonic states became too large for legislation by popular assemblage.

This fact is frequently pointed out. In 1891, for example, it was referred to in "The Referendum in Switzerland" by Deploige. After describing the development of the people's veto and direct initiative he says:

The men who imagined that they [by electing a legislative body by manhood suffrage] had put an end to despotism were mistaken. The omnipotence of the aristocratic families had been substituted for the omnipotence of the elected council [controlled by a political party]. Democracy had not really been established. The work was yet to do.*

To the same effect is the following by Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, who visited Switzerland in 1896:

It was not until the period of the European Revolution in 1846 and 1848 that a really democratic constitution was adopted in Switzerland. Of course I knew these historic facts before I went to Switzerland, but I had failed to be duly impressed with the newness of Swiss democracy. I believe that we cannot be too prompt in reaching the understanding that what we now recognize as democracy is SOMETHING ABSOLUTELY NEW ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

The importance of the newly-acquired people's sovereignty was recently testified to by Mr. Wilson, a Swiss official:

The Swiss yeomanry would fight and die in defense of the initiative and referendum as willingly as they would to resist a foreign invader who sought to rule over them.

Let us turn and ascertain the results of this "something absolutely new on the face of the earth," and for which those who have experienced it would die rather than relinquish. First, however, we shall explain how it happened that the Swiss people, who were far behind us in popular government till 1830, overtook us and first attained their freedom.

7. WHY SWISS ATTAINED SOVEREIGNTY AHEAD OF AMERICANS.

Professor John R. Commons in an article in *The Arena*, December 1899, describes the evil conditions which forced the Swiss to establish a people's veto through the referendum, and continues:

* Deploige, p. 116.

It must not be thought that in America the people have not been as wide awake as in Switzerland. They have had similar experience. They have seen their representative bodies violate pledges and sell the people's birthright to corporations. They have struggled vigorously to stop the abuse, but they have developed, *not the people's veto*, but the *executive veto* and the *judiciary veto*. * * * Thus in nation, state and city, the legislative branch of our government has been fettered and suppressed. The executive and the judicial branches have been exalted over it. But instead of curing the legislature, *the remedy has only infected the other branches with the legislature's vices*. * * * *The referendum is the only complete and specific cure for bribery. It alone goes to the source of corruption. It deprives lawmakers and executives of their monopoly of legislation.* The secret ballot, official pri-

maries, civil service reform, proportional representation—these are all needful, but they leave to a few the monopoly of government and the power to sell at a monopoly price. *If they should all be adopted, the immense interests dependent on legislation will pay not less but more money, and will control them.* Even public ownership of public enterprises, although it ultimately destroys the largest corruption fund, must first be brought about by legislation; and this will be the signal for exorbitant prices and a carnival of bribery more profligate than any hitherto seen."

Turning from the development of the people's sovereignty in modern times, let us note the results which are in two principal directions. (1) as to the system of government and (2) as to legislation. These we shall consider in South Dakota, Oregon, in certain American cities, and in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XVI.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part I. In South Dakota.

The people's sovereignty was finally established in South Dakota March, 1899, since which time two legislatures have been in session. So effective has been the mere existence of the people's power that *not a bill has been ordered to a referendum vote*. On these points the following testimony is presented.

Some months after the termination of the first session of the legislature under the referendum system, I wrote to a leading public man of South Dakota, who was opposed to the party in power in the legislature, and he replied:

The last legislature was Republican by 102 majority, there being only 15 votes in opposition on a joint ballot.

There was no distinctively vicious legislation except in the interest of party politics. The existence of the Referendum doubtless prevented the passage of a number of vicious bills including one fathered by the state bankers and known as the negotiable instrument bill.

I am fully convinced that no very vicious legislation will be enacted as long as the Referendum is a part of our constitution, and I am also convinced that no very popular bill will fail to become a law so long as we have the power of the initiative.

To the same effect is a statement by the Governor of South Dakota, see page 37 above.

In municipal affairs there was an equally satisfactory condition. August 1901, I sent out letters of inquiry to the twenty-four cities of South Dakota of more than a thousand population and found that during the preceding eighteen months under the optional referendum only four bills for ordinances had been ordered to a referendum ballot, of these, two were in Aberdeen.

As to the direct initiative, I found that it had been used four times—twice in Aberdeen, once in Brookings, and once at Elk Point. The questions submitted were as follows: At Aberdeen, day labor in place of the contract system in municipal improvements, also the question of public baths. At Brookings, for the prohibition of

billiard and pool rooms. All three of these measures were defeated, but there was an educational effect, and each question can be brought up as frequently as is thought best. At Elk Point the location of the city hall was selected by the people and adopted by the common council.

The results of the votes under the optional referendum were as follows. At Aberdeen a city lighting plant, including gas. At Elk Point the city council asked the citizens to vote on its recommendation as to the Marshal's salary. Nearly a full vote was polled. The subject matter of the two other referendum votings is not known to the writer.

It also appeared from the replies to questions that during these eighteen months the only franchises granted for city monopolies were for telephone service, which is part of a state or national system. Wherever the question of private monopoly versus public ownership of city monopolies came before the people, the verdict was in favor of city ownership. Says Mr. W. E. Kidd, one of our correspondents in Aberdeen, now deceased:

A very decided vote was given in favor of a city lighting plant, including gas. * * * The Referendum has made our city council very conservative in donating franchises to private parties, and will probably result in reserving all public utilities to the public.

Since 1901 no systematic investigation as to referendum vote has been made in the South Dakota cities, but a telegraphic dispatch in the *Chicago Tribune* stated that at Pierre there had been granted a license for a saloon on the main street, but that citizens started a petition for a direct vote and the license was cancelled.

Turning again to the legislature, its second session under the new system resulted in the passage of bills of so high a character that *not one of them was ordered to a direct vote*.

In South Dakota no use has yet been made of the direct initiative in state affairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part II. In Oregon.

A. THE PEOPLE'S VETO THROUGH THE OPTIONAL REFERENDUM.

The people of Oregon attained their sovereignty when the legislature enacted the statute which placed in operation the constitutional amendment for the people's veto and direct initiative. This was February 1903. A few weeks later the legislature adjourned and certain occurrences took place, described in the following letter by Hon. W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City to Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct Legislation League.

OREGON CITY, OREGON, June 2, 1903.

DEAR FRIEND:

The first effect of the Referendum in Oregon is *the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature.* The newspapers have generally spoken well of the last assembly or said nothing, while for the previous ten years at least, the rule has been that some bitter things were printed about the want of honor and intelligence among the legislators. Altogether the last session of the last assembly was the best for many years and we credit a good deal of this to the referendum amendment.

Four Referendum petitions were circulated; One against the appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars in aid of the Lewis & Clark Fair, and this received 3,900 signatures. One against the appropriation of one hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars for a State Portage Railway at The Dalles on the Columbia River, and this had 4,000 signatures; the Portland Chamber of Commerce charged the railway companies with paying men to circulate this petition. A petition against the Corporation License Tax bill was circulated by some mining corporations but had only 3,222 signatures. A petition against the repealing of an exemption from taxation of \$300.00 worth of household furniture was in circulation about three weeks and received 1,800 signatures; if they had begun earlier it would probably have obtained more than the required number of signatures, which was 4,386.

We may logically deduce from this experience that the referendum is not easily invoked, even though only five per cent. of the voters are required; that a law must be very unpopular if the people will not permit it to be tried, when there is no reasonable ground to believe it was corruptly passed; that if the people have any good reason to suspect that the Referendum is sought from selfish motives or for personal profit they will not sign the petition in such a case. So far the results have been very satisfactory. I enclose herewith a leading editorial from the daily Oregonian of May 27.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

W. S. U'REN.

The editorial referred to, in the leading daily of Oregon recites the facts above stated and concludes:

The result may be accepted everywhere as it is in Oregon, as a fresh testimonial to the wisdom and safety of popular government.

The referendum stands accordingly as a safeguard in the people's hands against pernicious acts of an unworthy legislature and a conniving governor. Any hope of using it as an instrument of improper purposes must be infinitesimal, after the late severe test, in which powerful interests conspicuously failed in their attempt to invoke the plebiscite by widely circulated and strenuously urged petitions.

The amendment is the stronger for its trial; and while it is likely to remain a dead letter except in operation as a potential check on legislative misconduct, it may yet have a day of abundant triumph in actual employment to defeat a pernicious law.

B. THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN OPERATION IN OREGON.

INSTALLATION OF DIRECT NOMINATIONS SYSTEM.

Though the people of Oregon have not ordered a direct vote under the optional referendum they have under the direct initiative. The candidates for two legislatures had promised to install a direct nominations system, but after election day was past the party managers refused. The result was that a few public spirited citizens organized the Direct Primary Nominations League of Oregon, printed five hundred or a thousand copies of the bill which had been turned down, affixed to each an initiative petition, as prescribed by law, and these were circulated for signatures, assistance being rendered by the non-partisan organizations of the state.

Some 8,000 signatures were secured, about 1,000 more than required by law. On election day the people took to themselves the added power, by a vote of about 3 to 1. "The campaign against the measure was in the nature of a still hunt," writes Secretary U'Ren of the Direct Nominations League, and he adds: "Its enemies became discouraged before the close of the campaign."

Thus the direct initiative led to a direct nominations system, overcoming the adverse action of two legislatures.

INSTALLATION OF LOCAL OPTION SYSTEM AS TO LIQUOR QUESTION.

In the same campaign there was installed through the direct initiative a local option system as to the liquor question. The voters in each municipality should have been clothed with this power when the constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum was framed, but they were not, owing to the influence of the liquor men and other antagonistic interests. This left the liquor interests in control throughout the state, for they kept the legislature from granting to the people the right to vote by communities on the question of prohibition versus license. The license system was crammed down the throats of every municipality. But after the direct initiative in state affairs was installed, the temperance leaders of the state organized the Oregon Prohibition Alliance, a non-partisan organization, and circulated petitions for an up-to-date system of local option

as to the liquor question. More than enough signatures were quickly secured, and a campaign was waged till election day. The liquor interests did their best to get the people to refuse to clothe themselves with a right to a direct ballot on the whiskey question, but without avail. The system was installed by about 2,000 majority.

Thus the temperance people were able to secure what the political parties had denied them. The system is one of the best, modeled after the famous Texas law which has created such havoc in the Lone Star liquordum. A vote on the question of prohibition may be had at any time in any county, or political sub-division thereof, upon a petition of 10 per cent. of the registered voters in the district in which the system is to apply.

The campaign was a bitter one and the liquor men spent much money, "probably as much as \$75,000," says a conservative correspondent. This was due to a mistake by the temperance people. Had they presented the broad question of local option on all questions there would have been no possibility of defeating it and therefore but little money would have been spent.

Says the *Interior*, a Presbyterian publication:

Other states, like Ohio, have been laboring for years and yet have not accomplished as much as Oregon has gained by one bold stroke. What is the secret of our success? It is the initiative and referendum law which was declared constitutional by our supreme court just before we launched the initiative petition. Had it been necessary to work through the State Legislature, long weary years would have passed before we could have secured such a law, but under the initiative and referendum the people constitute the Legislature and their verdict is final. Although the liquor element invested many thousands of dollars in the campaign, they were not able to subsidize the voters. The League had a dozen speakers stumping the state and issued 220,000 copies of literature, and every pulpit was made a bulwark of local option artillery. In this way the evil influences of the enemy were counteracted.

Is not the lesson hereby taught that the most expeditious method of securing an effective local option

law is FIRST TO SEEK AN INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM LAW?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

The advocates of the enfranchisement of women in Oregon planned to circulate petitions for a direct vote upon a constitutional amendment this year. They did not get started soon enough, so the question is laid over until the next campaign. If the people do not adopt the amendment at the first trial there will at least have been accomplished a vast amount of educational work, and each two years this can be kept up until women attain their portion of the sovereign power.

The above results in Oregon are for the sixteen months since the installation of the people's sovereignty. An attempt to repeal the system would bring on a revolution.

C. OPPOSITION BY THE MONOPOLISTS.

The monopolists realize the far-reaching character of the system and are opposing it as well as they can. For example, the Associated Press is the vehicle whereby the out-of-the-state papers secure their Oregon news as to the referendum and initiative. *But this agency suppresses the news that is favorable to the system and spreads broadcast whatever is thought to be detrimental;* for example, a district court declared the referendum system to be unconstitutional and this news was given the widest possible publicity. But a few months later when the case reached the supreme court and it decided that it was constitutional the news was published only in the state. *The Associated Press suppressed the news.* Again, after the overwhelming success of the direct initiative in the election of June 6th, this year, the Associated Press kept back the news. The writer first got at the facts by going to the Congressional Library and inspecting an Oregon paper.

This power of the press to conceal and pervert the news is a more extensive power than was exercised by Napoleon. He could not mold the opinions of men, as the press does.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part III. In Certain American Cities.

In IOWA CITIES the people for a long time have possessed a veto power as to many of the franchises for city monopolies, and since 1897 have possessed a direct initiative as to these questions. So effective has this power been that there are no reports of extended corruption in Iowa cities, as is the case across the line in Missouri and in Illinois.

In SOUTH DAKOTA CITIES the existence of the people's veto and direct initiative has shut off all special legislation, see page 42, above.

In DETROIT, MICHIGAN, the people's veto through the advisory referendum and pledging of candidates has taken the monopoly question from the city council, resulting in a great improvement in the character of representatives in the city council, and this in turn is reflected in an efficient administration of city monopolies, such as the elec-

tric light plant and water plant. The effectiveness of the public service in Detroit is demonstrated in THE ARENA, May, 1904, also in the *National Municipal League Proceedings*, published by Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, New York City.

At WINNETKA, ILLINOIS, the advisory referendum and pledging of candidates defeated the forty-year franchise for a private gas company, as is stated at page 76 below. Shortly after the defeat of the gas franchise a group of public spirited citizens formed a private corporation for installing a public electric lighting plant. In other words, the laws of the state of Illinois did not permit the city of Winnetka to own a lighting plant, and therefore its citizens formed a private corporation with an agreement among themselves and with the city that the plant should be trans-

ferred to the city *free of charge* when its cost should be paid.

In SAN FRANCISCO a few years ago a business men's association drafted a new charter, and it was adopted by a direct ballot of the voters. In this way majority rule prevailed in combination with a body of representative business men. The decision arrived at as to city monopolies was as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that *its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county*. To this end, it is hereby ordained: [then follow provisions that upon a 15 per cent. petition favoring the acquisition of any public utility, the Board of Supervisors shall immediately take steps to procure plans and estimates of cost and enter into negotiations for the permanent acquisition of such utility by construction, condemnation, or purchase, so that it may, within six months after said petition, formulate a proposition to be submitted to the voters. Or, the Supervisors may themselves pass an ordinance embodying the idea of the petition.]

In connection with the above it should be borne in mind that public ownership of city monopolies under guarded representative government is very different from municipal ownership where the government is in the hands of the few. It follows that in San Francisco, where the optional referendum as to franchises and the direct initiative as to all questions is in operation, the government is such that the public interests are cared for. Says Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy, who has visited San Francisco repeatedly:

San Francisco is said to have the best and cleanest government that she has ever had, and one which will compare favorably with any other large city government, and is greatly superior to the government of such cities as St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburg; and one of the supervisors told the writer that there was no use in boodlers going into the common council since the new charter, with Direct Legislation in it had been adopted, *because the Council cannot deliver the goods* and the corporations do not spend money to get their tools into the Council. Hence the grade of the Council is much raised.

An illustration of the character of the San Francisco common council is the fact that the gamblers could not get a license for bookmaking. Their only hope was in an appeal to the people themselves through the direct initiative. The gamblers filed a direct initiative petition and there ensued an energetic campaign on the question of gambling, and the gamblers were snowed under. The educational and moral effect could not have been duplicated by the expenditure of a million of money.

Turning to public improvements in San Francisco we find that the sovereignty of the people has produced a great change. September 29th of last year the people voted on twelve proposi-

tions for public improvements and adopted all but two of them, and by a two-thirds vote. The people voted to erect a new city and county hospital to cost a million dollars; a new and complete sewer system was authorized to cost \$7,250,000; new school houses to cost \$3,595,000, the building of which is to extend through six years; repaving of streets to cost \$1,621,000; a new county jail and an addition to the Hall of Justice to cost \$697,000; a public library and site to cost \$1,647,000; and five parks and play grounds were provided for. The improvements were needed, for the old system of government had enabled the tax payers to keep the public library in an upper story of the city hall and to retain the county jail which existed in 1856. This is a sample of the old-time system.

And during October of last year the people of San Francisco voted for the second time on the question of public ownership of the Geary street railroad, to cost \$710,000. There were 14,381 votes for and 10,755 against. But the San Francisco charter requires a two-thirds vote before bonds can be issued, and this required two-thirds was lacking.

There are several other cities with final power in the people. SEATTLE has a charter providing for the referendum, but the supreme court of the state has held that the system does not apply to granting of street railway franchises, one of the principal objects for which it was enacted.

TACOMA, we believe, has a referendum and initiative charter. PORTLAND has, also LOS ANGELES and PASADENA. In Los Angeles the voters possess, also, a right to recall public officials. This is of great value as to the mayor and other executive officials. In the three cities last named the emancipation of the people is quite recent.

DENVER, COLORADO, has a charter in which the voters are clothed with a veto power and direct initiative. It was adopted only recently. The provisions were framed by a charter convention and are against the people's interests, requiring a 25 per cent. petition by the voters before any question can go before the people, and it is tied up in other ways.

In ILLINOIS the advisory initiative requires a 25 per cent. petition, but this has been secured at two different times in CHICAGO, each time the people voting for public ownership of the street railways. In other cities in the state there have been referendum votings under the advisory initiative system, but the writer has not learned the results.

In INDIANA, WISCONSIN AND MONTANA, there is statute law providing a people's veto as to franchises for municipal monopolies. The writer while passing through Indiana accidentally heard a remark by one who had been a franchise promoter. He stated that after the passage of the law he went out of business. In Indiana there are no franchise scandals, and the same is true as to Wisconsin and Montana.

CHAPTER XIX.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part IV. Switzerland.

A. THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

1. INSTITUTIONS EXIST, FOR ASCERTAINING AND APPLYING SOCIAL TRUTH.

The pre-eminent feature of the people's sovereignty is that it aims to discover the laws of human progress and to make public its discoveries, also to apply the principles to the ever changing conditions.

This is the exact opposite of what has taken place under the rule of the few. They have kept themselves in power through deception, as we have seen—a two-faced system of government and false teachings.

But all this is changed when the people's sovereignty prevails. Deceptive institutions give place to truth-giving institutions. In Switzerland these are of two great classes, Educational and Legislative. The fundamental characteristics in the educational institutions are academic freedom and compulsory education:

a. ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION WHERE PEOPLE RULE.

In Switzerland the professors are absolutely free to ascertain the facts and principles as to social evolution and publish the same. In short, there is academic freedom as to social truth. Not so where the few are ruling, for the very existence of their power is based on deception.

Furthermore, in little Switzerland, with a population of only three million souls, there is more research for *social truths* than in any other country in the world. Switzerland has "six fully equipped universities, situated at Basle, Zürich, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne and Freiburg. To these add the Federal Polytechnicum at Zürich, which has a greater attendance than any one of the universities."

The above is quoted from "Government in Switzerland," by Professor Vincent of Johns Hopkins University, page 170, and he adds:

"It is not necessary to call attention to the reputation of the universities of Switzerland, for in most cases that is international. The point of interest in this connection is the fact that they are supported by the treasury of the states in which they are located, and are the products of democratic government. They do not, it is true, rival the great institutions of Berlin and Vienna [as to pure science] but the scientific schools of Zürich taken together offer advantages inferior to few German universities. In the case of Zürich, the central government does the larger part, but Geneva, with a population of about 118,000 maintains out of its own resources a university with a faculty of a hundred professors."

Turning to primary and secondary instructions Professor Vincent says: "As a whole, Switzerland is said to have, relatively to the population, more public schools than any other European nation." The fundamental principles upon which the school system is built are, that "the rudiments of knowl-

edge shall be freely given to every child, and that every child shall be compelled to receive them."

Furthermore, there are more than one hundred technical and industrial schools, each being located where it is of the utmost practical value. And there is agricultural education and experimentation.

Fine arts are stimulated by an annual appropriation of some 100,000 francs.

"The Bureau of Statistics is one of the most efficient of its kind," says Professor Vincent.

The above tendencies are the result of the people's sovereignty. It has resulted in a large number of Swiss professors of economic, political and social science—men whose life work is to ascertain the principles of social evolution and publish their work. Thus Switzerland has a trained body of Experts in Social Science in place of False Teachers, such as exist under the deceptive rule of the few.

The application of the expert knowledge of Swiss social scientists is in two directions:

1. Toward improving conditions by means of law-making; and,
2. Toward disseminating among the people the knowledge concerning social evolution, which leads them to adopt the progressive laws recommended by the expert representatives; and the people act in other ways as befits a civilized community.

Let us consider the first sub-division, namely, the application of social truths through guarded representative government, first demonstrating that representatives are experts and that they exercise their own best judgment.

b. EXPERTS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE EXERCISE THEIR OWN JUDGMENT.

The striking fact which meets an inquirer into the system of guarded representative government is that the sovereign power—the people—employ expert representatives who are uninstructed, just as the level-headed business man employs his lawyer and architect. Furthermore, the expert representatives whom the people employ are continued in their positions as long as they are fitted to discharge their duties, just as business men retain their expert advisers. The details of the system which results in these expert advisers are as follows.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

At the head of the executive departments of the Swiss federal government is the Federal Council, consisting of seven members who are elected by the national legislature at the beginning of every new term of the lower house and who hold office for three years. Each member is the head of a department.

The chairman of the Council is chosen annually

by the legislature, and is known as the President of the Confederation. His alternate is called Vice-President of the Federal Council. The retiring President cannot be elected to the same office or to that of Vice-President, for the year ensuing, nor can the same member serve as Vice-President during two consecutive years.

Thus the heads of the several executive departments are chosen by the people's representatives, who themselves are experts, as we shall show, and who are continued in office from year to year and are not tempted by monopolists, for the final power as to legislation is in the people and they refuse to grant a legal privilege.

This expert legislative body does not elect the head of a department until after his fitness has been demonstrated. This is proved by the fact that since 1874, when the people's veto was adopted, not a single member of the Federal Council has been obliged to retire involuntarily.

Not only are these heads of departments experts but they are more free to exercise their own best judgment than is the manager of a private monopoly, for the manager of such an organization must cater to the majority of the stockholders and a majority of the board of directors. Furthermore, whenever there is a change in the men who own a majority of the stock in a private trust, there is sure to be a change in the presidency of the corporation—a change in the management. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the expert manager is continued as long as he is able to serve. And there is no fossilism, for the heads of sub-departments and each clerk are free to offer suggestions and the Federal Assembly is the dominant power.

The fundamental reason for these high qualities in the executive department is that the people possess a Veto and a Direct Initiative—they possess the final power and therefore leave their agents to exercise their own best judgment, each recommendation being accepted or rejected as is thought best. But before the recommendation reaches the people from the cabinet officials it passes through a body of experts in the federal assembly. And there, too, the system is ideal.

EMPLOYMENT OF EXPERTS IN THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT—STATESMANSHIP A PROFESSION.

The head of each executive department drafts bills which are agreed to by the cabinet as a matter of course and introduced in the federal assembly, where the head of the department can speak for his measures when they come up and can make motions. *This introduces in the legislative body the very men who manage the several departments. And they must always reply to questions touching their departments, answer to be made at once or at the following sitting.*

This system is direct and business-like. There is no suppression of truth and at the same time there are experts in every department who are in immediate contact with the details. These experts guide and direct public policy, presenting such bills as they deem best and objecting to such as in their opinion are not for the people's best interests.

It follows that the public service becomes a profession. The highest talent is drawn into the public service, for it is recognized that statesmanship is the highest and most responsible position of trust.

Proof that public service becomes a profession in a democracy is the fact that since the adoption of the optional referendum in federal affairs in Switzerland in 1874 *not one of the executive council has retired involuntarily.* This is a record which speaks volumes.

That politics is a profession in Switzerland is further demonstrated by the records concerning the members of the legislative department. For example, in 1887 in the election of members of the national council *only 40 per cent. of the seats were contested, and in five of these cases the contest was between men of the same party.* In the election of 1896 out of the 160 members in the national council there were only 25 new ones and in the council of states only 8 new ones. This was stated in the *Revue du Droit Public*, November-December, 1896. And this publication adds:

Between 1888 and 1896 this national council of 160 has only lost 20 of its members by non-re-election, while 62 retired voluntarily.

c. PROCEDURE IN LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT IS IDEAL.

(1) EVERY AVENUE FOR DECEPTION IS BLOCKED.

Every avenue for deception is blocked in the legislative department, for the era of deception is outgrown. There is no deception because the people's veto is a guaranty that no legal privilege can be enacted, while the existence of the direct initiative is an assurance that an attempt to prevent the consideration of a measure would be ineffective. We find, therefore, in the Swiss federal assembly the following procedure:

The rules allow debate to be brought to a close by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, but this cannot take place so long as any member who has not spoken desires to offer an amendment and to explain it.*

COMPARISON WITH DECEPTION UNDER THE RULE OF THE FEW.

Compare this with the system of government where the few rule through popular forms! In the United States it is known by everyone that gag rule is applied in the House whenever the speaker desires it. In the Senate, however, the old-time theory as to the sovereignty of the states has resulted in debate as long as the representative of a state desires it. This goes to the other extreme. The extraordinary procedure in the House of Representatives is described in the following words by Senator Hoar:

*A large proportion, perhaps the majority of the bills which pass the house are carried through under a suspension of the rules. * * * In this mode hundreds of measures of vital importance receive, near the close of an exhausting session, without being debated, amended, printed, or understood, the constitutional assent of the representatives of the American people.†*

But the suspension of the rules is only one of the tricks. The silver dollar was demonetized in 1873 by bringing in a codification of the mint laws and dropping the word "silver" from the clause

* Government in Switzerland, by Prof. Vincent, page 185.

† Congressional Government, by Woodrow Wilson, p. 112.

enumerating the coins to be given unrestricted coinage. This subterfuge was introduced in Congress only fourteen days after the same procedure in England had resulted successfully. The Privy Council of England had possessed the power to order the coinage of silver dollars and this power was terminated in the underhanded manner pointed out.

That the demonetization of silver in the United States was accomplished by deception is proved by a statement in the *Congressional Record*, three years after the silver dollar had been demonetized. Senator Conkling on the floor of the Senate is reported to have said:

Will the Senator [Bogy] allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar? (*Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2062.)

Two years after the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage laws and before the change was publicly known, Congress enacted a law for the resumption of specie payments. *and the men who voted for it believed that resumption was to be in gold and silver, not knowing that the law would compel resumption in gold alone.* The men who drew the bill knew what they were doing and took great pains not to inform Congress, nor did they permit any debate in the house, and only a short debate in the Senate and that on the very day the printed bill reached its members. The facts demonstrating this are stated in *The Money Question*, pages 313-315, a book compiled by the writer of these pages.

The above are illustrations of the method whereby the few are ruling the American people. The installation of the initiative and referendum in national affairs will change the system, substituting a truth-giving system similar to the one in Switzerland.

(2) FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND LIBERTY OF ACTION BY REPRESENTATIVES.

We have stated that the Swiss representatives are not instructed and therefore are free to exercise their own best judgment. Proof of this is as follows. Says Professor Vincent in "Government in Switzerland," (page 180):

Freedom of speech and liberty of action in voting are guaranteed [in the Federal Congress]. No positive instructions can be forced upon a representative in either house by his constituents.

(3) DIRECT INITIATIVE MAKES LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT A HIGHLY DEVELOPED COURT FOR TRIAL OF SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

(a) SWISS FEDERAL SYSTEM.

The federal constitution of Switzerland adopted in 1848 provided that on petition of 50,000 citizens calling for a revision of the constitution the question should be put to a vote of the people.

This was re-enacted in the constitution of 1874.

In 1879 the required petition of 50,000 citizens requested a revision by inserting a clause against the issuance of paper money by private corporations. But the government officials construed "revision" to mean "total revision," whereas the minutes of the constitutional convention showed that the intention was to include both total and partial revision.

Organized wage-earners pressed for a constitu-

The same custom prevails in the Legislatures. In the words of Professor Vincent:

The members of Legislatures * * * must not take binding instructions from their constituents, but consider themselves representatives of the whole people. Freedom of opinion, consequently, and liberty of judgment to legislators are fully provided for. (p. 67.)

The reason why the voters do not attempt to instruct their legislative representatives is because *the representatives do not finally determine the law*; they only recommend the bills, and the voters themselves finally determine the fate of each bill except urgency measures, the usual appropriations and treaties.

The foregoing is the result in the Swiss Legislatures and Congress. The principle is the same in the United States. In Constitutional Conventions the representatives who frame the measures and then submit the instrument to a direct ballot of the voters are seldom instructed. Did the voters possess the power to veto separate clauses there would be no instructions. As to statute law, the voters in Oregon and South Dakota possess the full right to the optional referendum, therefore, in the election of men to the legislature it will henceforth be impossible to thresh out, at that time, the state issues, for at a later date the questions must come before the voters in the form of carefully drawn bills, and after they have been fairly and fully considered in a non-partisan manner. In other words, in South Dakota and Oregon the members of the legislature are, as to state laws, left practically free to exercise their own judgment. They are counsellors instead of rulers. In city affairs in South Dakota the same principle prevails. The aldermen are stripped of power to rule and therefore are employees of the people.

To such an extent do the representatives feel that they should voice their own best judgment that the Swiss Radicals refuse to be bound by a party caucus.

The same principle prevails in the Swiss cabinet, each head of department proposing such changes as he deems best and they are submitted to the legislative body by the cabinet.

The foregoing institutions for ascertaining social truth and applying the same are only part of the system. for the people make each legislative body a highly developed court for the trial of social questions:

tional amendment for partial revision and secured it in 1891. The substance of the system follows:

50,000 voters, (about 8 per cent.), may propose to the Federal assembly a general proposition or a completed bill. The measure is referred to a committee, where testimony and argument are received, and books and papers can be called for. A competing measure can be framed if the committee so desires. The committee's report to the house is debated and voted upon; then, after an agreement between the two houses is reached, the case goes to the people, who choose between the measures or reject both.

This is the Initiative or Direct Initiative as distinguished from the people's indirect initiative.

You ask, what has been the history of this direct initiative?

(b) HISTORY OF THE DIRECT INITIATIVE IN FEDERAL SWITZERLAND.

The direct initiative in federal affairs in Switzerland was adopted in 1891, *but only three bills have been submitted because the mere presence of the system has resulted in a fair and full discussion of nearly all the measures which the minority have been advocating.* A wide range of progressive measures have been enacted, described in the next chapter.

Let us take up in detail the national measures proposed through the direct initiative.

(a1) SLAUGHTER HOUSE REGULATIONS.

It was about a year after the adoption of the direct initiative before a case was filed with the legislative body. It was a bill providing that in the slaughter of animals by bleeding to death they should first be stunned. This proposed regulation was to prevent the Jewish system of slaughter. The proposed regulation existed in two of the cantons and the federal authorities were urged to extend it. They refused and the case was taken up through the direct initiative. 83,000 signatures to the petition were readily secured whereas the law required but 50,000. The Federal Assembly recommended that the regulation be rejected, but a majority of the voters and a majority of the cantons voted for the bill.

The criticism of this law by the opponents of popular government is that it was adopted for the purpose of oppressing the Jews and not for humanitarian motives. That this is a false conclusion will be borne out by everyone who has witnessed the slowly ebbing consciousness and the presence of fear in animals bled to death without being stunned.

But the bill did not provide a penalty for failure to obey the law and the legislative body has refused to provide a penalty, and thus the slaughter-house regulation is a dead letter except the educational effect.

(b1) SOCIALIST PARTY PROPOSALS.

The slaughter-house bill was proposed in 1892. The next year, a time when industrial depression prevailed, the Socialist party proposed in a single bill a series of measures as follows:

The right to have adequately paid work provided belongs to each Swiss citizen. Federal legislation and cantonal and communal laws are to render this right effective by every means possible. In particular the following policies shall prevail:

(a) The hours of work are to be reduced in the greatest possible number of branches of industry, with the aim of making work more plentiful.

(b) Institutions such as workmen's exchanges are to be organized, in order to procure work gratuitously for workmen. Workmen are to be legally protected against unjustifiable dismissal.

(d) Workmen are to be insured in such a manner that they shall be protected against the consequences of loss of work, either by means of a public insurance, or by insuring workmen in private institutions by the aid of public funds.

(e) The right of meeting is to be efficaciously protected, so that the formation of associations to pro-

tect workmen against their masters shall never be prevented, nor the right of joining in such associations be interfered with.

(f) An official board shall be established to which workmen might appeal against their masters; and work in the factories and workshops is to be organized in a democratic manner, especially in the factories and workshops managed by the state and the communes.*

This proposal was signed by 52,387 names,—only a few more than the minimum required by law. The vote when referred to the people was overwhelmingly defeated—75,880 for and 232,409 against.

This experience is instructive. In the first place it demonstrates that the Socialist party, which previous to the establishment of the direct initiative demanded the immediate public ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution, changed their demand when they planned for a discussion in the federal assembly followed by referendum vote. It would have been ridiculous to demand the immediate public ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

A second lesson to be drawn is that several measures should not be placed together in a single bill or proposal. Many of the measures in the above proposal are in practical operation in Switzerland to-day, but the people will not declare for a series of general propositions. Fortunately they are too practical for such a thing.

GRATUITOUS MEDICAL ATTENDANCE FOR ALL WAS NOT WANTED.

Shortly after the defeat of the Socialist party measure a petition was circulated proposing gratuitous medical attendance for all. The project succeeded in getting only 40,000 signatures and therefore had to be dropped.

(c1) EXPENDITURE OF TARIFF DUTIES.

The third initiative that went to a referendum vote was a proposal that the surplus from tariff duties should not be expended by the federal assembly but by the cantonal legislatures. Here the question was a debatable one and the proposition was lost by a large majority.

This third direct initiative was in 1894, since which time no others have come to a vote of the people, we believe. About 1896 a petition was circulated for a time concerning public ownership of the railways, but the proposal by the federal assembly was considered sufficient and the referendum vote was on that proposition.

The advantages of this direct initiative are manifest: *Congress, the Legislatures and Common Councils become highly developed courts for the trial of social questions. But the mere existence of the system accomplishes most of the work.*

This direct initiative and the people's veto in combination with high-class representatives has resulted in manifold changes, some of which are described in this chapter and which may be summarized as follows:

* The Referendum in Switzerland, by Deploige, p. 237.

SUMMARY AS TO INSTITUTIONS FOR ASCERTAINING AND APPLYING SOCIAL TRUTH.

Reviewing the entire chapter we find that the people's sovereignty has resulted in the establishment of institutions for ascertaining and applying social truth. Academic freedom exists and compulsory education, while the representatives in the government are experts who exercise their own best judgment, and statesmanship has become a

profession. The procedure in the legislative and executive departments is ideal, for there is freedom of speech and liberty of action by representatives, coupled with a direct initiative in five per cent. of the people, by means of which the legislative body becomes a highly developed court for the trial of social questions.

2. PEOPLE'S VETO THROUGH OPTIONAL REFERENDUM—MERE PRESENCE IS EFFECTIVE—FEW BILLS ARE PUT TO REFERENDUM VOTE.

In the foregoing sections is described the Swiss federal congress, also the executive department of the federal government, and the direct initiative. We have yet to describe the people's veto which operates through the system known as the Optional Referendum.

The federal constitution adopted in 1874 and supplemented by statutory law provides as follows:

During the ninety days following the publication of the measures enacted by the federal congress, 30,000 voters or eight cantons (states) may order one or more of the measures to a vote of the people except such as are immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, and excepting, also, treaties with foreign states and the usual appropriations.

This system has been in operation for twenty years, during which time the cantons have not exercised the right to demand a referendum vote, *and there were eleven years in which the voters did not order a bill to a direct vote.* During the nine years in which bills were submitted, a vote was demanded on 18 bills, of which 12 were rejected. Of these 12, 4 were afterwards slightly revised and accepted without a direct vote.*

In the Swiss canton of St. Gall, or as we would term it, the state of St. Gall, the optional referendum was adopted in 1861, and up to and including 1894, a period of 33 years, there were 22

years in which no law was put to a direct ballot.

During the 11 years in which bills were submitted, but 16 bills were put to a direct vote.†

St. Gall is a German canton. In the Italian canton of Ticino the optional referendum was adopted in 1883, and from that time till 1892 a *period of 9 years, was used but 3 times.*||

In the French cantons the results are equally satisfactory. In Vaud, the Optional Referendum was adopted in 1885, and no bill has been put to popular vote. In Geneva and in Neuchatel the optional referendum was adopted in 1879. But one bill has been put to popular vote in Neuchatel, and two in Geneva.**

In the United States an even smaller number of bills have been ordered to a direct ballot. In South Dakota the system has been in operation during two sessions of the legislature and not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote. In Oregon the system has existed since the closing of a session of the legislature and not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote.

In the South Dakota cities and in the Iowa cities scarcely a bill has been ordered to a direct vote.

The conclusion to be drawn from the Swiss and American experience is that the mere existence of the people's veto is effective, just as the mere presence of a policeman keeps out the toughs.

† Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, pp. 263, 264.

|| Government and parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, p. 265.

** Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Prof. Lowell Vol. II, p. 265.

3. SUMMARY AS TO RESULTS OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

The far-reaching results of the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative are pointed out in the preceding sections, namely, *the entire system of Representative Government is improved and to a remarkable extent.* In place of the representative system of government in which the few rule through deception there is a complete change; there is academic freedom, the employ-

ment of expert representatives in the government who exercise their own best judgment, and a procedure in the legislative department that is ideal. In other words, there is enlightened majority rule in place of trustocracy and a trustocratic empire. Such of the few bills as do go to a referendum vote are ordered to a referendum in the following manner:

4. DETAILS OF REFERENDUM SYSTEM FOR SUCH FEW BILLS AS ARE VOTED UPON BY THE PEOPLE.

a. CIRCULATION OF PETITIONS—PARTISANSHIP IS ELIMINATED.

The securing of 30,000 signatures ordering a referendum vote is no small affair. The way it is brought about in Switzerland is described by a Belgian lawyer, Simon Deploige, who visited the country in 1891 and wrote a book. He says:

The localities or classes of citizens specially affected by a law organize the opposition. *They band themselves together without distinction of party and committees, are set on foot to spread their views and collect signatures.* These coalitions and committees have merely an ephemeral existence,—they dissolve and disappear as soon as they have effected their purpose.

b. THE CAMPAIGN PRECEDING REFERENDUM VOTE—TRUTH IS MADE KNOWN TO VOTERS—AN EDUCATIONAL VALUE.

In the campaign which follows after the 30,000 or more signatures are secured the merits and demerits of the measure are emphasized. The campaign is conducted by those who have banded themselves together without distinction of party. It follows that there is no appeal to partisan prejudices. It is the facts themselves that are appealed to and the self-interests of the voters. And the exact facts are known, for the measure has been fully and fairly considered in the federal assembly, testimony has been taken if either party demands it, and books and papers have been sent for. In short, the truth has been sifted out and the principles of social progress have been discussed.

It follows that THE ONLY MEASURES THAT ARE ORDERED TO A REFERENDUM VOTE ARE CLOSE QUESTIONS, and it is proper that these close questions should be debated, for the people must live under the law and therefore should become acquainted with its meaning and probable effect.

As an educational system, therefore, the optional referendum is invaluable even if the recommendation of Congress is approved.

Furthermore, if a desirable measure is voted down the first time it is sure to be brought forward a little later and again debated, and if voted down it is brought forward a third time and debated. For example, the proposal for public ownership of the railroads of Switzerland was voted down the first time, the price being too high. Then a measure was framed establishing a principle whereby to determine an equitable price for railways that should be taken over, and this was adopted by the voters. One and a half years later a department for the administration of railways was provided and details were enacted for financing the debt. This was adopted by the people and by a majority of more than 2 to 1. Such, in brief, was the education and legislation for the transition from private monopolies in railways to public ownership. In each of the campaigns the real issue was fairly and squarely discussed. There was no demagoguery. Furthermore, the system adopted for taking over the roads protects the public from robbery, for the stockholders receive only the amount of capital actually invested, whereas in the counties where the few rule through party government the transition to public ownership has been an additional means for fleecing the people.

c. THE REFERENDUM VOTE.

(1) NO VOTE-PURCHASING AT REFERENDUM ELECTIONS.

Passing from the campaign to the referendum vote, experience demonstrates that there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections except where the question is as to the location of a state capital or county seat. In such case a special privilege is at stake and it tends to an undue expenditure of funds. There are few instances, however, in which a special privilege is necessary, and the voters reject every proposal for an unnecessary special privilege. The seekers after special privilege have found it out and know that it is useless to attempt to carry a referendum election by the use of money.

But where the voters do not possess a veto it pays the monopolists to lobby for legal privileges. For example, at a session of the Michigan legislature some two years ago, a bill was lobbied through granting to a private corporation the ownership of a franchise for a street railway in Grand Rapids. But the opponents of the measure secured the insertion of a clause making the franchise subject to the approval of the voters at a referendum election. It is reported that the lobbyist got his \$50,000 before his principal, who resided in another state, knew of the referendum clause. When the principal discovered this he attempted to stop the payment to the lobbyist; he declared that the act of the legislature was worthless to him, for if put to a referendum vote it would be snowed under. The lobbyist had secured his money and the principal declined to put the measure to a referendum ballot.

As a general principle, then, we can state that there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections. The results are far reaching:—

(2) THE IGNORANT AND INDIFFERENT VOTERS ARE SELF-DISFRANCHISED.

Owing to the absence of vote-purchasing at referendum elections the ignorant and indifferent voters stay away from the polls, thus leaving the decision to the intelligent and earnest voters. It is self-evident that the voters who remain away from the polls are either ignorant or indifferent. This self-disfranchisement is an admirable solution of the white-suffrage question.

There is no tendency to withdraw from the disfranchised the benefits of free education. On the contrary, the people's sovereignty results in development of the educational system. Switzerland has more public school facilities per capita than any other European nation.

In the United States the tendency is toward the high standard of the Swiss democracy.

(3) INTELLIGENT AND EARNEST VOTERS DO NOT VOTE BLINDLY BUT EXERCISE JUDGMENT.

Under the optional referendum only close questions are debated and put to a vote. This arouses an interest, and the intelligent and earnest voters do not blindly accept bills nor blindly reject them. They accept some and reject others. For example, in the federal elections in Switzerland under the optional referendum there have been four times at which more than one bill was voted upon at an election. On two occasions, 1877 and 1896, a portion of the bills were accepted and others were rejected. In 1884 all four of the bills were rejected, while in 1897 both bills were accepted.

In this country also we find that the voters do not blindly vote for or against measures, but exercise their judgment and endeavor to protect their interests. The data is quite fully collected in the Direct Legislation Record.

SUMMARY.

It is clear, then, that under the optional referendum only a few bills are put to a ballot of the voters, that no vote-purchasing is attempted, that the ignorant and indifferent are self-disfranchised, that the intelligent and earnest voters decide which of the few bills put to a vote become law, and that free education is developed.

(4) OBJECTIONS ANSWERED—COMPULSORY REFERENDUM DISTINGUISHED.

Let us now consider the charge that the Referendum is impracticable because (1) too many bills are submitted, and (2) the vote cast is too small, and (3) that the voters are not fitted to pass upon complex questions, etc.

The answer is that the fault-finders do not distinguish the Optional from the Compulsory Referendum. Under the optional referendum there is only an occasional bill put to a direct ballot, and then each contest simmers down to one or two clauses of a bill. This elimination of everything but one or two specific points presents to the voters a much more simple question than is the case where an entire platform of a party is voted for with no power to accept part and reject part.

But the compulsory referendum of *all* bills is an absurdity. Many people fail to note that the Compulsory Referendum is an entirely different thing from the Optional Referendum. *Where no distinction is made, there is condemnation of the Optional Referendum along with the Compulsory Referendum.* It is important, therefore, that we take particular pains to draw attention to this difference. By making this distinction it enables us to summarily dispose of the claim that too many bills are voted upon and that the vote cast is so small that the system is not a success. Practically all the instances in which a small vote has been cast has occurred under a Compulsory Referendum; *bills which, under the Optional Referendum would not have been ordered to a direct ballot.*

The objection to the compulsory referendum is that *it is an attempt to do away with Division of Labor.* This is unwise, for it is impossible for the voters to familiarize themselves with all the bills that are passed by a legislative body. Even the members of legislative bodies do not attempt to do so, for it is practically impossible. They accept the report of the legislative committee as to all points, except where a minority report calls attention to disagreements. These points of difference, the legislator has time to investigate, but he cannot investigate every part of each bill. The same principle holds true as to the voters. They must accept the bills agreed upon by their representatives, except upon the specific points upon which the minority make a strenuous

contest. On these points the testimony is taken and arguments made. The arguments are based upon the facts set forth in the testimony and *the gist of the case can go to the voters and be examined by them. This is practicable, and much more so than is the case where an entire platform is thrown at the voters with but few specific points raised, and as to those, no testimony as to facts or principles, but pure demagoguery by the side that tries to conceal the truth.*

In short, the optional referendum is practicable because (1) the voters are called upon to examine only a few points (much fewer than are raised under the party system of legislation); (2) the questions presented are in such shape that the truth is readily ascertained by the voters; and (3) upon each measure there is stated a specific "Yes" or "No." This system is worthy of being termed civilized. The party system of legislation is mediaeval, to say the least. Evolution in the systems of representative government is from the Party System, with its "machine" (through which a few men rule by the use of wealth), to Guarded Representative Government, a system in which there is division of labor and it is carried to a high degree of perfection. The nomination and election of the people's representatives are uninfluenced by the power of wealth, and the representatives that are elected are shorn of all power to use their delegated power for selfish ends.

In Switzerland the optional referendum exists in federal affairs and in nine cantons, while the compulsory referendum exists in eight cantons. These facts should be borne in mind whenever there is a criticism of the Swiss system, for example, that the referendum operates to discourage voting or that laws are enacted to compel people to vote. *These valid objections are to the compulsory referendum of all bills. No such objections apply to the optional referendum. In America the optional system is in operation, and no one is advocating the compulsory system for all bills.* It was advocated in one of the earliest books in this country, Sullivan on Direct Legislation, but experience has demonstrated the impracticability of such a scheme.

If it is claimed that there is ring rule even where the referendum exists, the answer is that no ring can rule where all the voters have a right to a direct ballot on public questions.

5. SUMMARY, ALSO ADVICE TO SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

Reviewing the fundamental principles in the system of government that result from the people's sovereignty, we find that it is a highly developed system of Representative Government.

That is the fact which we should always present and emphasize. The ruling few will endeavor to evade the issue and so will their advocates. But we must hold them to the issue. Don't let them dodge it and go into a mere discussion of the referendum vote, which is the usual method of evasion. Show that the mere existence of the people's veto and direct initiative results in a complete change in the system of representative government, as is demonstrated in the preceding chapters, namely, that party government (machine rule) is terminated. In other words, the final authority as to legislation is no longer in the party in power but is in the people, and therefore the government is conducted in the interest of the people.

In the legislative department the character of the representatives is vastly improved, for soon the special privileges are terminated. There are no monopolists to dictate nominations and influence elections, thus the people are free to nominate and elect whoever they may care to choose.

And these representatives are continued in office from year to year, with practically no campaign expenses.

The people hold them in high esteem for there are no charges of boodling or corruption, and the able and public spirited men are elected to office.

The bills enacted by these high-class representatives are in the interest of the people and therefore are adopted *without referendum vote.* Only the close questions are ordered to a referendum vote by petition of five or eight per cent. of the people.

All of these improvements in the representative system are directly due to the people's veto and direct initiative. Unless this fact is clearly grasped and kept in the foreground you are out-generated.

In making Representative Government the issue, the points to emphasize are, Who should possess the veto power, one man or the voters? and why shouldn't the people possess a direct initiative? Why shouldn't the people possess these powers? If the people don't possess these powers the party machine does, and the people are its slaves. But if the people possess a veto power and a direct initiative *they* are the sovereigns and there are no slaves.

Ask for specific objections to a people's veto and a direct initiative. If objections are made, it will be an open attack upon popular government, which will expose the animus, namely, the desire to retain special privileges or an ignorance as to the improved system of representative government. In either case you can readily handle your opponent. Stick to fundamentals and *prove them by the best evidence you can muster*. See especially the testimony as to results in Oregon, South Dakota and Iowa cities.

Emphasize the fact that we point to systems in successful operation, and thus *prove* our case. Our opponents answer by evasion—the usual trick where one has no case. Comment quite fully on this fallacy so that it will loom up in the minds of your hearers or readers. When they fully understand the trick your case will be won.

Remember that it is not majority rule but Enlightened Majority Rule—a vast difference.

Enlightened majority rule should supersede the rule of the few because—First, The process of cen-

tralization has gone so far that the forms of popular government are openly repudiated in three States, Colorado, Utah and Illinois, and civil war prevails in Colorado and may become national at any time—centralization must be terminated; and

Secondly, The aim of legislation under the rule of the few is for their own selfish interests, whereas final power in the people causes the laws to be framed for the general welfare.

From the standpoint of evolution, you can point out that the people's veto and direct initiative are stages in the development of representative government. Evolution, therefore, is working for this reform, consequently it cannot be evaded. It is as immutable as the law of gravitation.

And the higher stage in representative government *benefits all*, just as improvements in electricity or in medicine and surgery benefit all. All participate in the improved state of society.

Further argumentation is at page 63 and Appendix II.

Observe that the referendum is *the people's veto*.

And note, also, that *the initiative includes a referendum vote*. Therefore in mentioning the two systems it will be well to say "referendum and initiative." If you say "initiative and referendum" your hearers usually think of one system only, that in which the people initiate measures and then cast a referendum vote. Prof. Richard T. Ely and Prof. Vincent in "Government in Switzerland" each say "referendum and initiative."

Next we shall describe the legislation that results from the above described system of government.

CHAPTER XX.

PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT RESULTS IN HIGHER STAGES OF CIVILIZATION:

Part IV. Switzerland.

B. LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

1. MERIT SYSTEM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

One of the leading elements discoverable in Switzerland is that the people insist upon an effective service from their employees. Self-interest operates that way. Proof as to the effectiveness of the public service is as follows:

Secretary Doud of the United States Civil Service Commission has stated publicly that the Swiss civil service is of the highest character, fully equal to the Prussian. And Prof. Lowell says:

Appointments to office are not made for political purposes by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do their

work; and yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist.*

2. PUBLIC EMPLOYEES NOT A PRIVILEGED CLASS.

The public employees in Switzerland are not a privileged class, for the people and not the office-holders are the sovereign power. Equal rights prevail. The application of this doctrine is seen in the defeat of a proposal for an old-age pension which was to apply to government employees only. The special privilege for government employees was rejected March 16, 1891 and by the largest majority then known, 353,977 votes to 91,851 ayes.

* Government and Parties in Continental Europe, by Lowell, Vol. II, p. 335.

A Bernese peasant who had voted against the bill stated to Deploige his reason in the following words:

When I am old and past work I do not get a pension. Then why should these gentlemen in the federal offices get one? Their income is much larger than that of many a citizen.*

Compare this with the rule of the few through the party system! Under that system the people are taxed to pay high salaries and in many cases to pension those of the party in power who hold office, while most of the disabled poor are carted to the poor house. Under majority rule there is an abolition of privileged classes. All receive equal treatment. The character of this equal treatment is of a high order.

3. TERMINATION OF MILITARISM WHERE PEOPLE RULE.

Where the people are in power there is no need for a standing army. In other words, one of the results of the people's sovereignty is the termination of militarism. In Switzerland, for example, the federal government is not permitted to maintain a standing army nor "are the cantons allowed, without special permission, to keep standing forces beyond three hundred men each, outside of the mounted police, and of this privilege they do not avail themselves."†

But every citizen is liable to military duty, is carefully drilled, each soldier retaining his arms and accoutrements in his own house, and competition in marksmanship is encouraged.

Thus the republic can "at a moment's notice put more than 280,000 men in the field, and if necessary nearly 500,000 would rise to its defense." All this in a population of only three millions. "No great army is apparent to the eye in time of peace," says Prof. Vincent, and he continues: "No draft upon the youthful strength of the nation withdraws for a term of years a large body of workingmen into an unproductive occupation, yet by careful organization and short periods of drill the whole able-bodied male population has been made into an army. We are carried back to the old Germanic idea of the folk as 'the people in arms.' It is interesting to see how this has all been done under a democratic instead of an absolute form of government; how the army itself is yet to a certain degree republican, and how precision of movement in military affairs is not incompatible with local independence in other departments of state."

The natural defenses of the country have been guarded to the best advantage. Great care has been expended upon the engineering works of the frontier, and there is rapid communication between all parts. Furthermore, "the central government maintains establishments for the manufacture of cartridges, small arms, and cannon, and holds a monopoly of gun-powder, hence is in a position to assume at any moment of danger complete control over all the forces of war, both men and munitions."

4. FREEING OF SUBJECT RACES UNDER MAJORITY RULE—RESTORATION OF AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

Another result which follows from the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the freeing of subject races. It is inconceivable that a free people would refuse to promise to the Filipinos independence under a protectorate, the independence to be attained when, in the opinion of the United States, a stable government is established. Such a promise would restore the great American Republic and do justice to ten million Filipinos. At present the system of government in the United States is that of an *empire*, for the Filipinos and Porto Ricans are held as *subjects*. This is glossed over so far as possible by terming them our Insular Possessions, and in a report by several of the professors in our universities as to how these subject races can be made to yield the greatest revenue, they speak of the United States as the "mother country!" This shows the extremity to which they are driven for language.

The above paragraph is a diversion from our description of the Swiss system of government but the need for treating the subject is sufficient reason for its introduction.

5. ABOLITION OF LEGAL PRIVILEGES WHERE PEOPLE ARE IN POWER—TERMINATION OF TRUST PRICES.

The most important of all the legislation that results from the people's sovereignty is the termination of legal privileges—the termination of private monopoly and trust prices. Self-interest operates in just that way. Where the people rule they refuse to give to one of their number a legal privilege—an authority to tax them. The only exceptions are state capitals, county seats, railroad sites and other locations. They are legal privileges and cannot be dispensed with, for it is impracticable to continually move the capital or a railroad site.

Wherever legal privileges exist that are not necessary it is proof that the legislative power is in the few and not in the people. Where the people are in power they root out the privileges.

In Switzerland, for example, the result of the optional referendum was national control of railway rates and a detailed system of bookkeeping and accounting in order to protect the public. In this way the private control was terminated in 1883. The railways ceased to be a private monopoly and became a publicly regulated monopoly. Later came public ownership.

In the United States, on the other hand, the so-called regulation of monopolies is merely a means for keeping the people quiet while the monopolists charge all that the traffic will bear except as discriminating rates are granted. Such is the case with rare exceptions. The system of government is two-faced, as is described in Chapters III. and IV.

The issuance of paper money is another illustration. In Switzerland the federal constitution provides that "The confederation cannot declare bank notes or other similar paper money to be legal tender, except in extremity in time of war."* But

* Deploige, p. 232, Tomn's Ed.

† Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 223.

* Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 304.

in the United States the private corporations known as national banks are issuing 300,000,000 dollars of legal tender paper money. Each bank note is a legal tender between national banks, which causes it to circulate the same as full legal tender money.

Having demonstrated that the establishment of the people's sovereignty results in the termination of legal privileges, including trust prices, it will be well to note that the excessive charges which come from trust prices are a Private Tax: The trust prices result from legislation or the refusal to legislate and the excessive charge goes into private pockets and therefore is a private tax.

One of the results of the people's sovereignty is the termination of private taxation, as we have shown. Another result is that taxation for public purposes is re-adjusted:—

6. RE-ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC TAXATION AFTER PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IS ATTAINED.

Where the few are in power they manage to evade a large amount of taxes. Such is the case in the United States. The methods of evasion are multitudinous.

But all is different where the people are in power. The Swiss system of taxation is such that individuals are taxed *in proportion to their ability*. Therefore, Progressive Taxation is an established system "and is gradually gaining wider acceptance." Such is the statement by Professor Vincent.

Another student of the Swiss system is Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College. In a letter from Switzerland in 1896 he says:

"This Swiss system of laying heavy burdens on the few for the benefit of the many is not only law; it is law thoroughly and rigidly executed. The laws seem to have been made by the rich men themselves with the definite intention of doing the things named in the law. The laws have been made with the idea of permanence. There is no thought of a mere temporary expedient to overcome a temporary difficulty. These rich men who have taken the lead in fastening heavy burdens on themselves and upon their children seem to really believe that the thing which they have done is just and right. When I have tried to explain to some of them that such measures in America were regarded as socialistic or communistic in their tendency they have thrown their heads back and indulged in a loud horse-laugh. The idea that the bankers and merchants and manufacturers of Switzerland should be accused of communism seemed to them supremely ridiculous! As the wealthy Swiss look upon the men of their own class they are convinced that they are better able to pay taxes than are men of less ample fortunes. It seems to them perfectly natural and right that their superior ability should be duly recognized in the system of direct taxation. It would be difficult to make Americans believe this; but it would be more difficult still to cause the Swiss to understand our American plutocracy. The wealthy Swiss, who thirty years ago determined to establish a system of taxation such as I have described had had actual experience of two radically different kinds of government. Until 1848 they and their class had ruled Switzerland for 300 years. Then there was a decade or two during which this

class fared badly at the elections. The cynic, of course, is sure to say that they took the Democratic name and bound heavy burdens upon themselves for mere prudential reasons to avoid a worse fate, and the cynic may be correct as to the matter of ancient history; but thirty years of this sort of acting has important consequences. At any rate there can be no doubt that now the wealthy classes in Switzerland accept as just and right the paying of a higher rate of taxation than the less wealthy."

7. FREEDOM OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY WHERE PEOPLE RULE—NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS.

Another great principle that results from the people's sovereignty is that self-interest results in Freedom of Commerce and Industry, with few exceptions. This is demonstrated in Switzerland. The federal constitution, Article 31, guarantees freedom of trade and industry throughout the whole extent of the confederation with the following exceptions,—

EXCEPTIONS TO FREEDOM OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN SWITZERLAND.

(1) Government Monopoly of Gunpowder.

The federal government has taken to itself a monopoly of gunpowder, except the low-grade qualities that are used in blasting. This monopoly strengthens the government as against neighboring countries.

(2) Government Monopoly of Alcohol.

The manufacture and sale of alcohol is also a government monopoly. The object is the suppression of private profit in order to diminish the use of the stuff and to prevent injurious adulteration.

The manufacture is controlled by the federal government and the retail sales are controlled by the cantons (states). In this way each locality or state can have prohibition if it chooses, and under the direct initiative the question can be put to a vote as often as five per cent. of the people may demand it.

Ten per cent. of the profits from the wholesale side of the business is expended in combating drunkenness and its effects.

In the ten years, 1885-95, the consumption of alcoholic liquors decreased about 30 per cent. "But," continues Prof. Vincent, "it would not be safe to say that the country had become temperate to this extent, for there is strong reason to believe that part of the reduced alcohol intended for the arts is either purified again and used for drinking or consumed outright in its mixed state."

In Basel, at least, the city by ordinance adopted in 1888 "has assumed the monopoly of retail distribution. This covers the high grades of alcoholic beverages, but not alcohol for use in the arts, nor the weaker spirituous and malt liquors, the sale of the latter being regulated by a system of licenses."*

In the European countries the Prohibition sentiment has not gained much headway as yet, but in the United States the establishment of the people's sovereignty in national and state affairs will mean a wonderful impetus for Prohibition and all forms

* Vincent, p. 118.

of experimentation. Whatever methods will best minimize the evil effects of alcoholic beverages will be ascertained and applied. Progress, therefore, will be exceptionally rapid.

(3) Government Monopoly of Salt.

In Switzerland there is also a government monopoly of the sale of salt. This evidently commenced before the people attained their sovereignty, and is continued without as yet being brought to the ultimate basis, namely, that of supplying salt without taxing the purchasers. It is controlled by cantons, some reaping a profit or tax from the people and others supplying it at cost. The production of the salt is in private corporations while the price of foreign salt is controlled by a salt trust.

(4) Principles Whereby Import Duties Are Levied Where People Rule.

A fourth exception to freedom of trade and manufactures is import duties, and here the federal constitution lays down the principles whereby the tax shall be levied, namely,

Art. 29. The collection of the federal customs shall be regulated according to the following principles:

1. Duties on imports:

- (a) Materials necessary for the manufactures and agriculture of the country shall be taxed as low as possible.
- (b) It shall be the same with the necessities of life.
- (c) Luxuries shall be subjected to the highest duties.

Unless there are imperative reasons to the contrary these principles shall be observed also in the conclusion of treaties of commerce with foreign powers.

2. The duties on exports shall also be as low as possible.
3. The customs legislation shall include suitable provisions for the continuance of commercial and market intercourse across the frontier.

The above provisions do not prevent the confederation from making temporary exceptional provisions, under extraordinary circumstances.*

Last year, 1903, a tariff bill enacted by the federal assembly was ordered to a referendum vote, the petition for the submission of the measure containing the names of about fifteen per cent. of the voters. "The opponents of the measure," writes Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy in the *National New Era* of January 1st, 1904,

urged that it would protect a few industries, some agricultural associations and prohibit the import of some necessities that are not made in Switzerland, but the people voted to accept it. The vote is very mixed up, as we find such purely agricultural cantons as Obwald, Nidwald, the Grisons casting heavy votes for it, and also such city Cantons as Lucerne and Zurich voting for it.

(5) Factory Regulations Where People Are in Power.

Since the dethronement of the ruling few in Switzerland the factory regulations have been vastly improved, as the following examples demonstrate:

* Vincent, p. 298.

CHILD LABOR EFFECTUALLY TERMINATED.

The employment in factories of children under the age of fourteen is prohibited. In the employment of those between fifteen and sixteen years of age, "the time reserved for educational and religious instruction may not be sacrificed to work in the factory." The form of expression here used shows that the aim is to effectually shut out all child labor. "Indeed," says Mr. Dawson, in his volume on "Social Switzerland," "Switzerland continues to occupy a unique position. The federal delegate to the Berlin Labor Congress of 1890 strenuously endeavored to bring the rest of the states there represented up to the same year of fourteen, but in vain, and twelve years was declared for the Congress to be a fitting age at which to introduce a child to factory life, though even ten years in the case of Southern countries."

Of factory inspection, in order to compel the observation of the aforesaid regulations, Mr. Dawson says:

"A careful lookout is kept by the inspectors and their assistants, and the offenders are strictly dealt with."

Additional regulations concerning child labor are as follows:

No juvenile under the age of eighteen may be employed at night or on Sunday, though in case of industries requiring unintermittent work boys of from fourteen to eighteen may be so employed if it appears to be indispensable both to the work and to the technical training of the boys themselves; and here the federal cabinet lay down special regulations as to the number of hours and the health of young workers.

The penalty of each and every infringement of the Federal Factory Act is a fine of from five to five hundred francs (\$1 to \$100), and, in case of repeated offenses, to imprisonment up to three months.

WOMEN ARE PROTECTED.

The women who work in factories are protected by suitable regulations. Sunday and night work are forbidden to women under all circumstances. When they have household duties to perform they may leave work an hour before noon, unless the midday pause be an hour and a half. Concerning women who are about to become mothers, the rule laid down is that both before and after childbirth, a "close time" extending in all to at least eight weeks, shall be observed. The rule prescribes that they are not to be readmitted to the factory without proof that six weeks from the time of confinement has passed. The federal cabinet is empowered to prohibit altogether the employment of pregnant women in certain branches of industry.

These regulations are not rigidly enforced, and the rule as to the period of confinement is virtually a dead letter. "Women so circumstanced," we are told, "generally insist on earning money as long as possible, and only when a slight payment is made to them during absence are they willing to stay away."*

This statement indicates a needed provision in each factory act.

* Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 9.

8 AID TO UNEMPLOYED UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Where employment cannot be found the loss should not fall entirely upon those who are out of work, for they are no more responsible for the industrial depression than are their fellow-citizens. *Therefore, under majority rule the object is to divide the loss.* Consequently in Switzerland the unemployed who really are looking after work are not only kept from starving, but are housed, fed and clothed in a befitting manner. The system is known as the Workmen's Relief Stations.

They are conducted by the local administration, aided by philanthropy. Out-of-work travelers are furnished a lodging, meals, and accommodations free of cost, and also are supplied with shoes and other clothing. The quarters are pleasant, the company respectable, and the atmosphere, both physical and moral, is healthy. The system is so organized as to discourage tramping. The idle vagabond cannot get the Relief Station's traveling passport, and therefore is inferentially proclaimed to be a pest whose proper place is the workhouse. Therefore he makes himself as scarce as possible.

In most of the relief stations efforts are made to find work for such as have no definite prospects before them.

This system of relief stations originated in Germany. It has spread throughout that country and Switzerland. This is a demonstration of its useful character. Of the comparative character of the system in the two countries, Mr. Dawson says: "Though the relief stations of Germany are admirable, those in some of the cantons of Switzerland are understood to take the palm in order of efficiency and success. Eleven of the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland are now united in an 'International Union for Relief In-Kind.'"†

As to the value of the system, Mr. Dawson says:

"The Relief Station system is an incalculable boon to the working classes, and by them is heartily appreciated. At present a determined attempt is being made to supersede private enterprise, where it still exists, by public organization and administration, and this is the inevitable goal of the system in both countries."**

Another assistance to wage earners is Municipal Labor Bureaus. The object is to bring together those who want work and those who desire help. In Berne, Basle, and St. Gall a small fee is charged to the employee and employer. In Geneva the entire cost is a communal charge. The duties of secretary extend to advice to parents as to the best trades in which to apprentice their sons, etc.

There is also Out-of-Work Insurance. In some cases it is of a voluntary character, as in England, but in St. Gall and Basle an experiment has been made with compulsory out-of-work insurance. Another experiment is Labor Colonies. In short, Switzerland, since the attainment of majority rule, has become a laboratory of political experiments. Intelligence is applied, and only those things are continued that are demonstrated to be in line with

the doctrine of equal rights and an intelligent altruism. An illustration of the discriminating character of the legislative undertaking is the care of those who become a public charge:

9. CARE OF DEPENDENTS UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

In Switzerland the dependants who are able to work are placed in an institution where they are compelled to work. The depraved and the lazy good-for nothings are placed by themselves.

DEPRAVED OR LAZY.

"The diet of the inmates," we are told, "while betraying no leaning toward luxury, is ample and wholesome, and sufficiently regardful of individual peculiarities of health and constitution. The mental and recreative faculties of the inmates are not neglected. The appearance of the inmates, without exception," continues our informant, "was that of health and contentment."†

The director of one establishment states that "the people come here as a rule miserable and unhealthy, low and wretched, worn out by careless living and bad sustenance; but they soon become new creatures.||

HOMES FOR AGED POOR.

The care of old people and children, however, is on an entirely different plane. At Berne there is an Old People's Home that is supported by the municipality. It originated in a private foundation. When visited by Mr. Davidson of England in 1895 it contained nearly a hundred old men and women of over 60 years of age. He describes them in the following words:

Whatever may have been the struggle of life which these pensioners have had to fight in the years that are behind them, they have now reached a haven of rest, and what is more, they know it and show it. There is not a sad face in the entire building. The brilliant sunshine which on the morning of my visit filled rooms and corridors, and made them look wondrously gay and cheerful, seemed to typify the moral atmosphere of the place. * * * It was deeply interesting to notice the gladness with which Herr Burki, the poor-law secretary was received. Wherever he appeared he found himself immediately waylaid, stormed, and captured by grateful inmates. Old women would put down their sewing and knitting, old men would forget their pipes and newspapers, and even decrepit octogenarians would hobble forward from their chairs and quiet corners, all anxious to shake his hand and exchange a friendly word, while such as were unable from infirmity to leave their bedrooms bestowed their greetings vicariously. The spontaneous evidence of the esteem and attachment entertained by the municipal poor for the representative of the municipal poor law spoke volumes for the humane and sympathetic manner in which that law is administered in the city of Berne. And when one thinks of it, why should it be otherwise?

Work is quite voluntary in the Old People's Refuge. But though no one is compelled to do anything at all, every one is glad enough to have employment of some kind. * * * For those who do not wish to work there are books, magazines, newspapers, and games,

† Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 133.

** Same citation, p. 137.

† Social Switzerland, by Dawson, p. 228.

|| Same citation, p. 228.

with tobacco for the men, and for the women those tea-pots for two which stimulate gossip in the known way.*

DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

I all but a few cantons the laws are such that no dependent child is placed for even a moment in a poorhouse. They are principally cared for by means of the boarding-out system. In Zurich, for example, so implicitly do the poor law authorities trust the family idea that where there seems a certainty that the child of destitute parents will be properly looked after by those parents, in the event of help being given, they allow them to remain in their natural custody, even though the cost to the town should be greater than with boarding out. Where, however, the home influence and surroundings are morally unwholesome, they are taken from their parents or guardians and placed with foster parents in the country. It is only when the children labor under serious physical or mental defects that they are handed over to special institutions. They are periodically inspected by a public official, as well as by private individuals who do volunteer work.

The education of dependent children is carefully looked after in Zürich. On this point, Mr. Dawson quotes from the poor-law report of Zürich for 1895 and says:

Such enlightened words are in strange contrast to the niggardly policy pursued often enough by English Boards of Guardians, particularly in rural districts, in the matter of pauper education.†

Till 1895 the dependent children of St. Gall were reared in the workhouse of the canton. In that year legislation was secured providing that henceforth no more children should be admitted. The writer cannot report legislation for subsequent years.

Children's Holiday Colonies are quite numerous in Switzerland. Most of the municipalities subscribe a portion of the requisite funds.**

Yet in some places the entire cost is borne by public taxation. Mr. Davidson, in mentioning the children's holiday colonies in connection with the schools of several of the smaller towns, says:

One would think that some of these towns, both because of their delectable situation and their comparative smallness, were of themselves fit resorts for those in quest of health. That the philanthropic of their citizens think differently, when youth is concerned, must undeniably be attributed to a rare solicitude for the welfare of the young, and an altogether praiseworthy anxiety that even the poorest scholar shall at least be able to enter upon the battle of life equipped with a sound body as well as a sound education.||

10. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES UNDER GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in his letter from Switzerland in 1896 says: "I have been surprised at the cool and matter-of-fact way in which the Swiss, through their governmental agencies,

assume control of industrial operations which Americans regard as belonging to private enterprise. The Swiss were among the first to adopt the government telegraph. This suited them so well that when the telephone had fully demonstrated its usefulness, without any special debate or fuss about the matter, they made the telephone an integral part of the postal-telegraphic system. For about \$9 one has the use of a telephone for a year, with connections in all parts of the city and country. They have a parcels post which corresponds to our express business. It cost me 5 cents to send by mail my manuscript on the English Government from one end of Switzerland to the other. For a like service in the United States mail I think I have paid 75 cents. It is only recently that measures have been adopted looking to the government ownership of all the railways of Switzerland, and I have been completely dumbfounded at the apparent lack of interest in the subject. There is no debate, no newspaper discussion. You introduce the subject to an intelligent, patriotic citizen who ought to be profoundly stirred by such a revolutionary measure; and he would show that he was fully aware of the fact that in a few years the government would own the railways, while yet there seemed to him nothing in the event worthy of special remark. The government has recently taken charge of the manufacture and sale of matches. I think the government monopoly of the sale of alcoholic drinks has excited more debate. But the point of interest has been the suppression of drunkenness rather than the industrial effects. There is now a measure before the national legislature for establishing a national bank, and this is causing some newspaper discussion. All these are enterprises of the national government.

"In the cantons and in the cities there are movements of a similar character. Various cantons and communes have in recent years assumed the burden of burying the dead. They give to all, rich and poor, the same sort of a burial, which is simple and expensive. They permit inequalities in life, but are equal in death. The government burial is not usually made compulsory, but our Consul General reports that where it has been adopted it becomes practically universal. * * *

"A few days before I left Geneva the city government voted to build at once twelve tenements to be owned and operated by the city. It was understood that this was only the beginning of an enterprise which admitted of infinite expansion. Yet it excited no more comment than would the announcement of a vote to build a schoolhouse. If the people did not like it they could have demanded the referendum and have stopped it. Yet, so far as I know, no one thought of such a thing.

"From one end of Switzerland to the other there does not seem to be any son of Jay Gould who is ready to stand up and announce in an oracular manner that he believes the interference of the government in their industrial undertaking tends to promote socialism. *There is probably no part of Europe where the socialists are having so hard a time as in Switzerland.* * * * The Swiss know that if they wanted to adopt a communistic form of government they could do so at any moment. There are, however, convinced Socialists in Switzerland, and while their doctrines are neither feared nor approved, yet the

* Social Switzerland, by Dawson, pp. 201, 2, 3.

† Same citation, p. 213.

** Same citation, pp. 236-7.

|| Same citation, p. 239.

socialists themselves are treated with the respect due to ordinary patriotic citizens. They are elected to office and admitted to a share in the government.

*To avoid extinction some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the methods of action."**

This tendency of the people to approve government ownership of monopolies and such other functions as experience demonstrates to be practicable, has been foreseen by conservative economists like President Hadley of Yale University:—

A CONSERVATIVE AMERICAN'S VIEW OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF MONOPOLIES.

In an article in Scribner's Magazine for November 1899, President Hadley speaks of the privately owned industrial monopolies in this country as being ultimately limited in their dividends to "*less than four per cent.*," and in another place in the article he asks:

Will such monopolies be long allowed to remain in the hands of private corporations at all? Is it not rather true that this consolidation is a step in the direction of state ownership of industrial enterprise? Is not a grave crisis at hand in which there will be a decisive struggle between the forces of individualism and socialism, of property and of numbers?

He answers this by saying:

It is quite within the limits of possibility that many of these enterprises will pass into government ownership in the immediate future; BUT IT IS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE THAT THIS TENDENCY TOWARD CONSOLIDATION IS INCREASING THE DANGERS OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISTS AND SOCIALISTS. Its net effect is to diminish these dangers by MAKING THE QUESTION OF STATE OWNERSHIP RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT TO THE PUBLIC AS A WHOLE. This may seem like a surprising statement, but there are a great many facts to justify it. There has been of late years, in connection with these movements toward consolidation, AN APPROXIMATION IN CHARACTER BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS. Formerly the two were sharply distinguished; to-day their methods are much closer to one another. Private business can do little more than pay interest on the capital involved, because of the increased intensity of modern competition. Public business can do no less than pay interest on the capital involved, because of the increased vigilance of the taxpayers; for the taxpayers will not tolerate a deficit which increases their burdens. But obviously the position of a consumer toward a private business which pays less than four per cent. is not likely to be very different from his position toward a public business which pays more than three. The distinction from the financial standpoint is thus reduced to a minimum; nor is it much greater, if we look at the matter from the operating standpoint. The officers of a large private corporation have almost ceased to come into direct contact with the stock holders; and to a nearly equal degree our public administrative officials who actually do the work have ceased to come in contact with the voters. The private officer no longer seeks simply to please the individual group of investors; the public official no longer strives simply to please the individual group of politicians. The man who does so is in either case charged, and rightly

*charged, with misunderstanding the duties of his office. The more completely the principles of civil service reform are carried out, the closer does the similarity become. The responsibility of public and private officials alike leads them to the exercise of technical skill and sound general principles of business policy, rather than to the help of individual private interests. Under these circumstances, the character of good public business and good private business becomes SO NEARLY ALIKE THAT IT MAKES COMPARATIVELY LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO MOST OF US WHETHER AN ENTERPRISE IS CONDUCTED BY OUR VOTERS OR BY OUR FINANCIERS. The one question to ask is, Which method produces in any case the fewer specific abuses? We may look with confidence to the time when the question of state ownership of industrial enterprises will cease to be a broad popular issue, and become a business question; which economic considerations may perhaps lead society to decide in favor of public control at one point and private control at some closely related point will depend upon circumstances. * * * The question of state ownership of industrial enterprises, instead of becoming an acute national issue, as so many now expect, will tend rather to become relatively unimportant, and may not improbably be removed altogether from the field of party politics.*

Such are the views of President Hadley of Yale University, who is noted for his conservatism.

11. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH UNDER ENLIGHTENED MAJORITY RULE.

Reviewing the foregoing section the following facts appear:

1. The people's rule results in the termination of private monopoly charges. In other words, the excessive charges are terminated—taxation for private purposes is stopped. Stated in another way, the monopolists are stripped of legal privileges. In this way the monopolists in foreign lands are kept from "bleeding" the country, as also are the home-brand.

2. The monopolists no longer distribute wealth for political purposes.

3. The wealth which the monopolists stacked up before the people's rule began in Switzerland is taxed in various ways. For example, a progressive inheritance tax law is levied, which tends to prevent the transmission of large fortunes to children. A progressive income tax restores to the people themselves a portion of the plunder which the monopolists secured through private taxation.

4. The Swiss system of taxation also prescribes that each individual shall contribute to the social welfare *in proportion to his ability*. In all countries this is recognized as morally right, and it applies to the services of the citizen *in all his relations to society*: (a) In case of war, society may draft him and send him to the front, where he runs the risk of being shot and killed; (b) in times of peace it is his duty to serve the public in such capacity as he is best fitted. In some cases, to quit a private position for public office, even though the financial return is but a small proportion of what the income would be in private life, and in which position there is no cartooning in the public press—all this in place of a life of leisure and culture; (c) those engaged in acquiring wealth should be taxed thereon in proportion to their ability.

These principles are fairly well applied in all

* American Journal of Sociology for 1896 published by University of Chicago, pp. 37-40.

the relations of life in Switzerland. The heads of the several departments in federal affairs "are obliged to live like modest citizens, with no distinctions of residence, guards or equipage. But the honor attached to the office and the reasonable security of tenure have been sufficient to draw out an eminently respectable class of men who have served their country well."*

Every male citizen is trained in arms from the time he is ten years of age, yet there is no standing army. Those who from physical defect or for other reason are exempted from military duty, pay a heavy tax, the maximum of which is \$600 per year, with a right in the government to double the sum while war lasts.

In the matter of progressive taxation for public purposes, "it has met with the approval of the people wherever adopted, and is gradually gaining wider acceptance." In this way the contribution to the public purse is in proportion to ability and opportunity.

The whole question of public duty under majority rule was summed up in 1748 by Montesquieu in *The Spirit of Laws* in these words:

* Government in Switzerland, by Vincent, p. 219.

The love of equality in a democracy limits ambition to the sole desire, to the sole happiness, of doing greater service to our country than the rest of our fellow-citizens. They cannot all render her equal services, but they all ought to serve her with equal alacrity. At our coming into the world, we contract an immense debt to our country, which we can never discharge.

The cause of abundant funds for public purposes under majority rule is thus described in *The Spirit of Laws*:

The love of frugality limits the desire of having to the study of procuring necessities to our family, and superfluities to our country. Riches give a power which a citizen cannot use for himself, for then he would be no longer equal. They likewise procure pleasures which they ought not to enjoy, because these also would be repugnant to equality.

Thus well-regulated democracies, by establishing domestic frugality, made way at the same time for public expenses, as was the case at Rome and Athens, when magnificence and profusion arose from the very fund of frugality. And as religion commands us to have pure and unspotted hands when we make our offerings to the gods, the laws should require a frugality of life to enable us to be liberal to our country.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS AS TO SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION UNDER PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IN SWITZERLAND.

In Prof. Lowell's book, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, the summary as to the results that have flowed from the people's sovereignty in Switzerland is as follows:

The Swiss Confederation is, on the whole, the most successful democracy in the world. [It is the only democracy in the world, for in no other country is there a people's veto and direct initiative.] Unlike almost every other state in Europe, it has no irreconcilables,—the only persons in its territory who could, in any sense, be classed under that name being a mere handful of anarchists, and these, as in our own land, are foreigners. The people are contented. The government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown, and appointments to office are not made for political purposes by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do the work; And yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist.

Turning and reviewing the presentation in the preceding chapters, it is clear that the people's sovereignty in Switzerland is Conservatively Progressive. The people do not change a law until they are practically certain that the departure from the existing order of things will be no experiment. This is an element of strength. It prevents erroneous steps.

Reviewing the Swiss system as a whole—that is, "something absolutely new on the face of the earth," as Prof. Macy says, it is seen that it is a system whereby the highest character of public service is secured, while the facts and principles as to social development are carefully worked out and applied by experts, thus insuring a progressive development, the height of which will be limited only by the development of science. What these developments will be cannot be foretold nor even imagined, for the unfoldment of science and of human faculties will make possible that of which we of to-day have never dreamed.



BOOK III.

PROBABLE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION IN UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORECAST BY WORTHY MASTER HILL OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE, PRESIDENT GOMPERS AND BY WRITER—SOCIALIST PARTY THEORIES CONTRASTED.

Turning to the United States and bearing in mind the steady development of the referendum in this country during the past hundred and thirty years, and the immutable laws of social evolution it is clear that the people are to become the sovereignty power. Evolution is toward the people's sovereignty, therefore it is assured.

The change from the rule of the few to democracy and republicanism will be in America, as in Switzerland, the greatest change that the world has ever experienced, for ever since the loss of majority rule in the early Teutonic states some 1100 years ago there has existed the rule of the few, the proportion changing somewhat but in no wise abrogating all the special privileges. To-day we are on the threshold of the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the United States, which unerringly tends to abolish all legal privileges. The tendency is to equal rights and it extends to all the relations of life, which may be classified as a tendency to equality in health, wealth, knowledge, sociability, beauty and righteousness.

In this progress all classes are benefited for none are pulled down but all tend to higher and higher levels, the results of which during the coming millions upon millions of years no one can imagine. An effective brotherhood of man is at hand and is to be developed. Certain it is that it will include a highly developed world-state, which means a cessation of military and naval wars, and competition for private gain will gradually be supplanted by competition for the public good. Political liberty will result in economic liberty. How far the unification of industry will extend no one can foretell.

This tendency to a higher order of life which flows from the establishment of the people's sovereignty, is being seen on all sides. The following statement is by Worthy Master Hill of the Pennsylvania State Grange, who is editor, also, of this periodical:

STATEMENT BY WORTHY MASTER HILL.

"From a desire to promote the greatest good for the greatest number the State Grange of Pennsylvania lends its influence for the establishment of the advisory referendum and advisory initiative in national affairs. It is Grange doctrine that there should be justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. We have repeatedly asked that inequalities be righted, but in recent years the monopolists have been all-powerful. So long as this continues they wield it to the disadvantage of the great majority of the people. The time has come when, through the combined efforts of organized farmers, wage-earners and business men, the people's right to a direct vote can be installed thereby terminating the monopolist's power. With the advisory initiative and advisory referendum in operation we can soon elect United States senators by direct vote; postal savings banks can be established; railway rates can be equitably adjusted; the parcels post can be enlarged and extended; the friction between wage-earners and employers can largely be allayed; the burdens of taxation can be equalized; etc., etc.

"The voters' direct ballot upon questions of national concern will cause a new sense of responsibility which will help them to arrive at right conclusions. All the people cannot be fooled all the time hence the present great awakening. It is an omen of a brighter future and the Grange speeds the movement, hoping for an early realization."

A leading representative of organized wage-earners has also outlined some of the results of the advisory initiative and referendum.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in an extra number of the official magazine, issued the 15th of last month (July, 1904), says:

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

"All classes, as we have said, will be benefited by the establishment of the people's sovereignty, which operates through guarded representative government. Something as to what the future under the system will be in the United States can be foretold in a broad way. Certain it is that the people's self-interest will cause the removal of excessive rates on the railroads and for other monopoly services, and all discriminations between shippers and other users of monopoly services will be terminated.

"And the labor question in these monopolized industries will assume an entirely different phase, for as rapidly as public ownership of the transportation monopolies is entered upon there will be no strikes or lockouts in these monopolies, and during the transition to public ownership of the transportation systems there is pretty sure to be an equally satisfactory solution of the wage question. It is inconceivable that the people will sanction anything short of an equitable system as between the great transportation monopolies and the men and women who operate the system.

"In the monopolies of raw materials, such as coal beds and iron ore beds, the people will terminate the private monopoly feature, which will mean public ownership or a return to competitive conditions. In either case there will be a decided gain to the wage-earners in these industries and to all consumers of coal and iron and their products.

"With the establishment of equal rights in transportation and to raw materials there will be a restoration of competitive prices, actual or potential in all lines of manufacture and trade, thereby terminating monopoly prices in the industrial trusts and protecting the interests of all the people.

"Such will be the immediate results that will flow from the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the enactment of legislation. Whether or not the tendency to monopoly will continue can not be foretold, but we are sure that the system of enlightened majority rule through guarded representative government will adequately care for the public interests.

"Returning to the details of the proposed system for the advisory initiative it should be specially noted that it applies only to eleven topics, excluding the tariff question and all other questions upon which there is a divided opinion.

"Of these eleven topics to which the advisory initiative is applicable, part of the topics authorize the submission of constitutional amendments for the direct nomination and election of United States senators, congressmen, president, and vice-president, and the installation of the usual form of the optional referendum and direct initiative, also proportional representation. The other topics are the burning questions of the day, thus opening the way for the immediate use of the direct initiative as to criminal interstate trusts, government by injunction, and other pernicious evils.

"In all this there is a unity of interests. All the producers and consumers are interested and should exert their every effort to attain the fullest liberty and the highest civilization. No individual is to blame for existing conditions, for it is the system—the rule of the few. But all will be to blame if the system is not changed, now that a safe and evolutionary path is pointed out. Evolu-

tion is a law of nature and the minds of men must select the peaceful paths of progress."

The above is on such broad lines that it would seem that every thinking person must agree. All must admit that the people's self-interest is against monopoly prices and discriminating rates. Admit this and all else follows: The open question is said to be,

Will the tendency to monopoly continue?

On this point no one can prophesy with anything like certainty, for so many new factors are involved. But President Gompers well says:

Whether or not the tendency to monopoly will continue can not be foretold, but we are sure that the system of enlightened majority rule through guarded representative government will adequately care for the public interests.

Bear in mind that "guarded representative government" means a vast improvement in the institutions for ascertaining and applying social truths. In this system *the final judgment as to each measure will be the enlightened will of the people, whose verdict must invariably be for Personal Liberty and Private Property* TO THE UT-MOST DEGREE PRACTICABLE, as is demonstrated in Switzerland. The Socialist party of America, in so far as it has copied from German ideals as to the future of society, must change its program, as it has done in Switzerland. Says Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College in a letter from Switzerland to his students in 1896:

There is probably no part of Europe where the Socialists are having so hard a time as in Switzerland. * * * To avoid extinction some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the methods of action.

The reason why the German ideal as to the future of society is erroneous is because the German theorists have never experienced political liberty AND THEREFORE CANNOT FORECAST THE CONDITIONS IN A STATE WHERE POLITICAL LIBERTY EXISTS. In so far, therefore, as the Swiss actualities differ from the German Socialists' ideal, it is clear that the Germans are in error.

LIKE CAUSES PRODUCE LIKE EFFECTS.

In the foregoing it has been taken for granted that the establishment of the people's sovereignty in the United States will produce the same general results as has the people's sovereignty in Switzerland. In other words, it is assumed that *like causes will produce like effects*. Self-interest will operate in the United States the same as it has operated in Switzerland. This is as true as is the law of gravitation.

The differences in conditions which will result in different laws are fundamental differences, such as the love of music or of scenery and differences in the habits of life, but even these will change gradually under the change of environment that will result from changes in the law, due to the establishment of the people's sovereignty.

In both countries self-interest demands the termination of legal privileges. And the Americans will demand, as have the Swiss, that the laws for the collection of public taxes be re-adjusted.

From this affirmative statement of the case let us consider what the objectors have to say.

CHAPTER XXII.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA DEBATED.

I. Prof. Lowell's Objections to Completion of People's Sovereignty in the United States.

Professor A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, in the concluding paragraphs of his two-volume work, "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," describes the unquestioned eminence of the Swiss government, page 60, above, and continues:

All this bears witness to the capacity of the Swiss for self-government, and to the integrity and statesmanship of their rulers. But it must be remembered that Switzerland is free from many of the difficulties that perplex other nations.

The country is small, and experience proves that the larger the population the harder is the problem of free government.

The Swiss, moreover, furnish in their social condition the very best material for democracy. Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed. There are no great manufacturing centers with their army of operatives; no huge cities with their seething proletariat, and their burden of ignorance, poverty and vice.

There is no long line of immigrants, unused to the laws and customs of the land, to be trained and assimilated.

There are no vast territories to be subdued, no mines or other great natural resources to be devel-

oped, and hence no immense mass of eager restless capital, always taking some new shape and presenting some new question.

The people are also decidedly stationary, not perpetually moving about from one part of the country to another, and rising and falling in the social scale.

Bagehot once said that the men of Massachusetts could work any constitution, and this may be repeated of the Swiss. The reason in each case is the same, for Switzerland is to-day in the same state that New England was in formerly. The social conditions are tolerably equal, the minimum level of education high, and political experience abundant. The Swiss statesmen deserve the highest praise for their labors, and the greatest admiration for their success, *but we must beware of thinking that their methods would produce the same effects under different conditions.* The problem they have had to solve is that of self-government among a small, stable and frugal people, and this is far simpler than self-government in a great, rich and ambitious nation.

These are the concluding words in Prof. Lowell's book. He states the case as strongly against the Referendum System as is possible. But to each of the objections there is a valid answer:—

II. Answers To Objections—Fallacies Exposed.

THE ISSUE IS OBSCURED.

The first point to be noted in considering the objections which Professor Lowell advances, is that the issue is obscured. He nowhere states the question at issue, namely, Is it preferable for the people to continue the rule of the few through the party machine, which results in private monopolies, imperialism, militarism, graft and the other evils of machine rule; or should the people take to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative, a system of government in which their sovereignty is effectually guarded and which terminates machine rule and all its evils?

As between these two alternatives the people will experience no difficulty in deciding.

But let us reply specifically to the objections urged by Professor Lowell.

AMERICANS A HIGHLY DEVELOPED PEOPLE.

Prof. Lowell impliedly states that the American people are less capable of self-government than the Swiss. That is not the issue. The question is, Shall machine rule be continued in the United States or shall it be terminated by the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative?

Before going into this question let me say that it is probable that our people are as highly developed as the Swiss. The Swiss attained their sovereignty ahead of us *because of a difference in the system of government.* Theirs had no executive veto and no judiciary veto. This caused them to apply the people's veto without experimenting with an executive veto and a judiciary veto, as we have. Turning to our own history we find that our people were the first in the world to vote di-

rectly on the adoption of a state constitution. This was in 1778, over a hundred years ago in Massachusetts.

This system of voting on state constitutions spread steadily to other states: to New Hampshire the next year, to Kentucky in 1799, to Mississippi in 1817, to Connecticut the next year, to New York the fourth year, and to Virginia in 1830. Not until this time, 1830, did the Swiss secure a direct vote on the constitutions of the cantons.

In the United States we went steadily forward and the people in every state in the Union except Delaware have voted upon the adoption of a state constitution—the most important of all the state laws.

Through the constitutional convention followed by referendum vote, the people have taken to themselves a veto power on the more important of the legislative questions in the states and thus stopped the repudiation of state debts (page 35 above), put an end to wild-cat banking in the states (page 35, above) and they effectually curbed the extortions of the railway monopolies within the state (page 35, above).

But the railway question has become interstate and when the people make up their minds to extend the direct vote to the interstate questions they will control the interstate railways and other interstate monopolies. No new principle is involved, except that the direct initiative should be adopted (an essential element in the people's sovereignty). This direct initiative is more conservative than party government, whether controlled by the trusts or by the leaders of a radical party, as is demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

DIRECT INITIATIVE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN TRUSTOCRACY.

The adoption of the direct initiative as to the interstate railway problem will be much more conservative than to go forward under the prevailing system—the rule of the trusts, for the suppression of competition is a new thing in the world, and to continue the trust development in the hands of the few is the most radical step that can be taken. THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT THIS IS SO AND WILL NOT PERMIT IT IF THEY CAN STOP IT. THEY CAN STOP IT, AND ALMOST IMMEDIATELY, BY QUESTIONING LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES AS TO THE IMMEDIATE INSTALLATION OF THE ADVISORY INITIATIVE AND ADVISORY REFERENDUM. THIS QUESTIONING SYSTEM IS BEING APPLIED, as we shall point out in Book VI.

DIRECT INITIATIVE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN A RADICAL PARTY MACHINE.

And bear this in mind: To go forward under party government *would eventually mean the triumph of a Radical party machine* WHICH WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN CIVIL WAR AND WIDE-SPREAD CONFISCATION. We ran into civil war in 1861 when the question was far less difficult than the one before us to-day, and we were forced to the brink of civil war in 1876, also in 1884, again in 1896, and civil war actually exists in Colorado to-day and has for many months. In Colorado the trusts have openly repudiated the people's sovereignty, having induced the legislature to refuse to put into operation a constitutional amendment regularly submitted by a preceding legislature and adopted by the people. And in Utah two legislatures have likewise repudiated the people's sovereignty. In Illinois one legislature has refused to carry out the people's instructions to submit a constitutional amendment. Either civil war will eventually spread from Colorado to other states and to the nation at large or the referendum will be adopted. Only these two courses are possible.

Analysis shows just *why* the Referendum System is more conservative than a Radical party:

ANALYTICAL PROOF AS TO CONSERVATIVE QUALITIES OF DIRECT INITIATIVE.

1. The use of the Referendum System will at once cut off the excessive and unequal monopoly charges, such as discriminating railroad rates and discriminating charges for raw materials such as iron ore and coal. *thus restoring competitive prices in the steel industry and all other lines of manufacturing and distribution, but it will be a mere easing up and not a cessation of the tendency to monopoly; and*

2. *There will be no confiscation of property but taxation will be re-adjusted.*

These conservative results will come because of the admirable character of the Referendum System. The proposed laws will not come through a platform framed in a national convention and go at once before the people for final action, but carefully framed bills will be proposed to congress through the direct initiative, and congress may consider the case for a full year, taking testimony and framing a competing measure or measures, and then the case will go to the people through a ref-

erendum ballot*—*a far more conservative system than voting for an entire party platform to be carried out by a few radical leaders.*

The Referendum System, therefore, is much more conservative than a radical party. History as well as analysis demonstrates that this is so:

HISTORICAL PROOF.

We have the history of the direct initiative in the cities of Iowa and South Dakota, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other municipalities, also the history of the direct initiative in state affairs in Oregon and South Dakota and in Switzerland, also in federal affairs in Switzerland, the details of which have been outlined in the preceding chapters. The conservative character of guarded representative government is recognized wherever it is installed. No one would think of going back to the rule of the few with its demagoguery, corruption, poverty, illiteracy, child labor and other evils. In the words of Prof. Frank Parsons:

I was recently in Switzerland for several weeks, visiting nearly all the most important cities and talking with men of every class—heads of government departments, presidents of cities, college professors, hotel proprietors, secretaries of chambers of commerce, lawyers, doctors, editors, business men and workingmen of every description—and I did not find one man who wishes to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people.

The fact that the people are actually more conservative than the radical leaders was testified to in 1884 in the following words by M. Zemp, a noted Swiss conservative.

Ten years ago we watched the introduction of the referendum into the constitution with considerable anxiety, but to-day our fears have been dissipated. As federalists we were in doubt in 1874 as to the result of the exclusion of the vote by cantons. We were all laboring under a wrong impression at that time. *We have been taught by experience that the Swiss people are distinctly more conservative than their representatives [in the Radical party.]*

To the same effect is the statement of the eminently conservative professor of social science in Columbia University in New York, Dr. John B. Clark, who says:

The referendum is bound to come or more and worse mischief than we have thus far experienced will come.

Says Prof. John R. Commons in concluding a careful review of the people's sovereignty in Switzerland:

Direct legislation in Switzerland has abundantly shown that the people are safer than their rulers. *Extremists have no hope in them. They vote down the*

* Jefferson said: "The instability of our laws is really a very serious inconvenience. I think that we ought to have obviated it by deciding that a whole year should always be allowed to elapse between the bringing in of a bill and the final passing of it. It should afterwards be discussed and put to the vote without the possibility of making any alteration in it; and if the circumstances of the case required a more speedy decision, the question should not be decided by a simple majority, but by a majority of at least two-thirds of both houses." (Quoted in Democracy in America, by De Tocqueville, Vol. I, p. 262).

bills of both reactionaries and radicals. This is true not merely in the country districts but also in the cities, where the unpropertied working classes are supposed to show disregard of property rights. Direct legislation gives voice and influence to the great mass of home-loving, peaceable, industrious people, who make little agitation and who are not heard in the ordinary clamor of politics. Such people are fair-minded and love justice. They want only what they earn, but they want it themselves. They are the bulwark of democracy. They cannot be crowded or dazed. They wait until they understand. Yet in the long run, at the second or third voting, it is found that they are ready to accept progressive measures. *They voted down government railroads twice, partly because of the exorbitant price the legislature agreed to pay to the private owners;* but finally, when the question reached the stage where it excited almost no discussion, they voted in its favor by a large majority. So with other measures. Says M. Stussi, in his notable account of direct legislation in the city of Zurich: "All laws useful to the canton have been accepted, even those which demanded considerable money sacrifices from the people. No law which would really have advanced either moral or material progress has been definitely laid aside. In those rare cases which seem to contradict this conclusion, the referendum has simply displayed its inherent ultra-conservative character and delayed an advance which would seem to most to be too rapid."

SUMMARY.

Summarizing the points thus far considered it appears that Professor Lowell obscures the issue. The issue is, Shall the trusts rule or shall the people assert their sovereignty through guarded representative government? When thus stated there is no question as to what the people's decision will be.

Replying to specific objections, Prof. Lowell's statement that the Americans are not so well fitted for self-government as the Swiss, is not the issue. The question is, Which is preferable, our system of party government (machine rule) or guarded representative government? The Swiss, however, are not more highly developed than the American people, the difference in appearance being due to a difference in the system of government.

Turning to a consideration of the actual effect should our people establish their sovereignty, it has been shown that it would be conservative as compared with the mighty change which the rule of the trusts has brought about and is rapidly extending; and on the other hand the people's sovereignty would be much more conservative than the triumph of a radical party machine, which must eventually come into power if the people do not establish a right to a direct vote. Of the conservative nature of guarded representative government we are not left to mere theory but point to highly successful results in Iowa, South Dakota, Oregon, San Francisco and in Switzerland. No one who has experienced the change would for a moment consent to go back to the rule of the few with its private monopolies, corruption, poverty, illiteracy, child labor and other evils.

LARGE AREA OF UNITED STATES.

But, says Professor Lowell and other objectors to the establishment of self-government in the people, The area of the United States is too great for the successful working of the Referendum System!

We reply, Not so, for the people are already voting on national issues. The only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a referendum ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of candidates. Iowa, South Dakota and Oregon already have provisions for the referendum ballot at every election. It is thoroughly practicable, and for several reasons: The people's decision as to legislative agents is separated from their decision as to questions of public policy, the vote on public questions being direct whenever 5 or 8 per cent. of the voters desire that a question or questions shall be submitted.

In this way the several issues before the country are separated, for the people can accept one and reject another, whereas under the party platform system the entire program of a party must be accepted or rejected.

But the people vote on few measures, as has been said, and these referendum votings are at the regular election. No special elections need be held. No extra expense need be involved. In fact, there is a great saving in election expenses, for in place of the present hurrah for candidates and the expenditure of millions of monopoly funds—in place of this, there will be no monopoly funds in the election contests and these contests will be dignified and manly, for none of the great issues will be decided by the election of men to office.

It is clear, then, that the large area of the country is no obstacle to the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the termination of trust rule. The only objectors are the trusts themselves and the people whom they are deceiving.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

"Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed in Switzerland," says Prof. Lowell. True. But this desirable condition in Switzerland has resulted from the people's sovereignty, as is pointed out in preceding sections. *If the United States is to cease its tendency to centralization of wealth, it must turn from the rule of the few by installing the people's sovereignty.* This is a self-evident proposition.

MANUFACTURING CENTERS—IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND VICE.

Our "great manufacturing centers, with their army of operatives" is another of Professor Lowell's objections to the establishment of the people's sovereignty. This of itself is not a well-grounded objection to the referendum. But the ignorance, poverty and vice which he mentions AND WHICH HAVE INCREASED, *will be checked by establishing the Referendum System.* And to check this ignorance, poverty and vice is just what we should aim at. The Referendum System does it by increasing the school facilities, installing compulsory education and stopping child labor, and stopping also the inflow of illiterate immigrants. In other words, the Referendum System is needed to prevent the increase of ignorance and vice just as it is needed to stop the centralization of wealth.

Furthermore, the ignorance and vice in cities will not interfere with the workings of the Referendum System; as is demonstrated by practical experience. There is no vote-purchasing in Ref-

erendum elections as to street railways and other great questions. (See the history of Referendum votings in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York State—the enlargement of the Erie canal), and this absence of vote-purchasing results in the self-disfranchisement of the ignorant and careless voters. But more than all is the fact that the representatives of the people represent the people's interests. The Referendum, then, is the cure for the ignorance and vice in this country, for our people as a whole stand high in intelligence. Our public school system and religious liberty long since resulted in our voting upon public questions. Now we want our votes to become effective. We want to terminate the rule of the trust magnates. And evolution is working toward their overthrow as inevitably as gravitation brings down the apple.

NEWLY-ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS.

Prof. Lowell points to our newly-arrived immigrants, but he fails to point out the increasing illiteracy of immigrants due to action of the steamship trust and railroad trust. *They have prevented the enactment of an educational qualification for immigrants.* The establishment of the Referendum would result in a statute for an educational qualification. No one can successfully dispute this. Furthermore, the evil effects of the ignorance of the illiterate immigrants who are here will be minimized when we establish the Referendum System.

CHIEF FALLACY EXPOSED.

In conclusion, bear in mind that Switzerland used to have corruption and a tendency to centralization of wealth until the people established their sovereignty, since which time the magnificent changes have been wrought. We must not let these favorable results of the people's sovereignty be used as a successful argument against the establishment of the system. On this point Prof. John R. Commons says:

"Some of the explanations offered to account for the success of the Referendum in Switzerland show a curious reversal of cause and effect. They seem to imply that the Swiss people dropped into the initiative and referendum through the possession of some unexplained hereditary instinct, just as an insect flies to its proper food without being taught. It is said that the Referendum is successful in Switzerland while it would not be so in England and America, because the Swiss have no hard-and-fast 'parties'; because they have greater respect for one another's opinions; because they do not have wide extremes of wealth; because they do not vote against legislators for re-election even though they vote against the laws of these same legislators at the Referendum; because they are a quiet, peaceable, home-staying folk, etc. It is true that these qualities accompany the successful use of the Referendum; *but they are its fruits, not its soil. They are results, not its causes.* The Swiss were at one time the mercenary soldiers of European kings and dukes, and they brought to their homes the low morals and turbulence of such a life. Yet it is agreed that, in the cantons that formerly were noted for violence and bloodshed, there has been a marked decline in homicide and other forms of crime since the introduction of the Referendum."*

* The Arena, December, 1899.

In the article from which we have quoted Prof. Commons further said:

EVIL CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND WHICH RESULTED IN ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S VETO AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

"The Swiss people are free from the corrupting extremes of wealth and poverty because the Referendum headed off the encroachments of boodlers, bribers, and monopolists, and all kinds of special legislation by which so many American fortunes have been created. *Prior to the adoption of the Referendum Switzerland was going through an era of political villainy quite similar to that which the American people know so well. In fact, SWISS POLITICS FROM 1830 TO 1860 READS QUITE LIKE A CHAPTER IN CURRENT AMERICA.* It was no abstract philosophy nor democratic instinct that brought the Referendum. The people were driven to it as the only certain means of expelling corrupt wealth from politics. The alliance between the private corporations—the railways and the banks—that furnished the funds and the politicians who manipulated the people was exactly that to which Americans are now slowly opening their eyes. *No matter which of the two parties elected its candidates, the result was the same.* Election promises were violated—the people were sold out. Franchises were granted, subsidies and tax exemptions were bestowed, and extremes of wealth and poverty were forced upon the people by law, simply because the lawmakers were absolute. They voted these special privileges; they received their share and their perquisites from the boodlers; they were building up political machines and controlling elections with these funds taken from the people, and there was no restraint. *The Referendum was the remedy. The canton of Vaud adopted it immediately following an especially exasperating grant of subsidy to a railroad corporation. Other cantons followed. The movement is likened by Deploige to a perfect wave of DEMOCRACY SWEEPING OVER THE COUNTRY.* The remedy was complete. Switzerland was rescued from the evils that now threaten the life of other democracies. No longer could lawmakers sell out the people; they could no longer 'deliver the goods'. The people themselves must ratify the sale. The Referendum was the people's vote."

In America this Referendum System is later in coming than in Switzerland, for we have an executive veto and judiciary veto, which never existed in Switzerland. And we have found out that the use of this executive veto and judiciary veto has infected these branches of the government with the legislature's vices. It is only by installing a people's veto and direct initiative that corruption and special privileges are weeded out and that effective administration and legislation steps in.

SUMMARY OF ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS.

Summarizing the foregoing answers to objections to the establishment of sovereignty by the people of the United States, it is demonstrated by indisputable evidence that the Americans are warranted in asserting their sovereignty as against the rule of the monopolists through the party machines.

The large area of the country is no objection for the people are already voting on national issues, the only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a Referendum Ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of the candidates. This system is in successful operation in Iowa, South Dakota and Oregon and can be extended.

These facts demonstrate that the people of the United States are warranted in taking from the monopolists the powers of sovereignty. The objection against this course, that there is a much greater concentration of wealth in the United States than in Switzerland, is an argument for the establishment of the people's sovereignty, for it will put a stop to concentration and tend to decentralization.

And the objection that we have great manufacturing centers with ignorance, poverty and vice, is also an argument for the termination of machine rule with its invasion of taxes and inferior school facilities. Furthermore, the illiteracy among newly-arrived immigrants is due to the monopolists, for it is they who have prevented the establishment of an educational test for admission to the privileges of American citizenship.

In short, every argument urged against the sovereignty of the people of the United States is bristling with fallacies. The Swiss are highly advanced because they have experienced the benefits of the improved system of government. Let us install the system by abolishing machine rule and we, too, will have better schools, the robbery of the monopolists will be terminated and all our people will go to a higher and better civilization. The urgent need for terminating the robbery of the trusts is conclusive reason for the establishment of the people's sovereignty. But other reasons

exist, for example, the monopolists' refusal to arbitrate wage differences, which may bring about another coal famine, also another famine in dressed meats, and may tie up all the transportation lines. Furthermore, the monopolists have abolished trial by jury in certain cases, and have prevented a review of facts by higher courts. They are openly repudiating popular government in Colorado, Utah and Illinois, a condition that will become national if existing tendencies to centralization are continued long enough. The only way to abolish these evils is to transfer the sovereign power from the party organization—the party machine, to the people. It is in the line of evolution and therefore is right and will surely come. Our opponents have not shown the contrary and cannot. We have proved our case by the best of evidence, which our opponents have not shaken. Professor Lowell has not touched the real issue which is Shall the people submit to the rule of the trusts or establish their own sovereignty? And where Professor Lowell has presented an objection he has not argued it. For example, he suggests that the area of the country is too great for a direct vote on national questions, but does not attempt to prove it. He suggests that our people are too inferior to make a good use of self-government, but does not attempt to prove it. He points to our manufacturing centers, but does not attempt to prove that the Referendum therein would be harmful, and he cannot prove it for the facts are the exact opposite: the people of San Francisco have demonstrated by actual experience that the Direct Initiative and Referendum promote the general welfare.

It is clear that there are no valid objections to the establishment of the people's sovereignty and the overthrow of the rule of the few.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RESULTS OF REFERENDUM SYSTEM ON PARTY ORGANIZATION.

We have yet to consider the future of political parties in the United States after the transfer of final power from the party machine to the people. In order to forecast the condition we must present a description of the change that has taken place in the Swiss party system. Says Professor Lowell, in his chapters on Switzerland in "Government and Parties in Continental Europe":

Since 1874 [the date of the adoption of the optional referendum in federal affairs in Switzerland] *the course of politics has been smoother, and the condition of the parties has been far more steady.*"

Although parties have never ceased to exist in Switzerland [since 1874] *the government of the confederation is not in any true sense a government by a party.* * * * The parties are collections of individuals who look at public matters from the same standpoint, rather than as political organizations. * * * There are in the confederation no national committees, no elaborate system of primary caucuses and general conventions. The Clericals and Radicals do occasionally hold congresses, but these are simply intended to prevent disruption by discussing the questions of the day, and thus preserving a certain harmony of views, and they take no part in the nomination of candidates for office. A few political associations exist also, of which the most famous is the Grutliverein, composed of workingmen, and advocating advanced opinions. But

although these societies sometimes exert a good deal of influence at elections, and still more at federal referenda, *they rarely try to run candidates of their own and are not really party organizations.* They correspond, in fact, more nearly to our reform clubs, temperance associations, and labor organizations, than to our political parties. The candidates for the National Council are, indeed, nominated by political meetings held in the several districts; but an inspection of the results of the votes shows that *the name of a man who is highly respected, or who has done valuable service, is often put on all the tickets irrespective of party, and that in close districts it is not uncommon to agree on a ticket which includes men from different groups.* * * * In 1887, for example, only 40 per cent. of the seats in the national council were contested, and in five of these the contest was between men of the same party.*

Reviewing the above quotation specially note that *the transfer of the final power from the political party to the people means THE TERMINATION OF PARTY GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL PARTIES EXIST* but they become "collections of individuals who look at public matters from the same standpoint" and they have but little machinery for

* Governments and Parties in Continental Europe by Lowell, 307, 313, 314.

nominating candidates. In other words, the parties "rarely try to run candidates of their own."
* * * THEY CORRESPOND IN FACT MORE NEARLY TO OUR REFORM CLUBS, TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS THAN TO OUR POLITICAL PARTIES."

Such, to a considerable degree, were the conditions in the United States during 1817 to 1824. It was an "era of good feeling". Another era of this character has begun in Oregon: "The first effect of the Referendum in Oregon," writes Hon. W. S. U'Ren, "is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature."

And the Referendum campaigns on constitutional amendments in the several states have always been non-partisan. Likewise the Referendum campaigns on statute law; for example, in New York state last year the proposition to enlarge the Erie canal was submitted to Referendum vote by a Republican legislature and adopted by the votes of Democratic strongholds. In both the Referendum elections in Chicago on public ownership of street railways there were no party politics.

Turning to the political parties themselves, one begins to realize something of the far-reaching change. Instead of the rule of the few through party government with the "outs" endeavoring in every possible way to oust the "ins"—instead of this, *the final power is the people themselves*. Party government is abolished, i. e. government through competing parties is terminated. The final power is in a vote of the people. *It is a single organization in place of competing organizations.*

This tendency to oneness (monopoly) is seen in all departments of our civilization. For example, in the railway systems of the country, the post-office, the telegraph, the steel industry, the sugar industry, etc. Each of these industries has developed to a single organization.

The principle is, *Competition between organizations TENDS TO CEASE. But competition between individuals continues, THERE BEING A CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE COMPETITION.* Where there is a single organization (a monopoly) and it is operated under guarded representative government the question is, Who can best serve the public? instead of, Who can fleece the public? and thereby make the largest possible profit for a private corporation.

The tendency to a single organization is taking place among the nations of the earth, for international law exists, also international courts of arbitration, both of which will be added to gradually until the settlement of *all* international questions will be through these institutions. When such a thing exists the states of the world will have become *fully* merged in a single organization,—the World-State. The time will surely come when the war drum will throb no longer, and the battle flags will be furled "in the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Recurring to the evils of party government, permit me to quote the question which Professor Goldwin Smith asked in the September number of *The North American Review*, 1901:

Is the Party System of Government then to last forever [in England]? Are we to regard as final the division of a nation into organized factions waging a perpetual war of intrigue, calumny and corruption with each other? Is one-half of the community forever to regard the other half as its political enemy? Is it always to be the duty of the minority to make government in the hands of the majority unpopular and unsuccessful? Can any house thus divided against itself expect to stand?

Nature provides, as we have seen, that this strife between competing party organizations shall largely be outgrown within each nation, just as there is being outgrown the strife between competing organizations in the business world. Eventually the political questions in each nation will be settled in a Congress of Experts, elected by the people who reserve in themselves the power of the Veto and of the Initiative. And each monopoly question being a political question, it is to be settled in the manner indicated.

When government through a political party originated it was a step in advance, for it effectually terminated the monopoly of political power in the king and resulted in the separation of church and state. This aided the weak and helpless. But two hundred years have elapsed, and each day that government through a political party is continued it raises up legal privileges and oppresses the weak and helpless, and the life of each individual engaged in bargaining is almost completely in antagonism to the Sermon on the Mount. A change to enlightened majority rule at once sets in operation a succession of causes, each of which tends to produce action that is in conformity to Christ's teachings. *It is clear, therefore, that one's religious duty is to work for the people's sovereignty in the United States.* So long as party government prevails (the rule of the few) there will continue the existing premium for large-scale cheating, lying, stealing and even murder, e. g., the refusal to supply automatic car couplers and other life-saving devices, and there will continue the depressions with hosts of unemployed and consequent evils, such as loss of honor and virtue, starvation, disease, and degeneracy, child labor, miserable surroundings for the unemployed, crowded tenements, etc. In connection with these evils are military and naval wars with their manifold horrors. All this tends to a degeneracy of the race, and, if continued long enough, would result in a complete overthrow by the barbarous races, as the Roman civilization in the days of its degeneracy was overthrown by the barbarians of the North. But the rule of the few is *not* to continue, and in succeeding chapters we shall demonstrate that in this country the time is at hand when party government—machine rule—is to give way to an improved system of representative government.

That this is the dominant issue is declared by nearly all the non-partisan organizations, as we shall show, and we shall point out that not one of the party machines is advocating the abolition of machine rule. Even the machines of the third parties have such an exaggerated opinion of their own capabilities that each wants to become a ruler, promising to be a good despot.

BOOK IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY THE DOMINANT ISSUE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN (1904).

In Book II. there is outlined the development of representative government, showing that the order of progress is from party government to a system in which the people possess a veto power and a direct initiative, thereby regaining the sovereignty which they lost when the states in early Germany and Britain became too large for legislation through direct assemblages.

In the United States at the present time there is party government, except in Oregon and South Dakota where the people have established their sovereignty.

The present-day evils of party government have been pointed out, among which is the existence of private monopolies termed Trusts. This is the principal economic evil, for the robbery of the people amounts to about two billion dollars annually.

Other evils are militarism and the open repudiation of popular government in three states.

The judiciary branch of the government is also controlled by the ruling few, and the federal and state constitutions have been altered by judicial construction, while occasionally a provision has been openly swept aside.

Amid these changes the system of government has been changed from a Republic to an Empire, for the Porto Ricans and Filipinos are held as subjects—a republic has no subjects.

Back of all these evils from party government is the use of immense funds in politics, contributed by the monopolists who have captured the political machines of the leading parties, because they

have been able to outbid all competitors. This evil is termed political corruption or graft.

All the evils can be bunched together under the term Machine Rule.

The remedy, manifestly, is for the people to take to themselves a veto power and a direct initiative, thereby establishing their sovereignty and terminating the rule of the few. This change, when it is established, will quickly be reflected in the laws, also in the administrative departments and in the courts. The judges will be among the first to obey the dominant power.

THE DOMINANT POLITICAL ISSUE.

The dominant political issue, then, as distinguished from the economic and moral issues, is the establishment of the sovereignty of the people through the adoption of a people's veto and direct initiative, for it is the only way that trustocracy, imperialism, militarism and the other forms of rule by the few through the party machine can be abolished.

This reasoning is axiomatic, because so long as party government is continued there is necessarily the rule of the few. The only way that the people's sovereignty can be established over a large area is through the establishment of a people's veto and a direct initiative.

Plain as these facts are they are ignored by all the party organizations, including the Populists, the Socialists and the Prohibitionists.

CHAPTER XXV.

PROGRAMS OF PARTY MACHINES ARE DEFICIENT.

DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN MACHINES.

In both the leading parties, the Republican and Democratic parties, it is stated in various ways that monopolies in private hands (the trusts) should be terminated, and that other of the evils of party government should be lessened, but nowhere in the platform is it recognized that the dominant issue is the termination of the rule of the few. In other words, *the machines of the lead-*

ing parties have not declared that they themselves should lose their sovereign power, and to do so would be contrary to human nature.

THIRD PARTY PLATFORMS OF 1904 ARE INCONSISTENT.

The platform of each of the third parties declares for the referendum and initiative, *but the demand is coupled with a demand that the party*

be installed in power to enact certain laws. In other words, there is a demand that party government be continued and a demand that it be abolished. This is inconsistent.

The issue that the rule of the few be terminated was plainly stated in a platform reported to the People's party national convention of 1902 at Louisville, April 4th. The platform set forth in strong and vigorous language the evils of machine rule and declared for its overthrow by the establishment of the referendum and initiative and added:

CONSISTENT PLATFORM OF 1902.

Through this open door of majority rule will come the following and other reforms: [Reciting the leading legislative demands of the People's party.]

This platform was changed in the convention, but not on a direct vote. The referendum and initiative were placed as *one* of the demands, thus mixing the demand for *abolition* of party government with a demand for legislation *through* party government.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS DEMAND TERMINATION OF MACHINE RULE.

For years the organizations of wage-earners have been demanding the adoption of the referendum and the initiative, but only two years ago did they begin to state that *the ousting of the ruling few by the attainment of enlightened majority rule is the first step in reform*. For example, the Missouri State Federation of Labor at its annual convention early in January, 1902, declared:

Whereas, The Stupendous Monopolies that are changing the form of our government from a Republic to an Empire, and are throwing workmen by the thousands out of employment in order to reduce wages and increase prices, are ever active in securing the nomination and election of legislators pledged to the maintenance of these monstrous wrongs; and,

Whereas, For the past ten years the State Federation of Labor has been seeking needed labor legislation from General Assemblies dominated by the owners of special privileges and is now formulating measures for enactment by the next General Assembly; and,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has for the past ten years demanded the adoption of direct legislation into our organic law as the PRE-REQUISITE to all other legislation necessary for the wise and just solution of the economic and industrial problems that confront us.

Another statement is contained in a resolution adopted in Michigan:

Resolved, That we respectfully urge all who are working for better laws to recognize (1) that until the system of government is so changed that the legislative power is taken from the few and restored to the voters it is useless to expect that these few will reverse their action and legislate against themselves; and (2) that when the system is changed there will inevitably follow such changes in the laws as the majority, under able leadership, may desire.

The truth contained in this statement is stated in a different manner in Texas. An address, issued by the State Federation's Committee on Direct Legislation, combined with committees from several Central Labor Unions, under the name

The following year, 1903, Hon. Jo. A. Parker, of Kentucky, secured in a joint state convention of the People's party and Labor party of Kentucky a consistent and effective program, published as Appendix VII.

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate that from the people's standpoint the programs of the party machines are deficient. The platforms of the leading parties are for the continuance of machine rule, while the demands of the third parties are inconsistent, one portion demanding that the party machine be placed in power *that it may enact certain laws*, while another section demands the *abolition of machine rule*. But there are two instances, at least in which in previous years a consistent anti-machine bargain of a political party has been framed, and it should convince third-party workers as to the efficiency of the system.

In the following chapter the demand of the granges, unions and other non-partisan organizations for the termination of machine rule, is stated in clear and forceful language.

"Texas Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule," contains the following:

The fact is evident to all that while industrial machinery has been wonderfully improved in many ways there has developed a centralization of political power. The party system has developed so that the legislative power in city, state and nation *is in the hands of a few*, and these few are principally the ones who own the monopolies and contribute as campaign funds a portion of the money they wring from the people.

To remedy these conditions the legislative power *must be restored to the people—to the Majority*. It is useless to expect that while legislation is controlled by the few, they will reverse their action. They will not. Therefore the power to legislate against the interest of the people must be restored to the majority, to whom it rightfully belongs.

To the same effect is the following declaration by the American Federation of Labor, an organization in which the greater part of the wage-earners' Unions are federated:

Resolved, That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the demand of the order for more political power in its members and in the people at large, and to this end demands a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed five per cent. of the voters; and a direct initiative by not to exceed eight per cent.

THE GRANGES.

The same year that organized wage-earners declared as above, there were similar declarations by organized farmers. For example, the Wisconsin State Grange declared:

Resolved, That the people should protect their rights from the growing power of the few by taking to themselves a veto power through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative.

Similar resolutions had been adopted by the State Granges in Oregon and Washington, and

in 1902 were adopted in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Since then other State Granges have declared for more power in the people, as also have great numbers of the county and local granges, and the Master of the National Grange, in 1902 and 1903 made the following declarations, which were approved by the conventions:

All the American people (except those only who are directly interested in trusts) demand protection by State and National Law from these combinations.

There is no political party that defends them, and all declare against them. * * *

The National Grange has been conservative and consistent, and the position of the order was taken at the great Trust Conference, held in the city of Chicago, September, 1899, and was more fully stated in brief, in the report of the special committee on Trusts, at the Springfield, Ohio, session held November, 1899. * * *

The patrons of husbandry's position is right and has always been right. The people of the country are with us. *Patrons, the time has come when promises will not suffice! Action; decisive action, is demanded.*

Any public official whose duty it is to act, and he does not perform his entire duty in the enactment and enforcement of laws to suppress evils of trusts, whatever political faith he may profess, with whatever political party he may affiliate, *should be defeated for renomination and election.* All politicians and political parties should understand that the rights of the people must be respected, and that special privilege will not be tolerated, and any law or laws now in force which enable manufacturers to sell, and they do sell, in foreign countries, any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, thus using the laws of our country to discriminate against our citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended or repealed, and all such practices made impossible.

THE LAWS OF OUR COUNTRY MUST EXPRESS THE WILL AND MAINTAIN THE RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND SAID LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED AND OBEYED BY ALL INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS.

Such is the statement of the Worthy Master of the National Grange. This position was reiterated and emphasized in the annual report of the succeeding year, 1903. It was pointed out that the monopoly extortions from the selling prices of farm products for the preceding year amounted to seven hundred million dollars and the Worthy Master said:

The majority of the people neither belong to trust associations nor labor unions. Whatever selfish advantage they have secured is taken from the majority of the people. The people are becoming exhausted and restive. If combinations of capital and labor will not consider the interests and rights of those outside their organizations, then it is time that the majority of the

people, who pay most of the taxes and maintain the nation should force their interests on the attention of these organizations and the country. *They, THE MAJORITY, can make laws and enforce them, upon which both organized capital and labor depends; AND IT CLEARLY BECOMES THEIR DUTY TO DO SO.*

These strong declarations for majority rule were unanimously approved by the conventions.

The Master of the Washington State Grange, J. O. Wing, declared as follows in his annual report, June 1903:

"I consider at the present time that the amending of our State Constitution providing for the "Initiative and Referendum" is the most important matter that we have to consider in the matter of legislation. This is not a partisan question, but is advocated by the best members of all parties. It is feared by corrupt politicians, as it is a check on vicious legislation. It is not a new feature in government, being the same principle applied to laws that has always been applied to constitutional amendments.

We should commence our campaign of education NOW, AND CO-OPERATE WITH ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE WORKING IN FAVOR OF THIS MEASURE.

One year after the above was stated, Brother Wing in a letter dated July 2d, says:

Washington has increased her membership 47 per cent. during the past year, thus adding considerable to her influence for Direct Legislation. At our last session the Grange again took a strong stand upon this question, and will follow up the plan of questioning candidates for the Legislature. We shall try to work with organized labor upon this question.

The Farmers' National Congress at its last convention (1903), with delegates from twenty-five states unanimously adopted the following resolution against the rule of the few:

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the non-partisan movement for the extension of the use of the referendum, and recommend the subject to the careful consideration of the farmers in all our states.

The foregoing declarations by Organized Farmers and Organized Wage-earners demonstrate the widespread demand for a people's veto and direct initiative—the overthrow of the rule of the few through the party machine. The dominant issue, they declare, is the overthrow of machine rule by establishing the people's sovereignty. This is the first step in reform. In fact, it will insure the accomplishment of all sorts of legislative reforms—whatever the enlightened will of the majority may desire.

This attitude of the non-partisan organizations is logical, whereas the program of each of the third party machines is inconsistent, as we have shown.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE: ANTI-MONOPOLISTS VERSUS MONOPOLISTS.

Trust Question the Dominant Issue—Non-Partisan Organizations Are Agreed—Program of Socialist Party is Fallacious.

Turning from the dominant political issue—the proposed change in the system of government, let us consider the dominant economic issue. Stated differently, What legislation concerning the industries of the country is most needed?

The non-partisan organizations of the country are agreed that the crying evil in industry is Private Monopoly, usually termed the Trusts. This is the declaration of organized farmers, organized business men and organized wage-earners.

In the annual report of the Master of the National Grange, Brother Aaron Jones, November, 1902, he said:

ORGANIZED FARMERS ARE FIGHTING MONOPOLY.

The most important question before the American people is that of Trusts. These combinations are growing stronger, and more exacting every year. The farms, homes, crops, stock, and other property of the five million eight hundred thousand farmers, and also the awards for the labor of the thirty million men, women and children who live upon and cultivate these farms, are always at the mercy of those vast combinations. They direct and fix the price of what the people may buy and sell.

The \$1,400,000,000 Steel Trust fixes the price of nails and wire used in fencing or other improvements.

The \$120,000,000 International Harvester Trust fixes the price of the machines used in saving the crops.

The Standard Oil and Coal Trusts fix the cost of lighting or heating our homes, and the hundreds of other trusts, representing \$10,000,000,000 of capital, water or real, have the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer, and all the common people who have made this country prosperous and developed its wonderful resources, ABSOLUTELY UNDER THEIR DOMINION.

The Grange was among the first great organizations to defend the rights of the people against the crimes of organized greed. Day by day, and year by year, the Grange has pointed out the disastrous results that would follow the allowing of combinations of capital and conspiracies intended to restrict trade, create monopolies, limit production, prevent competition, or to control prices. The earnest and determined efforts of the Patrons of Husbandry have aroused the people to the dangers incident to trust methods.

Such is the statement by the Master of the National Grange and it was heartily approved by the convention.

Statements similar to this have been made by the organizations of business men except the few that are themselves monopolizing an industry or attempting to do so. Said Mr. Frank Barry, Secretary of the League of National Associations, in testifying before the interstate commerce committee of the senate, January 26, 1900, in advocacy of an amendment to prevent discriminations in freight rates:

BUSINESS MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS ARE FIGHTING MONOPOLY.

This is the greatest anti-trust law that Congress can place upon the statute books, BECAUSE IT STRIKES AT THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE THE INDUSTRIAL TRUST POSSIBLE.

Without the favors in transportation, which are not only granted to but are often forced by the great trade and manufacturing combinations, THEY COULD EXIST ONLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY AND MUST FINALLY SUCCEED TO THE SUCCESSFUL COMPETITION OF INDEPENDENT MANUFACTURERS AND TRADESMEN.

The very broad public sentiment existing, favorable to this legislation, is mirrored in the press of the land at the present time. Leading editorials and lengthy statistical arguments for this bill have appeared in the foremost daily and periodical publications of our principal cities.

Commercial organizations throughout the entire country have taken an active interest in supporting

this movement and indorsing the bill, such as they were never before known to evince in any subject.
* * *

I wish to say here that there are about fifty-nine national commercial organizations, all of which were communicated with, and with scarcely an exception we have their replies, stating that we might count them in on this movement, and expressing their approval of the bill in all of its terms.

Since that time these national organizations have taken up the subject of the desired amendments with their memberships, and in convention have expressed the most heart and unqualified approval of this bill. They have been joined in the movement by the National League of Commission Merchants, The National Wholesale Grocers' Association, American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers, National Paint, Oil and Varnish Association, National Hardware Association, National Association of Stove Manufacturers, and many others, beside local, State and interstate organizations, boards of trade, etc., too numerous to mention. * * *

Just a word as to what these national associations are: *Some of them are composed of State or sectional organizations, which in turn comprise in their membership the great majority of those carrying on the particular line of business in their respective territories.* Of these, the Millers' National Association is a type. Nearly all of them are associations of subsidiary organizations of one kind or another which are located in all parts of the United States. None of these associations are small. They all fully represent what their names import—the persons, firms, companies and corporations who produce the immense commerce and carry on the great industries of the United States, with a working capital actually invested beside which the enormous stated capitalization of the railways is not formidable. *These representative national societies are formed FOR THE MAIN PURPOSE OF PROTECTING THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY OF THIS COUNTRY, and it is no new thing to find them appealing to the Congress of the nation for remedial legislation.* Two or three industrial combinations, which have reached such proportions that they are able to dominate and control the railway interest and railway rates, are not with us. *With those exceptions the supporters of this measure, as represented in these organizations, ARE PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE FARMERS, ALL OF THE MANUFACTURERS, ALL OF THE MERCHANTS, ALL OF THE GENERAL TRADERS AND DEALERS OF THE UNITED STATES.**

The wage-earners, too, are oppressed by the monopolists. Nearly everything they consume is purchased at a monopoly price, and the price of labor is hammered down by the monopolists. It follows that the organizations of wage-earners are fighting the monopolists. Says President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in an extra number of the official magazine of the order, just issued:

WAGE-EARNERS ORGANIZATIONS ARE FIGHTING MONOPOLISTS.

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. Shall the monopoly of all the political power of the country be in all the people or

* Hearing of Interstate Commerce Committee, U. S. Senate, Jan. 26, 1900, pages 1 to 7.

continued in the ruling few? *It is the people against the monopolists.*

Reviewing the preceding paragraphs it is clear that the farmers, business men and wage-earners are all fighting the monopolists—the trust magnates. The Trust Question, then, is the dominant issue.

ANTI-MONOPOLISTS VERSUS MONOPOLISTS.

It is the anti-monopolists versus the monopolists. Ninety-nine per cent. of the people are arrayed against one per cent. or less. BUT THE ONE PER CENT. ARE IN POWER OWING TO AN UNNECESSARY DELEGATION OF POWER BY THE VOTERS. AS RAPIDLY AS THE VOTERS TAKE TO THEMSELVES THE RIGHT TO A DIRECT BALLOT ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS THEY COME INTO POWER, AND THEN ALL RUNS SMOOTHLY. Such has been the experience in Switzerland, in Oregon and in South Dakota. Whatever legislation the public welfare requires is enacted through the system of guarded representative government.

That this is the line of evolution is no mere theory, however, a thorough demonstration has been made in Switzerland, Oregon and South Dakota, as we have said.

Let us compare the socialist party program.

SOCIALIST PARTY PROGRAM IS FALLACIOUS.

The dominant issue, declares the socialist party, is not the establishment of the people's sovereignty, but that the socialist party machine shall become the sovereign power, pledged to immediate public ownership and operation of *all the means of production and distribution*. "The class struggle," declares the national platform adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904, "is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production."

Mark you, such is the program of the socialist party and at a time when not only the working people but nearly all the capitalists are being fleeced by the monopolists. The amount of the monopoly robbery is some two billion dollars annually, yet the socialist party demands that workmen and the capitalists shall *not* join together and establish the sovereignty of the people and at once terminate the monopoly robberies!

The non-partisan organizations, however, the labor unions, the granges and the business men's organizations, are unitedly demanding the abolition of party government—machine rule, by the establishment of the people's sovereignty through a people's veto and direct initiative, which can be secured in this year's campaign by merely questioning the candidates of all the parties. This we shall demonstrate in later chapters.

The socialist party program, on the other hand, is the building up of a party machine and which shall *not* come into power until it can confiscate the entire capital of the country! Then after the revolution has been accomplished by the socialist party machine—the rule of the few—the people are to be placed in power by granting to them a people's veto through the referendum, and a direct initiative!

A comparison of the two programs and comparison with what has actually taken place in Switzerland and Oregon demonstrates which program is in line with the principles of social development. In Switzerland, for example, where the people

have attained their sovereignty and have terminated private monopoly, all is running smoothly and the socialist party has been obliged to reconstruct its program or go out of business. See page 59, above.

The foregoing should be thoroughly studied by those who are interested in social welfare. And is there anyone who isn't interested? Good intentions should be coupled with clear thinking or serious evils will result. For example, the bad conditions in Colorado are largely due to the dominance of socialist party theories. The American Labor Union, of which the Western Federation of Miners is a component part, declared for socialism two years ago, since which time it has been preached to the members of the union that private ownership of the means of production and exchange is robbery. Says Mr. Ray Stannard Baker in his article on the Colorado situation in McClure's Magazine for May, 1904:

WHAT SOCIALIST PARTY PROGRAM LEADS TO.

The Western Federation of Miners has declared itself Socialistic; preaches the Socialistic doctrine, urges its members to vote Socialist ticket, although a large proportion of the membership is not Socialistic. In this respect it departs widely from the conservative trade-union movement of the country. *It is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, NOR DO ITS LEADERS AGREE WITH THE TRADE-UNION IDEA AS IT IS ADVANCED BY MR. GOMPERS, MR. MITCHELL, MR. KEEFE, MR. WHITE, MR. CLARK, AND OTHER PROMINENT LEADERS.* One of the fundamental purposes of trade unionism is *to deal with the employer or the employers' organization in a friendly business spirit, to make mutually agreeable settlements and contracts.* Witness the system of agreements under which the Typographical Union, the United Mine Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods have worked for years. It is the desire of the legitimate trade-unionist to join with the employer and work out the problems of each industry. But the Socialist sets himself on a different plane. He regards the employer as a robber, an exploiter, of whom he is the victim; and no matter how much the employer might give him in increased wages and shorter hours, he would still be a robber and the Socialist still the victim. He even tends to lose respect for property, regarding it as the accumulation of robber wealth; on the card which every member of the Western Federation of Miners carries, and printed on the cover of the official organ of the union, *The Miners' Magazine*, is this slogan of Socialism: "Labor produces all wealth: wealth belongs to the producer thereof."

I listened several times to the speeches of President Moyer, "Mother" Jones, and other leaders. Here is a sample from "Mother" Jones:

"These robber exploiters take the wealth that we have produced by the toil of our hands and the sweat of our brows. Before the warfare comes to an end labor must be given all, capital itself must be destroyed, and Socialism must take its place."

How can President Moyer and Secretary Haywood go from a meeting in which they have been making their followers believe these things and talk calm business agreements with employers who have no right to existence?

And they take quite a different position upon a strike from that of the conservative trade-unionist. Any disturbance with them, for good or for bad, is helpful in calling attention to the "burden borne by the masses"; it serves to stir up that "class consciousness" which is the present dream of the Socialist, to

separate employer and employee by a wider and wider chasm, thereby hastening the day when the "government must step in and take control."

A SECESSION FROM SOCIETY.

Indeed, the policy of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado, would suggest a sort of secession from society. Everything is all wrong—government, politics, industry, religion. So we find the union opening its own stores, trying to run its own hospital, negotiating for a coal mine to dig its own coal, encouraging its members to avoid a "capitalistic press" and read only good socialistic papers. They not only want Socialism, but they want it this morning. Meanwhile the old world moves onward, and things grow, not by miracles, but slowly and painfully.

But in spite of the mistakes, the violences, the arrogance, the unreasoning sympathetic strikes of the Federation in Colorado—mistakes now inexorably winnowed out and punished—the union is by no means entirely to blame for the sorry conditions existing in Colorado. [See preceding chapters describing the evils of machine rule.]

The evils that are flowing from the socialist program are deep-seated, as we have seen. Compare the Colorado situation with the conditions in Switzerland! There the system of government has evolved from party government to the next higher stage and the socialist party contention is a back number. "To avoid extinction," writes Professor Macy, "some of the Swiss socialists have proposed radical changes in the socialistic doctrine and the method of action."

You who realize the fallacy in the socialist party contention ought to work with the non-partisan organizations, FOR THEY ALONE HAVE A PRACTICABLE PROGRAM FOR THE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY. The details of the system will be stated in a moment. Right here the writer desires to briefly summarize the reasons why he has steadfastly refused to join the socialist party:

REASONS FOR STAYING OUT OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

1. Because the real issue to-day—the class struggle—is between the anti-monopolists and the monopolists, and not between labor and capital.

2. When the monopoly of the political power shall be taken over by the people through the right to a direct ballot, they will immediately terminate the private control of the economic monopolies and

will shut out cut-throat competition. As rapidly as administrative institutions can be developed, the competition between organizations within an industry will be terminated. These developments will take time.

3. The principles involved are democratic and republican instead of socialistic, as is actually demonstrated by what has taken place in Switzerland. The Germans, who developed the socialist party theories, never experienced liberty and therefore could not forecast conditions that come with liberty, as is proved by the conditions where full-fledged liberty exists, namely, in Switzerland.

4. To the foregoing the writer desires to point out that each increase in membership in the socialist party is a loss to the country and an injury to the ones who join. On the other hand, to join in the non-partisan program of questioning candidates as to the establishment of the people's sovereignty is to exert a power the extent of which is almost beyond comprehension, as is shown in the following division, Book V.

5. Furthermore, the people's sovereignty will probably be established nationally within two years, and then will be directly initiated the bills to nationalize the railway and telegraph and to restore competitive prices in the products of the mines or establish public ownership. The socialist party will take no part in the movement unless its program is radically changed. The non-partisan organizations and the leagues co-operating with them will frame the measures, get the signatures to the petitions and argue the questions. This is the way that things have gone in Switzerland. Organized wage-earners and organized farmers have taken the lead in the securing of progressive measures.

6. When the guarded system of representative government is installed in the near future, statesmanship will become a profession—those who have demonstrated their leadership will be kept in office term after term as long as they care to serve. Far-sighted people should see in the present conditions the path to effective helpfulness and leadership. Those who excel in questioning the candidates, whether within the grange, the unions or the leagues, will have demonstrated their worth to their fellow-citizens, who will request, doubtless, that they represent them in the legislative bodies and in administrative positions. Now, as never before, is the saying applicable,—

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood leads on to fortune.



BOOK V.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

History Demonstrates Line of Least Resistance in City, State and Nation.

History shows the trend of the manifold tendencies in social evolution. *For a century and a quarter the Referendum System has been extended in various ways, and during the past two years with great rapidity. An outline of this history, demonstrating the lines of least resistance in city, state and nation, is herewith presented.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE IN AMERICAN CITIES.

A. IOWA CITIES EMANCIPATED BY STATUTE LAW.

The system of government in each city in the United States is controlled by the legislature, while the legislature is controlled by the party in power in the state, and back of this party is the "machine."

In every state except Iowa this system of machine rule has oppressed the people in the cities. *Only in Iowa has the legislature accorded a nearly complete sovereignty to the people in the villages and cities.*

Beginning with a law in 1858, the citizens have been accorded the referendum ballot—majority rule, as to incorporation, changes of boundary, and this same law provided that one-fourth of the qualified voters might initiate a proposal to amend the city charter, the decision to rest in a majority of the voters in the territory affected.

Likewise, the voters in each city have been authorized to change their corporate name, and to establish a free public library and reading-room "provided a suitable lot and building shall first be donated to such city for that purpose."

An initiative for aiding in the construction of railroads was placed in "a majority of the resident freehold taxpayers." But no proposal to aid a railroad corporation can be adopted until a special election is held and the proposal is indorsed by "two-thirds of the votes polled."

These are only samples of the manner in which the Iowa voters have been accorded their liberties, and as a result there is scarcely a scandal concerning city government in Iowa. City monopolies, especially, are controlled by the people. Beginning with a law of 1872 authorizing publicly owned water works, the determining power on this great question has been the voters themselves. Public ownership of gas works and electric lights was authorized in 1888, but "not until a majority of the legal voters at a general or special election decide in favor of the same." The question may be brought to a vote "upon the petition of twenty-

five property owners in each ward of the city or town."

Here we have the direct initiative, also a people's veto.

The laws of the state were codified in 1899, *and the people's veto and direct initiative were extended to practically all of the city monopolies.*

In 1900 the referendum reached a stage where the legislature provided a separate ballot for measures. *In Iowa, then, there are separate ballots for men and for measures.*

And in these Iowa cities there is practically no corruption, whereas in Missouri and Illinois and all the other adjoining states except South Dakota, there is no end of corruption.

B. SOUTH DAKOTA CITIES EMANCIPATED BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

In Iowa the system has been enacted by statute law. In South Dakota it has been applied by constitutional amendment, adopted by the people in 1898 and put into operation by statute law, March, 1899, since which time there is an absence of corruption and no granting of franchises to private corporations except for telephones, which are part of a national monopoly. In other words, where the people rule they refuse to give to anyone a special privilege except where it is absolutely necessary.

C. SEVERAL CITIES EMANCIPATED BY CHARTER AMENDMENTS.

Several cities have secured a people's veto and direct initiative by a change in the city charter. Among these cities are San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Portland, Seattle and Denver. In each of them, except Denver, the voters have experienced the benefit and are heartily pleased with their increase of power. In Denver the new charter was only recently installed.

D. STATUTORY PROVISIONS IN INDIANA, WISCONSIN AND MONTANA FOR PEOPLE'S VETO AS TO FRANCHISES FOR CITY MONOPOLIES.

In several states the legislature has enacted a statute providing that each ordinance of a city council granting a franchise for a city monopoly *may be vetoed by the people*. Such is the case in Iowa, as we have said, also in Indiana, Wisconsin and Montana. This prevents boodling as to franchises and ordinances, for the final power is no longer in the common council but in the people.

E. ADVISORY INITIATIVE IN ILLINOIS CITIES THROUGH STATUTE LAW.

In Illinois the legislature of 1901 authorized twenty-five per cent of the voters in each of the municipalities of the state to bring to a referendum vote of their fellow-citizens three public questions in each election. The verdict of the people is said to be advisory *but in reality it is an instruction*—a command which the representatives are morally bound to observe, *and they actually do obey where they are questioned before election as to whether, if elected, they will heed the will of the people when expressed through a referendum vote*.

Under this advisory initiative in Illinois municipalities, two referendum votes have been cast in Chicago. The first one was in April, 1902, and the people declared for public ownership of the street railways and gas plants and for direct nominations.

This vote, combined with the pledging of candidates for aldermen, described in a succeeding section, *helped to prevent the extension of the street railway franchises*. This street railway question was put to a second vote in the April election of this year and again the people declared for public ownership. 2½ to 1. They instructed, also, that the existing private ownership be continued temporarily through a license system revocable at any time. The referendum ballot submitted, also, the question of adopting the Mueller law, which authorizes the city to enter upon public ownership of the street railway and issue certificates of indebtedness to obtain funds to pay for the acquired properties.

This advisory initiative system of Illinois has been used in other cities than Chicago but the facts have not been collected.

In Buffalo, New York, a referendum league was organized about a year ago with a view to securing from the legislature a charter amendment for an advisory initiative, similar to the Illinois system. The Buffalo Board of Trade endorsed the plan and the people of the city were practically unanimous in their demand for it, but the sovereign power in the state—the party in power in the legislature, refused to surrender any of its authority. The people of Buffalo, therefore, have started in to emancipate themselves, they are working for the immediate adoption of the system which originated at Winnetka, Illinois, and is described in the following section.

F. SELF-EMANCIPATION OF CITIZENS AT WINNETKA, ILLINOIS.

In most of the states the monopolists have prevented the legislature from establishing a people's veto as to franchises for city monopolies, and they have kept the legislature from submitting a constitutional amendment. This has left the people in the clutches of private monopoly with its robbery and corruption.

The Anglo-Saxon spirit of liberty, however, coupled with ingenuity, has worked out a system of Self-Emancipation. The time was eight years ago. The place, Winnetka, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, peopled largely by bright and active business men of that city and by the late Henry D. Lloyd and by Judge Windes, of the Appellate Court. Certain would-be monopolists proposed to the village council that it grant them a forty-year franchise for a gas plant. This was opposed by the citizens for they wanted public ownership of city monopolies. They possessed a publicly owned water-works system and aimed to keep from the clutches of private monopoly. Fortunately there was being held at that time a public meeting each month to consider public questions. It was termed the "town meeting." At the next town meeting after the gas question came up there was adopted a resolution asking the village council to submit the question to the people. A deputation of leading citizens called upon the city council at its next meeting, and Mr. Lloyd was accorded the privilege of speaking. After a warm time the council reluctantly agreed to submit the question to the voters and abide by their decision. The polls were opened and the proposed franchise received only 4 votes with 180 against it.

This settled the gas franchise and it did much more, for at the next caucus for nominating village trustees it was proposed and seconded that only those men should be nominated who would stand up before their fellow-voters and promise that if nominated and elected *they would submit all important questions to a vote of the people and abide by their decision*. This was agreed to by the voters present, and each nominee for village trustee stood before his fellow-citizens and promised.

Thus was the system installed, for there were no competing nominations. The casting of ballots on election day was a mere form.

From that day until the present time the people of Winnetka have been the sovereign power as to ordinances. THEY ARE A SELF-EMANCIPATED PEOPLE.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM DESCRIBED.

Reviewing the above it is seen that the pledges for installing the referendum system were secured by Questioning Candidates, while the system itself is through Rules of Procedure, which may be incorporated in the rules themselves or in an ordinance or statute. The system is the Advisory Referendum, the candidates being pledged to carry out the people's advice. This they have done in Winnetka and elsewhere, as we shall show. But the system is intended for use only until the usual form can be installed. In fact, it is through an Advisory Initiative that a change in the federal constitution is to be secured and in the near future.

CHAPTER XXIX.

APPLICATION OF WINNETKA SYSTEM, *i. e.* QUESTIONING CANDIDATES AS TO ADVISORY REFERENDUM AND ADVISORY INITIATIVE.

I. The Beginning.

The writer knew of the Winnetka system from the start, and at the close of the national campaign of 1900 realized the absolute need for a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs. I realized, too, that the federal constitution is a practically unalterable instrument till a direct initiative is installed, so I conceived the idea that the rule-of-procedure system should be installed in Congress, thus getting around the obstruction.

I consulted with practical statesmen who agreed with me. Then I moved from New York City to Washington to devote myself to the work.

The facts concerning the Winnetka system were published in various forms and the practicability of the system was endorsed by the National Direct Legislation League; by the Second Social and Political Conference at Detroit; by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and other organizations. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor ordered that an address be issued to the trade unions of the country calling their attention to the system of self-

emancipation, with a view to its immediate application to cities and then to states and the nation.

The writer was invited to prepare the address, but owing to unavoidable delay it was not completed till near the time for the assembling of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. President Gompers, in his message to the convention, reaffirmed in strong language the need for the referendum and initiative in governmental affairs and suggested that the convention issue the address. The committee, however, to which it was referred suggested that the Winnetka system be explained through the official magazine, *The American Federationists*, and it was so ordered by the convention.

The convention's instruction that the Winnetka system be explained through the *American Federationist* was complied with in an extra number of 88 large pages. It was prepared by the writer of these pages. Some 26,000 copies were circulated to selected names.

II. Results of Action by American Federation of Labor and Extra Number of Official Magazine.

A. IN GENERAL.

Highly commendatory notices of the special number were received. For example, Ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, who has since died, wrote to the author:

I must compliment you on having presented the subject of the Initiative and Referendum and Representative Government in the most lucid, striking and comprehensive manner that I have ever seen. You have done your country a service.

Governor Altgeld further said:

Through the agency of the labor organizations it ought to get into every neighborhood, and in time it will create a sentiment that will be irresistible.

Shortly after the publication of the extra number the Lecturer of the Oregon State Grange wrote to Mr. Shibley:

Permit me to thank you sincerely for your letter, and to say that the pamphlet received from you

[extra number of *The American Federationist* was the means of changing my views upon the question of Direct Legislation [the Optional Referendum and the Initiative]. I had always been skeptical in regard to the matter, but am now convinced of its entire practicability. I have used a number of the suggestions received from the literature which you sent, in urging the importance of the proposed amendment to our state constitution, upon the Granges of the state and am pleased to report that favorable results have already followed. [Later—The vote in the state stood 11 to 1 for the system.]

Letters quite similar to the above were received from Grange officials in several states.

The development of sentiment for majority rule has been very rapid among all classes. For example, the Episcopal Church National Congress of 1902 devoted half a day to the Moral Aspects of the Referendum.

B. SELF-EMANCIPATION OF CITIES.

Immediately upon the publication of the special number, January, 1902, there were results among the labor unions. For example, the President of the Connecticut Federation of Labor issued a short address to the unions of the state directing their attention to the Winnetka system and urging that it be applied at once in the several cities of the state. In Texas the convention of the State Federation of Labor, held almost immediately after the adjournment of the national convention,

created a Direct Legislation Committee with instructions to push for the people's sovereignty in municipal affairs.

GENEVA, ILLINOIS.

In Geneva, Illinois, a business men's association appointed a committee to apply the Winnetka system and success was immediate. They installed an advisory initiative, as well as the advisory referendum.

CHICAGO.

At Chicago, Illinois, also, there was a successful campaign. A statute of the state for the advisory initiative was enacted in 1901. Early the next year the Chicago Referendum League was organized to apply the system in Chicago. They succeeded. They filed a petition of more than a hundred thousand names for a referendum vote on three questions, public ownership of street railways and electric lighting plants, and direct nominations. While the question was being discussed the writer was in the city enroute to the East, and found that there was no movement to pledge the aldermanic candidates to obey the will of the people as expressed by referendum vote, and I found, also, that the Municipal Voters' League was opposed to carrying out the will of the people should they vote for public ownership.

I at once set to work and made a "paper organization" to question candidates. A letterhead was published showing an executive committee composed of the leading officers of the Referendum League, Chicago Federation of Labor and the Turner Society, and with an imposing Advisory Council. On this letterhead a communication was addressed to the 182 aldermanic candidates for 35 places. The questions asked were as follows:

1. If elected, will you use the power of your office to execute the will of the people as expressed at the polls? (Ans.)
2. If elected, will you vote to adopt and maintain a rule of procedure requiring that any proposed franchise for a public utility, that by favorable action of the council reaches the final stage in the process of adoption, shall, before the last reading, lie before the people for sixty days, and, during said time, if 10 per cent of the voters (calculated on the basis of the votes cast at the preceding election) shall petition for a direct ballot by the electors, it shall be granted? (Ans.)

Affirmative replies were received from 70 of the 182 candidates. In a few days we mailed a second letter to those who had not replied, enclosing a copy of the resolution mailed to labor unions, and also a copy of a "Voters' Non-Partisan Agreement," with a blank space for signatures, and these words at the top:

"An effective System for Campaigning. Copies supplied at cost to Aldermanic Nominees."

We at once received 55 additional replies, all in the affirmative.

A report for publication was then prepared and mailed to each of the candidates, offering to supply copies for use in the campaign. *This resulted in three more pledges, A TOTAL OF 128 OUT OF 182.*

None of the candidates ordered copies of the report. In only ten of the wards was there any real contest, and in these no attention was paid to the questions we had asked. Not one of the papers published the Report, and nothing but a temporary organization had been made, while only three of the labor unions had returned to us an adopted resolution. Yet in the face of all this we found that OF THE THIRTY-FIVE MEN ELECTED MORE THAN A MAJORITY (18) HAD SIGNED OUR PLEDGE.

This demonstrates how easy it is to get legislative candidates to recognize the people's sovereignty! It demonstrates a quick and easy way to emancipate the people, applicable in city, state and nation. It clearly points the way of escape from trust-rule.

I was warranted in this optimistic view, FOR THE SYSTEM HAD WON OUT UNDER THE VERY WORST OF CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY, namely, a great city with two million people of all nationalities, and with an immensely valuable issue at stake—street railway franchises the proposed extension of which was valued at \$60,000,000; and the campaign was among aldermanic candidates, a class of candidates who are less responsive to public opinion than any other set of legislators, and there was openly opposed to us the Municipal Voters' League and all other organizations of tax payers! But the dominancy of public opinion was so great that the mere questioning of the candidates as to the people's sovereignty resulted in pledges to observe the referendum vote—the people's will. Furthermore, the pledges included an agreement to vote to install the advisory referendum as to franchises for municipal monopolies.

This great victory, under the worst possible conditions in this country and with only a paper organization, buoyed up our hopes and caused us to heartily continue the general line of campaign work, and with results during the next few months in state and national campaigns that were equally hopeful, as we shall point out in later sections.

Only one-half the Chicago common council were elected in 1902. Those who held over were questioned by the *Chicago American* immediately after the election. The question asked was,

Will you obey the people's instructions for public ownership of the street railways and against a long-time extension of franchise?

Of the fifty who were interviewed, thirty-three declared that they would obey the people's will. Ten declared for a short-time franchise in order that the city might get ready for public ownership. Two dodged, and only five declared in favor of a long-term franchise. The mayor declared that he would veto a long-term franchise. *It appeared, therefore, that the long-time extension of the street railway franchise was blocked.*

And such proved to be the case. During the year the monopolists were unable to succeed. And in the legislature elected in the autumn of 1902, which convened the following January, a statute was enacted, the Mueller law, authorizing the city of Chicago to enter upon public ownership of street railways should the people approve the plan submitted. The statute provides all the details for taking over the railways and managing them. Certificates of indebtedness can be issued with the railway property as security. To pass this statute, however, a revolution by force occurred in the House of Representatives at Springfield, described in a later section.

In the Chicago spring election following the one described, the Referendum League of Illinois questioned the candidates for aldermen and mayor as to whether, if elected, they would obey the will of the people as expressed at the polls. A majority of those elected were pledged. This majority combined with the majority that were pledged the preceding year made a majority in the common council.

Toward autumn it was rumored that the monopolists had arranged to buy their way through the council, but the people asserted themselves in such a determined manner that no coup d'etat was attempted. Details are set forth in a later section.

In the spring election of 1904 the Referendum

League again used the advisory initiative provided in the state law of 1901. The question put to referendum vote included public ownership of the street railways, and the people again voted for the system, one vote standing $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

At this writing—some four months after the 1904 spring election, it looks as though the demand of the people in Chicago for public ownership of their street railway system is to succeed.

DETROIT.

The next city to which I will direct attention is Detroit, Michigan. Before the publication of the extra number of the American Federationist, *the mere proposal of the Winnetka system by a citizens' committee during the winter of 1901-2 prevented the extension of street railway franchises.* When the aldermen had been elected there existed a statute applying the referendum system to the extension of the street railway franchises in Detroit, but the supreme court declared the statute unconstitutional. The would-be franchise grabbers gleefully began to shove through the common council a lot of ordinances for the extension of franchises but encountered two citizens who had acquired a knowledge of the Winnetka system and who had the spirit to apply the system. Hon. Frederick F. Ingram and Mr. G. R. Weikert organized a Citizens' Committee and blocked the game. The committee secured the signatures of most of the leading business houses to a request that no franchise should be extended without being submitted to the voters, then the committee consulted with the franchise committee of the common council and impressed them with the fact that the referendum system to which they had pledged themselves during the campaign for election could still be applied through the Winnetka system of advisory referendum. The committee directed the city attorney to report as to the practicability of the Winnetka plan *and he reported favorably.* The aldermen declared that they would stand by their referendum pledges, and as a vote by the people would have meant the defeat of the proposed franchises there were no further steps at that time to extend the franchises. Later, a rule of procedure for the advisory referendum was introduced in the common council and adopted unanimously, for an election was at hand. In the campaign the candidates were questioned and they promised to vote to retain the advisory referendum, and to obey the will of their constituents when expressed through a referendum vote.

The system has existed for two years. A recent statement by the Municipal League of Detroit as to the results of the system, is as follows:

RESULTS OF ADVISORY REFERENDUM IN DETROIT.

The amendment to the rules of procedure adopted by the common council two years ago, granting an advisory referendum on all franchise ordinances, *was unanimously re-adopted this year and observed by the common council with the same good faith.*

The advisory referendum permits an expression of the wishes of the voters before the ordinance is passed, when five per cent of the qualified electors by petition ask for it within 30 days after third reading.

These rules give the people an equal opportunity with the corporation or the promoter to let their wishes be known to the common council. Under such rules the people themselves, only, are to blame if undesirable or harmful franchises are granted, while

the aldermen deserve and receive the credit due for enactments that redound to the public good.

The franchise speculators' and trust promoters' indorsement is lacking, otherwise the approval of these rules would be practically unanimous. The members of the common council and their constituents, so far as your committee learns, earnestly approve these rules of procedure that place them in closer touch. The general public's participation in the consideration of franchise problems is stimulated thereby, for the advisory referendum rules give the qualified voters an opportunity to formally express their approval or disapproval of a franchise-granting ordinance before it is finally passed upon, a privilege heretofore denied the grantor—the public—but always given the grantee—the promoter or the franchise-seeking corporation. *With these rules in force the chance for the passage of ill-advised or oppressive franchise ordinances appears remote.*

The following additional points as to Detroit are by Hon. Frederick F. Ingram, in the *Direct Legislation Record*.

"Our local politics are much improved, the membership of our common council is more representative of our best citizenship, and their time is better employed in considering civic matters directly concerning the people than it was before the adoption of these rules, when much of their time was taken up listening to the bickering of the representatives of rival corporations seeking franchise privileges. One plain result of the adoption of the rules is a great growth of sentiment for municipal ownership of natural monopolies."

TORONTO.

Toronto, Canada, has also emancipated itself. The questioning of candidates was through a non-partisan organization formed for the purpose, composed largely of the trade unions of the city. It is described in a later section. In the election, January 1, 1903, more than a majority of the aldermen were pledged, also the mayor. They were pledged to the advisory initiative and advisory referendum. The system, however, was not installed the first year for the promoters deemed it best to secure for the city from Parliament a special authorization to pay the cost of a referendum vote. This was secured and the measure included an authorization to all cities in the province. Then at the next municipal election the candidates were again questioned and with success. Probably the system is installed ere this time.

WACO AND SAN ANTONIO.

In Texas the citizens at Waco established the advisory referendum as to franchises. It has prevented the council from extending the franchises for private ownership of the water-works system.

San Antonio also adopted the advisory system, followed by a recent amendment of the charter establishing the complete system.

BUFFALO.

Last year the citizens of Buffalo asked the legislature to grant to them an advisory referendum as to franchises, but without success. Then the Buffalo Referendum League started in to secure the Winnetka system. A rule of procedure was introduced in the city council, referred to a committee and a public hearing was had. At this

hearing there were earnest arguments for the system *and not one word against it*. Says the Buffalo Enquirer of May 14th:

Not even the veriest machine politician had the nerve to go before the committee, face down the universal opinion of this city, and inveigh against an honest submission of leading local issues to the general judgment.

And on May 31st the corporation counsel is reported to have said:

I want to say that I am personally in favor of such an ordinance and will do all I can to find legal warrant for such a measure. There is no reason why the people of Buffalo should not have the right to express their opinion on any public matter. I believe if they had it would be better not only for themselves, but for the officials they elect to city offices.

A favorable opinion was filed by the corporation counsel July 1st. He held that the common council *has* implied power to enact the rule of procedure or ordinance for the advisory referendum, but that possibly the election commissioners cannot be compelled to place the referendum question on the ballot. He advised that the ordinance be passed and a test case made. *To this the common council have agreed*. A newspaper report says:

"We're all pledged to it," said Alderman Coppins, referring to anti-election speeches. Chairman Manning and Alderman McEachren and Harp voted for the ordinance. Aldermen Smith and Kennedy were absent.

The first question to be submitted is:

C. QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES TO SUBMIT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IN STATE AFFAIRS.—IMMEDIATE SUCCESS IN SEVEN STATES—FOUR STATE CONVENTIONS REVERSED.

After the Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor and before the publication of the extra number of the official magazine, there was held the annual convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor. A resolution was adopted for the questioning of candidates, the demand being for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the referendum and the initiative. A questioning committee was provided—a Joint Committee on Direct Legislation, to consist of the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor and a committee of three from each of the Central Unions.

So effective was this system that the state convention of the party in power, the Democratic organization, promised that if continued in office it would place before the people the desired amendment, whereas the preceding year, before the plan for questioning candidates had been adopted, the workingmen's petition for an opportunity to vote upon more power in themselves through the adoption of the referendum and the initiative was unheeded. In the words of President Behrens of the State Federation of Labor, "We might as well have addressed our petitions to wooden Indians."

The Missouri system for questioning candidates was placed in print by the Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule, the chairman of which compiled the extra number of the *American Federationist*. This non-partisan organization mailed copies of the Missouri system to leading officers

Shall an ordinance be adopted by the common council, permitting the use of the public school buildings by citizens for the discussion of public questions upon proper restrictions?

CAMPAIGN IN PITTSBURG AND OTHER CITIES.

In several cities there is a movement for questioning candidates as to the emancipation of the city, for example, in Pittsburg. An active campaign was instituted in the last aldermanic campaign and will doubtless be continued until success is attained.

AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION.

The successes in the several cities described have most of them been published in the proceedings of the National Municipal Ownership Convention, held in New York City last February, also in the proceedings of the League of American Municipalities, and in the proceedings of the National Municipal League. The Direct Legislation Record and other publications have noted the movement.

THUS THE QUESTIONING OF CANDIDATES IN CITIES HAS BECOME AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION. AT PRACTICALLY NO EXPENSE THE UNIONS OR A REFERENDUM LEAGUE QUESTION THE CANDIDATES AS TO THE IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND THEREBY EMANCIPATE THE CITY FROM MACHINE RULE AND ITS ACCOMPANYING EVILS, AT THE SAME TIME STRENGTHENING THE UNION OR LEAGUE IN THE SENTIMENTS OF ITS MEMBERS AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE AND DEMONSTRATING, ALSO, AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM SEPARATE AND APART FROM PARTY POLITICS.

in the State Federations of Labor, and in the following states the annual convention of the Federation of Labor adopted the Missouri plan or a similar one: New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, Montana and Washington probably. In three of the states, however, New Jersey, Michigan and Iowa, there was a failure to carry out the instructions to question candidates. But in Massachusetts, California, Texas and Kansas, the officers of organized labor questioned candidates. In Washington the Granges questioned candidates. In North Dakota a referendum league was organized and questioned candidates, likewise in California, while existing referendum leagues did valiant work. In Kansas the organization was the Kansas Federation for Majority Rule. In Texas the organization was on similar lines.

The result of this 1902 campaign in state affairs was inspiring: IN SEVEN STATES MORE THAN A MAJORITY IN THE LEGISLATURE WAS SECURED AND FOUR STATE CONVENTIONS OF THE PARTIES WERE REVERSED.

The explanation of this remarkable result is that the question presented, the people's right to self-government, was such that a candidate's refusal to promise to vote for it would have meant his defeat.

The state conventions whose action in 1902 was reversed by the questioning of candidates by non-partisan organizations were the Montana State Conventions of the Republican and Democratic

parties, and the Republican State Conventions of California and Missouri. These bodies refused to promise that the party if placed in power in the legislature would give the people an opportunity to vote upon an increase of power in themselves,

but the subsequent questioning of candidates by the non-partisan organizations resulted in pledging more than a majority of the party in the next legislature, and the written pledges were lived up to in nearly every case.

D. ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND SENATORS IN 1902 PLEDGED TO ADVISORY INITIATIVE AND ADVISORY REFERENDUM.

In 1902 the questioning system was applied also in National Affairs. In Missouri the joint committee on direct legislation questioned the candidates for the National House and Senate. They asked,

If elected will you vote to give the people more power and at once through the advisory initiative and advisory referendum?

Of the sixteen congressmen and one senator elected *there were pledged nine of the congressmen and the senator.*

In Illinois both the candidates for the United States Senate pledged for the referendum and initiative. The pledge of the successful candidate, addressed to the secretary of the Referendum League and widely published is as follows:

I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, state and national, that affect the well-being of the citizens.

The ease with which the national candidates were pledged is testified to by the chairman of the Missouri Questioning Committee, H. F. Sarman. In a report he said:

STRANGELY ENOUGH THE SECURING OF PLEDGES FROM CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS IS MORE EASY THAN FOR THE LEGISLATURE!

The explanation, doubtless, is that the national questions are the hot ones, and that the individual congressmen and senators are more responsive to the popular will than are legislators and aldermen, for our party system is such that it is on national questions that public opinion is pronounced, and, besides, congressmen and senators are farthest removed from corrupting influences. Charges of graft relate most frequently to the common council, occasionally to the legislature, but seldom to congress. The power of the national special interests is through their control of party machinery.

E. WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

The movement for immediate self-emancipation has extended to Canada, with a lively interest manifested in Australia and other progressive countries. The extra number of the *American Federationist* started in Canada a movement for the application of the Winnetka system. *The Toiler*, official paper of organized labor in Toronto, explained the system in several editorials, and the Central Labor Union appointed a committee to consider the advisability of conducting a campaign in the approaching municipal election. The committee reported favorably and presented a plan to organize The Toronto Federation for Majority Rule. The plan was approved and a few dollars appropriated to start the undertaking. Other Unions and non-partisan organizations joined, contributing from one to five dollars each.

The result was the election of more than a majority of the aldermen and the mayor pledged to vote for rules of procedure for the advisory referendum and advisory initiative. Probably not more than fifty dollars was expended in the campaign. Further details are at page 79, above.

A few months later the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress declared as follows:

Resolved, That we rejoice to learn of the fact that the farmers' association of Ontario, in convention assembled, has officially accepted and endorsed the principle of direct legislation by the initiative and referendum. *Agriculture and labor having united on this important question, it must soon become an issue in practical politics.*

We are also pleased to learn that an independent direct legislation league for Ontario is being organized, its membership comprising both associations and individuals.

That this congress hereby affiliates with the Ontario Direct Legislation League for the purpose only of promoting the initiative and referendum, and that we instruct our Ontario executive to nominate a labor member of the committee of the league, if requested, such affiliation to carry with it a subscription to the funds of the league of ten dollars.

That it be a general instruction to our provincial executives to co-operate with other associations in promoting direct legislation, and in Ontario especially with the farmers' association and the direct legislation league.

And we recommend that our delegates should make an organized effort to pledge municipal and other candidates to support, in their councils, etc., the passage of rules of procedure providing for the adoption of the initiative and referendum; such pledging to be done, through labor unions and other associations, wherever local circumstances are favorable.

The above resolution was enacted September 23, 1903. The following January at the Toronto municipal election the Federation for Majority Rule questioned candidates again, and again the council and mayor were pledged to Majority Rule, 21 of the 23 aldermen were pledged. In other cities in Canada the movement is gaining headway.

F. AUSTRALIA AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

To Australia, also, and to all the other progressive communities of the world there were mailed copies of the majority rule number of the *American Federationist*. The leaven is working. Letters have been published from Australia commend-

ing the questioning of candidates as to the advisory initiative. *It is seen that it is the entering wedge for the establishment of the people's rule in place of party government.*

G. NEW SYSTEM OF POLITICS—PARTY MACHINES CANNOT EVADE THE LIVE ISSUES
—UNIONS KEEP OUT OF PARTY POLITICS.

Reviewing, what has been shown, it is clear that the questioning of candidates as to popular issues is immediately successful, PROVIDED A FEW MEN OR AN ORGANIZATION STAND READY TO TAKE THE CASE TO THE PEOPLE, OR IF THE OPPOSING CANDIDATES INTEND TO MAKE IT A LIVE ISSUE. IT FOLLOWS THAT THE USE OF THE SYSTEM TERMINATES THE PARTY MACHINE'S POWER TO EVADE THE LIVE ISSUES. Heretofore many of the vital issues, such as the termination of ma-

chine and trust rule by installing the referendum and the initiative, have been evaded. The machines in both the great parties have refused to make it a live issue. They have refused to limit their own power. The questioning of candidates, however, is a complete and effectual remedy. [This is illustrated in the accompanying cut.]

Such are the exact words of President Gompers in the extra number of the *American Federationist* of July 15th, 1904, and he adds:



THE OLD WAY.



THE NEW WAY.

H. NATIONAL SYSTEM OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FOR QUESTIONING
CANDIDATES AS TO ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

"The above facts and conclusions were presented to the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. in a 40 page pamphlet by the Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTION No. 121.

Whereas, For ten years the American Federation of Labor has been declaring the need for an increase of power in the voters, to be attained by the adoption of the referendum and the initiative, that is (1) by

extending the veto power of the voters so that it shall include not only the changes in the written constitution, but all the lesser changes in the laws except the usual appropriation acts and measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety, and (2) by clothing five or eight per cent. of the voters with a direct initiative; therefore,

Resolved, That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the demand of the order for MORE POLITICAL POWER IN

ITS MEMBERS AND IN THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, and to this end demands a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed five per cent of the voters; and a direct initiative by not to exceed eight per cent; and,

Resolved, That the questioning of the legislative candidates as practiced by the state branches of the American Federation of Labor with great success in Massachusetts, Missouri, Illinois and California, is herewith recommended; and,

Resolved, That in order to secure unity of action in national affairs, the legislative or specially appointed committees of the several bodies in the American Federation of Labor, INCLUDING THE LOCAL AND CENTRAL UNIONS, SHALL CONSTITUTE COMMITTEES TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR SECURING AND USING A DIRECT INITIATIVE AND A PEOPLE'S VETO.

At the same convention at New Orleans a more elaborate system for non-partisan work was introduced by the delegates from Seattle and Tacoma. The resolution, Number 140, is as follows:

RESOLUTION No. 140.

Whereas, It is the universal demand of organized workingmen that such great evils and sources of danger as Oriental immigration, government by injunction, over-long and exhausting hours of labor for men and women, and involuntary servitude of children, be forbidden by national laws; and,

Whereas, Past failure to secure such laws is believed to have resulted more from the want of a definite plan which would impress upon party conventions and nominees a respect for the desires of organized labor and point out to all wage earners just what ones, among those aspiring to legislative honors favored laws desired by them, than from any repugnance to laws in themselves so just and right; *therefore*, as a method of instructing conventions and nominees as to the profound earnestness of purpose on the part of organized labor in asking such laws and for the purpose

of enabling trades unionists to select intelligently and from among aspirants for legislative honors, be it

Resolved, That the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to prepare bills concerning such legislation by congress as is desired, and especially concerning the subjects of Oriental immigration, government by injunction, eight-hour workdays, and the involuntary servitude of children; that copies of these bills when prepared shall be sent to the executive officers of each of the State Federations of Labor, where such federations exist, and in other cases to such persons or organizations as may be selected, with instructions in each case providing that the bills for the desired legislation shall be submitted to the county conventions of all political parties with a request for an indorsement of the same by such conventions, and instructions from them to their delegates and nominees to act in accordance with such indorsement; that such further steps shall be taken as will secure the nomination by state conventions and the election by state legislatures of only such men for the house of representatives and the United States senate as are fully and satisfactorily pledged to the support of the bills prepared by the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor; that it shall be the duty of the officers upon whom the responsibility of promoting the proposed legislation shall devolve to give the results of their work, as shown by the actions of conventions and the pledges of candidates, the greatest publicity, TO THE END THAT ALL TRADES UNIONISTS MAY KNOW WHO THEIR FRIENDS ARE.

The leading features in both the above systems are in italics and small caps. Bear in mind that there are some 25,000 affiliated Unions, each of which is represented in the questioning of candidates as to the establishment of a national system for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum.

Besides, the organized farmers are in the movement together with other non-partisan associations.

I. ORGANIZED FARMERS ARE DECLARING FOR THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND SOME ARE QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The farmers of the country are organized through political parties, but the control of the party machines in the leading parties is in the monopolists—the enemies of the farmer. And it is the party machines of the leading parties that nominate the successful candidates.

To overcome the power of the monopolists was one of the motives that led to the establishment of the Patrons of Husbandry in 1867, each lodge (local, county and state), being termed a Grange. *Through these granges*, declares President Hadley of Yale University, *the sentiment against railway extortion "BECAME ALL-POWERFUL."* (page 36, above). The movement started in Illinois, where a constitutional convention was secured in 1870, and the measures framed were enacted into law by referendum vote. In Pennsylvania a constitutional convention was secured in 1873 and the recommendations of the convention were adopted by referendum vote. In this way stringent regulations were framed and adopted. The successes in these states led to successful campaigning in several other states as we have already stated. In Wisconsin a majority in the legislature was secured by questioning candidates and there followed the Potter law. In Iowa there was an uprising through the legislature.

The state regulations controlling the railroads were declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1877. But seven years later the court reversed itself by prohibiting the states from controlling railroad rates where the property or passengers *were destined to another state, even though Congress had not attempted to legislate on the subject.*

In this way the railroads were emancipated from control by the states. In other words, *the Constitutional Convention and Referendum Vote WERE GOTTEN RID OF, for in national affairs the submission of amendments to the federal constitutions are not only difficult to get BUT ARE NOT SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDUM VOTE.*

Owing to this condition of things the railroads have been largely uncontrolled since 1884. It is true that in 1887 the Granges and other organizations induced Congress to enact the Interstate Commerce Law, but the law was of such a character that after its enactment there was a rise in railroad stocks, and then one restriction after another was removed by the supreme court, it declaring them unconstitutional. The last of the restrictions were removed by the court in 1897, and

then began the wholesale discriminations in freight rates which have resulted in a trust in practically every line of industry.

The Granges of to-day are endeavoring to help curb these mammoth trusts, as is pointed out at

page 72, above. The Granger Uprising of the '70's is being repeated. The demand against Machine Rule (pages 70-71, above), must soon become unanimous, and many of the Granges are questioning candidates; see page 83, above.

J. REFERENDUM LEAGUES AND PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUES QUESTIONING CANDIDATES—AT EACH PUBLIC MEETING AN INDIVIDUAL SHOULD QUESTION.

In addition to the foregoing organizations for questioning candidates there are Direct Legislation Leagues, Referendum Leagues, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and other forms of non-partisan organization. These are questioning candidates in writing and are receiving written pledges.

Furthermore, at every public meeting during the campaign an individual in the audience should

ask the candidate to state his position as to the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. This will force him to publicly declare himself and to do so repeatedly, the result being that whoever is elected will be so thoroughly committed to the system that he will surely vote right. But in the future as in the past the people will not rely alone upon personal honor:

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FORCES WHICH IMPEL CANDIDATES TO FULFILL WRITTEN PLEDGES.

History demonstrates that in the United States, England and other progressive countries there are a multitude of forces which impel representatives to observe in some degree, at least, the principles of popular government. One of these forces is *physical force*—the court of last resort. Representatives always realize that physical force is in the background and will come forward whenever they attempt to act high-handedly beyond endurance. For example, in Illinois, the Speaker of the last House attempted to pass a bill against the will of the majority of the members and they rose up and drove him from his desk, elected a presiding officer and proceeded with business. (See page 24 above). This revolution is a sample of Anglo-Saxon spirit, inherited from our ancestors.

A few months after the defeat of the monopolists in the Illinois legislature they were defeated in the Chicago Common Council and by tactics somewhat similar. The people learned that the monopolists were about to purchase enough votes to pass an ordinance for an extension of the street railway franchise and Henry D. Lloyd proposed to the Chicago Federation of Labor a resolution calling upon all good citizens to attend the council meetings. The resolution was adopted, though Mr. Lloyd did not live to participate in the meeting, for a cold which he took while at the federation meeting, having gotten up from a sick-bed to attend, resulted in his death. The plan, however, worked successfully. The aldermen grumbled because the people stood ready to protect their interests and the newspapers decried the people's attendance, *but the franchise grabbers did not attempt to complete the proposed steal.*

In the United States Senate, too, there has been a continual threat by the minority to use physical force should there be an attempt to take away their constitutional right of debate, which has existed from the establishment of the government. Leading members of the minority party while not openly stating it have told the opposition that blood would flow should there be an attempt to take away this constitutional right.

And in Kansas and Nebraska the people secured the election of anti-railroad senators some years ago because a few determined farmers attended the legislature to see to it that representatives should heed their pledges. If members of the legislature had attempted to violate their pledges there would have been trouble and they knew it.

These facts, combined with other conditions favorable to the establishment of the people's sovereignty ensure its consummation and without bloodshed. *A majority of the members of Congress and the other legislative bodies will be instructed, AND THEN THE WHOLE BODY OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT WILL INSIST THAT THE WRITTEN PLEDGES BE LIVED UP TO. THE PEOPLE WILL UNITEDLY DEMAND THAT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY SHALL PREVAIL. THAT IS THE GREAT STRENGTH OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.*

Thus will the people's sovereignty be established without civil war or hint of such a thing.

But were the contest between party machines instead of a change to the Referendum System in combination with Congress, the result would likely be civil war, judging from the nearness to civil war in the contest over the count in 1876, 1884 and 1896, and the existing civil war in Colorado. We believe that nothing short of a square contest on the right to re-establish self-government can secure a peaceable restoration of the system. *By focusing attention on the needed changes in the system of government nothing can withstand the aroused interest of the people.* In the words of Bryce's American Commonwealth:

Towering over presidents and state governors, over congress and state legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, Public Opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it.

Reviewing this division of our subject, Book V, there is clearly seen the line of least resistance for the establishment of the People's Sovereignty. In State affairs it is the questioning of candidates for the legislature as to the submission of a *constitutional amendment*, for in this the candidates are not asked as to their opinion of the proposed change but only the simple question, Will you let the people discuss the proposed increase of power in themselves and vote upon it?

In City affairs the line of least resistance is not to wait until the entire State is aroused and organized but to question the candidates for aldermen and mayor—question them, If elected will you vote to free the city and at once?

In National affairs the easiest way to overthrow Trustocracy is to question candidates as to installing the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum. Details of the system are in the following pages.

BOOK VI. THE NON-PARTISAN CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

CHAPTER XXXI.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Application of National System, 1903, 1904.

In the foregoing sections there is outlined some of the results caused by the action of the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in 1901 and the publication of the extra number of the American Federationist, January 1902. At the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, November, 1902, there was provided a national system for questioning candidates as to the referendum and initiative and such other public measures as should be deemed of great importance, page 82, above.

The system was applied the following year, 1903. The President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, issued an address to the 25,000 affiliated Unions, enclosing copies of the two measures in Congress upon which the wage-earners were centering their efforts, a bill to restore trial by jury and prevent legislation by the United States judges—"anti-injunction" is the technical name of the measure, and the other bill is for the eight-hour day in government contract work. No general election was at hand, therefore the address was as follows:

Branches are urged to send these bills to each of the United States Senators from their state and the congressman from their district, impressing upon them the great interest which your union feels in the enactment of these bills into laws at the forthcoming session of congress, and requesting their support and

vote in favor of these bills being placed upon the statute books of our country.

Copies of these bills should also be forwarded to any one, irrespective of party, aspiring to a nomination for congress, and accompanying it with a respectful, but insistent letter or resolution for a favorable reply.

For years we have been thwarted in our effort to secure the enactment of these just and beneficent measures, and an opportunity presents itself now FOR MORE UNITED ACTION, which, if availed of, will without doubt lead to success.

In the interest of our fellow-workers and for the cause of right now and for the future, every organization is requested to take prompt and favorable action upon the above matters.

Following are the two bills in full.

Counting upon your co-operation, and hoping and working for success, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

Since the issuance of the above address an election of congressmen has not yet occurred, but the address stimulated the presentation of memorials and other expressions of opinion. Preparatory to this year's election of congressmen and members of legislatures the following address and questions are being presented by the unions in each district:

ADDRESS AND QUESTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS.

SUBMITTED BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND AFFILIATED UNIONS.

Mr.

Candidate for Congress.

DEAR SIR:—The time is at hand when the American people are about to select legislative agents. You are asking the people of this district to commission you as their agent in the National House of Representatives. This entitles them to ask as to your attitude on the burning questions of the day. Preparatory to asking you these questions, permit us to outline the political evils of the day, first as to

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Government by injunction is that system of government which came into being with the new uses to which the injunction was put.

These new uses of the injunction have resulted, first, in the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases, which is being gradually extended as occasion requires; second, the system prevents a review of the facts by higher courts, and third, a new legislative system is installed by judges whereby certain acts which in themselves are perfectly lawful are declared unlawful. Incidentally, the system abolishes indictment. Furthermore, one becomes a criminal prisoner as a result of a mere filing of a civil suit by an attorney of a corporation interested, coupled with an order by a judge. In this proceeding there are no witnesses and no appearance of the defendant or his counsel. This is neither better nor worse than Russian des-

potism, and it has gone so far that in Colorado men are banished without any sort of trial, after having been rounded up like so many cattle.

As you are a candidate for congress we desire to ask you and your replies will be given the widest possible publicity:

QUESTION No. 1.—*If elected will you actively assist in enacting legislation for the termination of government by injunction, the details of the measure to be those of our anti-injunction bill in congress, copy of which we enclose?*

Answer.....

EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WORK.

The inventions of modern times and other favorable conditions have shortened the working day for nearly all the people. In most of the clerical positions under the United States government the working day is seven hours. In construction work by the general government the workday is eight hours. This rule was adopted by congress in 1868. It was held, however, that this regulation applied only to direct employment. Then the law was amended during Mr. Cleveland's term so that it applied to contractors and subcontractors for government work. But the attorneys-general have held that this second law, which plainly applies to contractors and subcontractors, applied only to such work as is done upon government property. It followed, of course, that much of the contract work is done on property adjoining the government grounds, thus evading the law. To put an end to this evasion is the purpose of the eight-hour bill now in congress, and which has been favorably reported during the last three congresses and each time passed by the House of Representatives by a practically unanimous vote. We ask you, sir—

QUESTION No. 2.—*If elected will you actively assist in passing legislation for an eight-hour day in government contract work, the details of the measure to be those we have been and are asking for in congress, and copy of which we enclose?*

Answer.....

GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PEOPLE.

Representative government is a comparatively modern institution. It did not exist at the time of the Roman Republic or Empire. It is a product of the people of central and northern Europe and resulted from their splendid spirit of liberty.

Representative government is of two forms, that in which the people's sovereignty is guarded, or partially guarded. Guarded representative government is that system in which the voters possess a veto power and a direct initiative. This makes them the sovereign power. Without this people's veto and direct initiative the ruling power is in the few, as is evidenced by the facts which we herewith present.

RULE OF THE FEW IS EVIDENCED BY SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

That the few are the ruling power in this country is evidenced by the laws enacted—laws which grant SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. One form of these is

private monopolies in transportation, such as railroads and the telegraph; and private monopolies in raw materials, such as coal, iron, salt, etc.; and private monopolies in manufacture and trade secured through the monopolies in transportation and raw material. The monopoly of a lower transportation rate than one's competitors get forces them out of business and so does the monopoly of raw material. So rapid is the increase in the monopolies of raw material and transportation rates that if the system continues a while longer it will result in monopoly in every line of manufacture and trade.

The system through which the few are thus monopolizing the country is a two-faced system of government—a diarchy, an analysis of which is as follows:

RULE OF THE FEW THROUGH DECEPTION.

Primarily the system of government in this country is republican in form—the people are declared to be the sovereign power, yet the representative system that is actually erected by the federal and state constitutions does not guard the people's sovereignty—there is no people's veto nor is there a direct initiative, except in South Dakota and Oregon. The real sovereignty is in the few who seek special-privilege legislation and for that purpose invest money to control the political machines, which means a host of political evils, among which is the making of the modern "grafters." Where no one is seeking special-privilege legislation there are no grafters. And where the people's sovereignty is guarded there are no legislative privileges to seek.

Furthermore, popular forms of government are openly repudiated.

OPEN REPUDIATION OF POPULAR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Government by injunction exists, some of the manifold evils of which we have described, and two legislatures in Utah and one each in Illinois and Colorado have openly refused to obey the people's instruction through referendum vote.

REMEDY FOR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CORPORATIONS.

The remedy for the rule of the corporations is for the people to guard their sovereignty by establishing a right to a direct vote on public questions through the initiative and referendum.

This is successfully accomplished in South Dakota and Oregon, and in the cities we hereinafter mention, and successfully installed in Switzerland; partially installed in every state in the union, and a start has been made in national affairs.

The remedy, then, for the rule of the monopolists is completely demonstrated and has been for many years. Why the system has not been installed more rapidly is readily explained: it is the difficulty in ousting the ruling few. To change the sovereignty from the few to the many is a mighty task. The powerful few do not retire voluntarily. They control the political machines of the two great parties, while third parties have not declared that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue.

But a new power has arisen: it is the systematic questioning of candidates as to the dominant issue, THEREBY PREVENTING EACH CANDIDATE FROM EVADING THE ISSUE AND HIS SELF-INTEREST RESULTS IN

A WRITTEN PLEDGE—a pledge that if the voters of the district will elect him to office he will vote to protect their sovereignty. Should a candidate openly refuse to promise it would defeat him and he knows it.

This non-partisan system was used extensively by organized labor in several states and cities in 1902 and with telling effect. A majority in six legislatures were pledged, the action of four state conventions of the two great parties was reversed, nine of the sixteen congressmen from Missouri were pledged, also the newly elected senators from Missouri and Illinois, while several cities freed themselves.

This system was approved by the A. F. of L., and it has established a national system for questioning candidates. The 25,000 affiliated unions, with 2,000,000 members, are correlated into one great system to protect and promote their own interests, as well as those of all the people.

Thus the wage-earners in cities are organized to assist in establishing the sovereignty of the people, while in the rural districts the work is attended to by organized farmers, referendum leagues and majority-rule federations. The day of evasions by candidates is past. The vital issues are at the front.

LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE FOR TERMINATION OF THE RULE OF THE FEW.

Experience during 1902 and since then has demonstrated the line of least resistance for terminating the rule of the few.

In the cities the line of least resistance is questioning candidates for the common council as to whether, if elected, they will vote to establish a system whereby the voters may, if they so desire, instruct the members of the common council concerning the granting of franchises for city monopolies (the Advisory Referendum) to be immediately installed through rules of procedure in the common council. This system is in successful operation in Winnetka, Ill.; Detroit, Mich., and other cities.

In the states the line of least resistance is to question the candidates for the legislature whether, if elected, they will vote to submit to the people of the state the question of adopting a constitutional amendment for more power in themselves through a people's veto and direct initiative. This is the system successfully applied in 1902 in Missouri, Colorado, California, Montana, North Dakota and Illinois. But as half the senators held over from the preceding election and a two-thirds vote is required for the submission of a constitutional amendment, it requires this year's pledging of candidates to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote, except in Missouri, where the state convention of the dominant party pledged for the amendment.

In the nation, the line of least resistance is—

1. To question the candidates for the National House whether, if elected, they will vote to establish a system whereby the voters may instruct, if they so desire, concerning bills which one or both houses have passed (the Advisory Referendum) to be installed at the opening of the next congress by means of rules of procedure supplemented by a statute of congress and supplemented by the establishment of referendum machinery in the several states for voting on national questions, which laws in the states are being provided for by questioning the candidates for the several legislatures.

2. Also to question the candidates for the National House as to voting for an Advisory Initiative, the details of which are explained in an accompanying document.

3. To question the candidates for the legislatures whether, if elected, they will vote only for such candidates for the United States Senate as are pledged to vote for the Advisory Referendum and Advisory Initiative; and whether said candidates for the legislature will vote to instruct the hold-over senators to immediately cast their ballots for the above described system; and whether the candidates for the legislature will vote to enact a statute authorizing five per cent. of the people of the state to call for a special election to instruct the hold-over senators should they refuse to obey the instructions of the legislature.

As you are a candidate for the National House, we ask you—

QUESTION No. 3.—*Will you, if elected, vote to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under this people's initiative and acted upon; the details of the advisory system to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the American Federation of Labor and National Grange? Bear in mind that a refusal to promise to vote for an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their representatives will be a flat-footed and open repudiation of the people's right to self-government.*

Answer.....

QUESTION No. 4.—*If the people of this district select you as their agent in the House of Representatives, will you vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct?*

Answer.....

The establishment of the proposed system of advisory initiative and advisory referendum will restore the people's power and liberate congress from "machine" rule.

FINAL WORD.

The people of this congressional district are considering whom they shall elect to represent them in the national congress. Their interests are to be entrusted to an agent whose power to bind them is absolute and irrevocable for two years and who, if he faithfully carries out the duties of his position, must withstand the people's enemies and help control them. Therefore, while you and your competitors are asking the people to choose between you, we ask, and have a right to ask, if elected, how will you vote on the great issues?

Will you vote against government by injunction by voting for the bill we have presented?

Will you vote for the eight-hour bill?

Will you vote for the people's sovereignty by voting to establish in the people a right to a direct vote on public questions?

To each of the questions asked we would like a clear-cut yes or no. If you or any other candidate

refuse to come out for the people, squarely, openly, and in writing signed by yourself. we shall give the facts the widest possible publicity in your district, and there will be held, if need be, a series of meetings in which there will be discussed the need for election of candidates who are pledged to abolish the rule of the few. Voters' non-partisan agreements, such as we enclose, will be circulated, setting forth the attempt to openly substitute throughout the United States the old-world system of sovereignty in the few. For the first time since the war of the Revolution the issue is that of the people's right to self-government.

It should be clear that the conditions in this district are such that no candidate can longer defeat the people's sovereignty. We do not for an

instant infer that you are against the establishment of a government that will represent the people's interests, but we state the case plainly for we are thoroughly in earnest.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal to reply during the next 10 days will be a negative to our questions, and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

Respectfully yours,

.....
(Central Labor Union.)

By

.....
Chairman of Legislative Com.

BLANK FORM FOR REPLY.
(Detach and Mail.)

Mr.

Chairman of Legislative Committee.

DEAR SIR: Replying to the questions in your letter, I desire to make the following answers: To Question 1, my answer is; Question No. 2,; Question No. 3,; and Question No. 4,

I remain, sir, very respectfully yours,

.....
Candidate for Congress.

Dated, 1901.

Such is the address and questions to candidates for congress by the 25,000 Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In every city and every town of any size the candidates are being questioned by the Unions. In the rural districts there is questioning by the Granges and by People's Sovereignty Leagues.

Immediately following the above address and questions the American Federation of Labor has printed the following instructions:

INSIST ON PLEDGES.

Do not let any candidate "bluff you off" or evade the issue by telling you the law prohibits him from making a pledge. The law does no such thing. If it did no political party would dare make promises in its platform, and no candidate would dare pledge himself to carry out those promises. But you know they do, every election.

What the constitution in most states declares is that

a man who sells his vote, or contracts to sell it, can be challenged and kept from voting (for example, 1874 amendment to New York constitution, Art. II, Sec. 2), and the candidate who pays a bribe or promises one can not be seated if he heeds the oath of office (for example, 1874 amendment to New York constitution, Art. XII, sec. 1, re-enacted in 1894 constitution, Art. XIII, Sec. 1). But every candidate is expected to and does declare to the voters of the district how he will vote on public questions if they will elect him.

THE ISSUE.

Remember that the issue is the establishment of the people's sovereignty. It is not a labor question only, nor simply a question of capitalism, but a question of monopoly. Shall the monopoly of the political power of the country be in all the people or continued in the ruling few? It is the people against the monopolists.

Address and Questions to Candidates for Legislatures.

SUBMITTED BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND AFFILIATED UNIONS.

Mr., 1904.

.....
Candidate for the Legislature.

DEAR SIR:

You are asking the people of the district to select you as their representative in the legislature. This entitles them to ask you as to your attitude on the issues in which they are interested and by which they are affected—the burning questions of the day. Preparatory to doing this per-

mit us to outline the basis of the political evils of the day, which we do in the accompanying address and questions to candidates for congress, which we invite you to read, and to do so at once, that you may realize the far-reaching importance of the questions we are to ask.

SOLUTION OF BURNING NATIONAL QUESTIONS.

The burning questions of the day are NATIONAL, for our country has developed to where the railroads and all the other great corporations are interstate, therefore nothing short of interstate law will suffice.

In the settlement of these great national issues the members of the legislatures are vital factors. They elect United States senators, and therefore can pledge them to vote to abolish government by injunction and to install the eight-hour day in government contract work and to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum; secondly, the members of the legislature can instruct the hold-over senators—instruct them to vote for these three measures, and, thirdly, the members of the legislature can vote to establish by state law the machinery for verifying signatures to national petitions and for taking a referendum vote whenever congress shall so decide. To that end we ask you, sir—

QUESTION No. 1.—If elected, will you vote only for such candidate or candidates for the United States Senate as have promised in writing to vote to abolish government by injunction, to install the eight-hour day in government contract work and to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, the details to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes in the last-mentioned system as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the A. F. of L. and the National Grange?

Answer.....

QUESTION No. 2.—If elected, will you vote to instruct the hold-over senators—instruct them to vote for the above described measures?

Answer.....

QUESTION No. 3.—If elected, will you help to enact a statute whereby five per cent. of the voters of the state, calculated on the basis of the last vote for governor, may call a special election for a referendum vote on a proposition to instruct United States senators if one or both of them shall fail to obey the legislature's instruction?

Answer.....

QUESTION No. 4.—Do you promise that if elected you will help to enact a statute that shall supply the machinery for verifying signatures to national petitions, and the taking of a referendum vote when so decided by congress, the details to conform to the measure we herewith submit, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the A. F. of L. and the National Grange?

Answer.....

ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY IN STATE AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

(The following address and questions as to state and municipal issues are recommended to the executive committee of each state federation of labor except where the referendum is submitted or is installed.)

Turning to state and municipal issues you are aware that the people of this commonwealth are suffering from the domination of state and municipal machines, the results of which are special privilege corporations controlled by the few. Another result is graft.

The remedy is nothing less than a change in the system. This means the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of the ruling few, which will be accomplished by installing a people's veto and a direct initiative. Leading up to questions on these points we desire to say:

The American system of government is founded on the proposition that the people are the sovereign power, who possess, therefore, the acknowledged right to make the constitution of a state and amend it.

Such is the fundamental law of the state and we ask you, sir—

QUESTION No. 5.—Do you recognize this fundamental principle of free government? If so, do you promise us and the electors who may vote for you that, if elected, you will vote to give the people of the state an opportunity to ballot upon a constitutional amendment for an increase of power in themselves, by extending the people's veto (through the optional referendum), and by adopting a direct initiative (in addition to the indirect system which now exists), the details of both to accord with the specifications which are enclosed? Bear in mind that the question is not as to the merits of the proposed system, but only the plain question, Will you recognize the people's long-established right to decide for themselves the question of adopting or rejecting it?

Answer.....

QUESTION No. 6.—Will you, if elected, vote for the enactment of a law expressly authorizing common councils, village boards and county boards to order an advisory referendum vote?

Answer.....

FINAL WORD.

Reviewing the above it is seen that the whole thing simmers down to a question of restoring and improving popular government and establishing the eight-hour day in contract work of the national government.

To each of the questions asked we would like a clear-cut "yes" or "no." If you or any other candidate refuse to come out for the people, squarely, and openly in writing signed by yourself, we shall take the steps described in our letter to congressional candidates.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal to reply during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

Respectfully yours,

.....
(Central Labor Union.)

By

.....
Chairman of Legislative Committee,

BLANK FORM FOR REPLY.
(Detach and Mail.)

Hon.
Chairman of Legislative Committee;

DEAR SIR: Replying to the questions in your letter I desire to make the following answers: To Question No. 1, my answer is.....; Question No. 2,; Question No. 3,; Question No. 4,; Question No. 5,; and Question No. 6,

I remain, sir, very respectfully yours,

.....
Candidate for the Legislature.

Dated, 1904.

The foregoing are the addresses and questions to legislative candidates by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions.

DETAILS OF A. F. OF L. SYSTEM OF QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The system for presenting the addresses and questions to candidates is described in the letters which the national organization has mailed to the Central and Local Unions. To central bodies the following letter was sent:

LETTER TO CENTRAL BODIES.
Please Read to Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1904.

DEAR SIRS AND BROS.: The A. F. of L. provides a system for notifying conventions and questioning legislative candidates, and the resolutions instruct that the system be applied toward the enactment of our national anti-injunction bill, national eight-hour bill, and the installation of the initiative and referendum in national affairs. The time has arrived for applying the system. Questions have been prepared for presentation to the legislative candidates of the several parties, a sample copy of which accompanies this letter.

Copies for presentation to the candidates for congress and the legislature in your district will be supplied to your legislative committee *upon receipt by us of the name and address of the chairman*. KINDLY INSTRUCT THE CHAIRMAN TO WRITE FOR COPIES FOR QUESTIONING CANDIDATES AND TO PRESENT THEM, also to report progress at each regular meeting of the union.

If the questioning of candidates is heartily pushed by all the unions, there is an excellent prospect for success.

Please keep me advised of the work done by your central body and what progress is being made.

Faternally yours,

[SEAL]

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

LETTERS TO LOCAL BODIES.

To the local unions in the cities where a central body exists the following instructions were issued:

The central union of your city has been requested to direct its legislative committee to present the questions to the several legislative candidates in the district and to report to the central body at each regular meeting until election day.

It is desirable that your union be directly represented on the questioning committee, and to that end you are requested to name one of your number as committee-man and to instruct him to report at each regular meeting of your union until election day.

A different instruction was issued to the locals where no central body exists. The instruction was this:

Kindly direct the chair to appoint a committee of three, unless you already have a legislative committee, also instruct the chairman to write for copies of the questions and to present them to the candidates, also to report progress at each regular meeting until election day.

Under this system a report by the legislative committee or member thereon is a regular order of business. This will tend to keep the committee at work or lead to the appointment of another chairman. At the same time it will keep alive the interest of the organization.

SUGGESTIONS TO CHAIRMAN OF QUESTIONING COMMITTEE.

In mailing the question blanks to the chairman of the legislative committees, the national organization inserted a leaflet giving suggestions as to how the non-partisan campaign should be conducted.

Provision for nomination by petition on the one great issue of the People's Sovereignty versus Trustocracy is provided for in case the leading candidates refuse to pledge. See below, Chapter 34. *The mere existence of this system will probably be effective, for party candidates will not knowingly go to a probable defeat.*

The foregoing political program of organized labor is approved by all who oppose the monopolists, and is execrated by the monopolists and their editorial writers.

Henry George, Jr., one of the ablest and most vigorous writers among the anti-monopolists, writes as follows in his usual half-page in the *Sunday North American* of Philadelphia, August 21st:

No more important number of *The American Federationist* has ever been issued than the extra number of July 15th, relative to the questioning of candidates and pledging them for the principles of initiative and referendum. * * * Whatever may be said of the reckless disregard of such legislative bodies as that of Colorado, which in face of the clearest political promises and in flat conflict with direct constitutional mandates succumbed to the baleful and nugatory influence of monopoly powers, Congress is still susceptible

to expressions of popular will, and most of the constituent members of that body are easily within reach of any considerable number of voters in their respective districts. Trade unions are large numerically, and consequently command many votes. LET PROOF BE GIVEN THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE UNION WILL HANG TOGETHER IN RESPECT TO THIS OR THAT MATTER, AND THEN THE EXPRESSED WISH OF THE UNION WILL SOUND LIKE A TOCSIN TO THE CANDIDATE, OMINOUS OF DANGER TO HIS POLITICAL HOPES IF HE SHALL REFUSE TO GIVE HEED.

The advisory initiative and advisory referendum, declares Henry George,

would give every working man as a member of a trade union a vital interest in political questions and in the enactments of legislatures *without raising party prejudices and shibboleths, and in that way, working to the detriment of the union organizations as organizations.*

The president of the National Federation of Teachers, Miss Margaret A. Haley, writes:

I am delighted to see the American Federation of Labor taking up this question of initiative and referendum. Please send me 25 more copies of the extra number of *The American Federationist*.

The monopolists, on the other hand, are raging. The *New York Times*, in an editorial, declares the questioning of candidates to be

a monumental piece of impertinence.

This indicates the extent to which popular government is spurned!

The *Iron Age* for August, the leading review of the iron and steel trade in the United States and therefore in close touch with the Steel Trust and other trusts, devotes its leading editorial to the non-partisan program of organized labor. Under the caption "Labor Leaders Coercing Candidates" it says:

The labor leaders may find that the great majority of candidates will resent this attempt to interfere with their independence on *non-political questions*. [Original not italicized.]

This is only one of the fallacies in the editorial. It also says:

It is simply another attempt to accomplish by duress that which the community [the "machine"] has steadfastly refused to grant.

This use of "community" is amusing, as also is "non-political questions."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE GRANGE SYSTEM OF NON-PARTISAN POLITICS.

Grange Has prospered Because of Non-Partisan Methods.

"Survival of the fittest" is a principle with which we are all familiar. The continued existence and growth of the Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry is an indication that the organization is fitted to existing conditions. An inquiry as to wherein this organization differs from other associations of farmers that have lived for a time and perished, reveals its strong features. The most prominent is that the Granges are *strictly non-partisan*. While discussing questions of public policy and exerting for desired legislation the full strength of the membership vote, they have refrained from nominating candidates or endorsing the platform or nominees of a political party. *But the Farmers' Alliance went into party politics AND PERISHED.* This occurred because party politics is such that some of the farmers are members of each party. Where an organization is started on the broad lines of farming interests and then goes into party politics, it splits the organization.

But where the organization declares itself as to measures instead of men and the measures declared for are those *on which the farmers are agreed*, the result is helpful to the organization. It attracts attention, and the farmers are benefited. All through the reports of the National and State Granges there is much emphasis as to legislation secured.

Certain measures, however, have been left severely alone, as is seen in these reports. For example, the report of the Worthy Master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, W. F. Hill, for 1901, says:

In the work of the legislative committee for protecting and advancing the interests of agriculture, care was exercised that only such positions were taken upon the oleo, tax, and other questions as would by their fairness appeal to ALL right-thinking people.

This is the attitude, I believe, of all the State and National Granges. Only such measures are demanded as appeal to practically all the farmers.

After the measures are declared for in annual convention the legislative committee informs the political leaders, including the conventions and nominees, as to the legislative demands of organized farmers. An example of this is found in the proceedings of the National Grange for 1902, wherein it is said:

The legislative committee of the National Grange issued a statement *immediately following the close of the session* setting forth the legislative platform of the organization.

In this way the demands of organized farmers were placed before the several party leaders, party conventions and candidates.

After notice of the Grange platform is given and the party machines and candidates have made answer, the next step on the part of the legislative committee of the Grange is to bring these answers to the knowledge of the Grange members.

It appears, then, that the Grange Legislative Committee accomplishes two principal things, the demands of the Grange are brought to the attention of the party machines and the answer of each is laid before the farmers.

RESULTS.

Remarkable success has resulted. Thirty years ago the Grange leadership resulted in state control of railway rates. During the '80's the Grange was one of the chief instruments in securing the passage of an interstate commerce law. In recent times the Grange has brought about rural free delivery of mails; it has secured laws prohibiting the imitation of dairy products; it has helped to

secure the Isthmian canal bill, and has helped to defeat the ship subsidy bill. The three last mentioned successes in national affairs were achieved during the past two years.

In state affairs the results are equally satisfactory. In Michigan the Grange "is recognized as wielding the strongest influence upon public affairs of any power that exists within the state." (Report to National Grange, 1902).

In Pennsylvania the report of Worthy Master Hill for 1901 says:

It is along legislative lines that we take special pride in our accomplishments. The Legislative Committee of the State Grange has been tireless in its efforts and they merit and are given great praise for their accomplishments.

SOURCE OF POWER IN NON-PARTISAN POLITICS.

The source of this great political strength in state and nation is that the farmers are in BOTH the great parties and constitute a balance of power. THEREFORE WHEN THEY UNITE UPON A MEASURE, IT WINS. The farmers united against the imitators of dairy products and won; they demanded a rural free delivery of mails on the same permanent footing as the delivery of mail of the cities and won; they demanded a law for the curtailment of the extortions of the railways and won; and they fought the ship subsidy and won. Without organization the farmers could not have secured their rights. And it was the refusal to nominate candidates, THEREBY CENTERING UPON MEASURES INSTEAD OF MEN, that won out. By agreeing upon measures and serving notice upon the conventions and candidates of both parties, it compelled them to accede to the farmers' demand or be defeated. Thus the farmers won their fight before public speaking began.

Of course the Grange is careful, as we have elsewhere pointed out, to push only such measures as are clearly just, and so plainly equitable that if opposed by a candidate he would be defeated.

PARTY GOVERNMENT TERMINATED TO EXTENT THAT GRANGE SUCCEEDS.

To realize something as to the full meaning of the Grange success through non-partisan politics, one must bear in mind that to the extent that the Grange declares for popular measures it takes from the party machines the power to evade these issues. In other words, it terminates party government to the extent that the non-partisan organization declares for popular measures and stands ready to defeat those who oppose the demands. The power to take the case to the voters is the balance of power.

The remarkable growth of machine rule in recent times is causing the Grange and other non-partisan organizations to develop their political power:

PRESENT DAY PROGRAMS.

Many of the legislative committees of to-day are communicating directly with the candidates before nomination time, and after the conventions are held they question such of the nominees as are not on record. Then the replies of candidates are placed before the members of the Granges and the public in general. Such further action is taken as

the committee may decide upon. "Voters' agreements" can be circulated, a sample of which is published as Appendix VI. Public meetings can be held under the auspices of the order, care being taken to strictly limit the discussion to the measures demanded by the Order. BUT THE MERE EXISTENCE OF THESE WEAPONS IS NEARLY ALWAYS EFFECTIVE IF THE CANDIDATES KNOW ABOUT THEM, FOR THEY SHAPE THEIR COURSE TO SECURE AN ELECTION.

WASHINGTON GRANGE SYSTEM.

The non-partisan system of the Washington Grange, established in 1902, is as follows:

Be it Resolved, That our Worthy Master of the Washington State Grange be requested to appoint a Grange Committee in each county where there is an organized Grange. The duties of said committee shall be to interview the various legislative candidates and to persuade them to use their best efforts, if elected to the legislature, to secure the passage of a bill to amend the state constitution providing for direct legislation, which shall be submitted to the people, as required by the state constitution.

This plan was so effective that the next year (1903) it was continued and strengthened, the following recommendation of the legislative committee being unanimously adopted by the State Grange:

We ask our patrons to see to it that none but those pledged to direct legislation receive their support at the convention or at the polls.

This vigorous action along non-partisan lines has helped to build up the organization. The membership increased 47 per cent. during the next year. The State Grange of 1904 directed that the questioning of candidates be continued, and another forward step has been taken by offering to co-operate with organized labor in questioning candidates for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the abolition of machine rule—the establishment of a people's veto and direct initiative.

PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE SYSTEM.

In Pennsylvania an effective co-operation between organized farmers and organized wage-earners is actually in operation. The last state convention of each organization instructed that the candidates for the legislature be questioned as to the submission of a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative. And July 27th the executive and legislative committees of the State Grange decided to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor toward the securing of a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs.

The Pennsylvania Granges are not confining themselves to the securing of a people's veto and direct initiative, as is the Labor Federation of Pennsylvania. Since early spring the Granges have been asking four questions of the candidates for the legislature:

1. That trolley lines in Pennsylvania be authorized to carry freight;
2. That all classes of property shall bear an equitable share in building and maintaining good roads;

3. That a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative be submitted; and,

4. That part of the local taxes which now go into the state treasury shall be left with the municipalities.

The questions to Candidates for Congress submitted last spring are,

1. That the tariff shall be so adjusted that American citizens can buy American products as cheaply at home as they are sold abroad;

2. That a postal savings bank shall be established, and,

3. That the postoffice shall carry parcels larger than four pounds.

Since July 27th there have been issued by the State Grange supplemental questions as to the referendum and initiative in national affairs. The questions are those asked by the American Federation of Labor. The letter to candidates is as follows:

Hon. _____
Candidate for Congress.

Dear Sir:

Since addressing you the three questions as to national measures advocated by the Grange, a fourth question has become prominent, the referendum and initiative in national affairs. We desire to learn your attitude that we may publish the same to the Patrons of Husbandry in this district and to all other citizens. You are asking the people of this district to commission you as their agent in the national house and it is highly desirable that your attitude as to the leading questions may become widely known. Please let us hear from you at an early day. A refusal to reply during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions and we shall so publish it to the voters in the district. Very respectfully yours,

Grange Legislative Committee.

This letter and accompanying questions, also the details of the proposed advisory initiative and advisory referendum in national affairs, are published by the Legislative Committee of the State Grange and copies are forwarded into each county.

There are two forms of county organizations. In part of the state there is a County Committee composed of the legislative committee of the Pomona (county) Grange, and one from each of the Subordinate (local) Granges. Where there is no Pomona organization the chairman of the county committee on questioning candidates is the Deputy.

The other form of county organization for questioning candidates is a legislative committee appointed by the Pomona Grange, and a legislative committee named by each Subordinate Grange, with an endeavor on the part of the Subordinate committees to work in harmony with the Pomona committee, which aims to keep in close touch with the State Committee.

The questions are presented by the chairman, and "when the replies are all in or a reasonable time to hear from them has elapsed, say ten days," declares the instruction of the State Committee,

a report should be prepared for publication and copy supplied to each newspaper in the district, with request that it be printed. State the date that it is released for publication. Time it so that it will come out the earliest day in the week that the weekly papers are issued.

If candidates are slow in replying see that they are called upon by one or more members of the committee or by some one appointed by the committee. Impress them with our determination, and call their attention to the machinery for placing candidates in nomination by petition.

Copy of the report should also be sent to me for publication in the *Pennsylvania Grange News*. Reports from all the counties will be published.

Each chairman should retain original answers, making copies or compilations for publication.

Of course the candidates must be treated alike. Absolutely fair treatment is the fundamental tenet in successful non-partisan work.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

POLITICAL PROGRAM OF ORGANIZED BUSINESS MEN.

Anti-Monopoly Organizations Are Numerous and Strong.

Turning from the political programs of organized farmers and organized wage-earners, we find that the anti-monopoly associations of Business Men are more backward than the other anti-monopoly classes in realizing the evils of party government. But where the business men come to realize the way out they are active and strong. For example, see the history of how the advisory referendum was installed in Detroit, page 78, above, also see as to Geneva, Illinois, page 77, above. In Buffalo, New York, where the advisory system has been installed by questioning candidates, the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to examine the proposed system and

it reported favorably. The report was adopted by a large majority. This was early in the campaign. At a later day a hearing was had before a committee of the common council and not an individual or corporation said a word against the establishment of the people's advisory vote on franchise questions, (page 79, above).

Something as to what the business men's associations have done to put an end to discriminations in freight rates, is stated at page 72, above. Failure, however—flat failure—has resulted from their attempts to dominate *through party government!* The monopolists have too much money! But the business men, by joining in the flank

movement can help to oust the monopolists and with practically no expense, while success can be accomplished as a result of this year's campaign. The only question is, Will the leaders in the business men's associations study the situation and act? Where the organization is *local* a special meeting can be called to consider the question. In such case it will be well, doubtless, to order that copies of this number of the GRANGE NEWS be sent to quite a number of the members. The price is only 4 cents per copy in lots of a dozen or more. This is merely the cost of manufacture and distribution.

Where the business men's organization is a state or national body, and therefore the members cannot at once express themselves through the organization, the officers and leading members can form an outside organization, for example, the Business Men's Anti-Monopoly League of (name of State). This can be organized in a week or ten days and it can do much toward pledging the legislative candidates throughout the state. And the news of the organization will help in other states.

IT IS UP TO THE BUSINESS MEN TO PROTECT THEMSELVES! *One or two men in a state can organize the business interests.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ANTI-MACHINE CAMPAIGN BY PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUES, MAJORITY RULE LEAGUES, REFERENDUM LEAGUES, ETC.

Nominations by Petition, Where Necessary.

In the foregoing systems for questioning candidates, the city and the country are each represented, except the portions where there are no anti-machine organizations of farmers, wage-earners, or business men, or where they are backward in acting. But all that is required to establish the people's sovereignty is a *majority* of the legislatures, and in these it is only necessary to win a *majority of the votes*. In other words, a trifle more than a quarter of all the votes in the legislatures, properly distributed, will carry them. Such is the existing system of government. This will carry the United States Senate, too, for the senators are to be instructed by the legislatures. In the National House a bare majority of votes will carry that branch of the government.

To assist in the anti-machine campaign there are numerous Referendum Leagues, Direct Legislation Leagues, and Majority Rule Leagues, and People's Sovereignty Leagues are being organized. *Organize as many leagues as possible for there is an advantage in multiplying the number.* It shows an active interest and the candidates realize that each organization is an effective center for work.

Each league should declare its intention to assist in nominating by petition on a people's sovereignty platform should both the leading candidates combine to oppose the establishment of the people's sovereignty. Co-operation will be accorded, of course, by all the non-partisan organizations in the district. Along with the nominating petitions there can be circulated a Voters' Non-Partisan Agreement, see Appendix VI.

Furthermore, each legislative committee of organized farmers, business men and wage-earners,

should make it known that should both the leading candidates conspire to refuse to answer that it will insure defeat, for it would mean the organization of a People's Sovereignty League and the placing of candidates in nomination *by petition, the issue being confined to the establishment of the people's sovereignty.*

The mere existence of such a determination by the committee will be effective, FOR THE CANDIDATES ARE IN THE FIGHT TO WIN AND WILL NOT GO UP AGAINST A PROBABLE DEFEAT. The details of the constitution ready for adoption are given in Appendix III.

The form of State organization in Texas, just reported to the National Federation for Majority Rule, is as follows:

WACO, TEXAS, AUG. 16, 1904.

MR. GEO. H. SHIBLEY,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Bro. Shibley: Your letter of the 6th was duly rec'd, and was pleased to learn that the Majority Rule movement had been taken up by the Granges in Pennsylvania. There is no doubt the people are waking up to the importance of the reform all over the country. The success of the movement in Oregon will certainly cause a rapid spread of the good work. *Everybody believes in it; ALL THEY NEED IS TO BE AROUSED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZING TO OBTAIN IT, AND IT WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED.*

At Fort Worth, on the 9th a few earnest men from various parts of the state met in conference to consider the best method of carrying on the propaganda in this state. Judging from the enthusiasm displayed the prospect of successful organization of the state looks hopeful. The undersigned was re-elected chairman, and Dr. G. B. Harris, of Bruceville, was elected secretary. O. F. Dornblaser, of Hillsboro, was elected National Committeeman. He has long been active in Majority Rule work.

The name of the organization was changed from the Non-partisan Federation for Majority Rule to MAJORITY RULE LEAGUE OF TEXAS. A plan of organization was adopted which provides for the appointment of a chairman for each congressional district, who will appoint a chairman for each county in his district, who will in turn appoint precinct chairmen. A conference of the congressional and county chairmen will be held once a year, while the county chairmen will be instructed to hold quarterly meetings, if possible, to keep the interest alive. Questions will be submitted to the nominees for the legislature on Majority Rule and proposed railway legislation.

The organization was extremely fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Harris as secretary. He is well known throughout the State as a reformer, is able, earnest and active, and will not shrink from the large amount of work which will fall upon him.

We will also endeavor to have a constitutional amendment for Majority Rule before the legislature, but do not hope for any better results than last ses-

sion. With the state organized two years hence, it can be passed.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed)

JOHN R. SPENCER.

See, also, Appendix V. for details of State League organization.

The difference between a league and a political party is that the chief function of the party is the placing of candidates in nomination. A league, on the other hand, works for a measure or measures instead of men. Incidentally it may place a candidate in nomination, limiting the platform to the one or more issues for which the league stands.

Turning to parties, attention is directed to the fact shown in Chapter 25 that none of the third parties are declaring that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue. Two instances in the past are cited in the chapter, however, the chief of which is stated in detail in Appendix VII.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ACTION BY READER IS REQUESTED.

You who have read the foregoing pages must certainly desire to help in the emancipation of yourself and your fellows! If you are a member of a non-partisan organization take active steps to see that a resolution is presented declaring against the rule of the few and for the establishment of the people's sovereignty through guarded representative government. To assist in securing a favorable report, order copies of this number of the GRANGE NEWS for the leading members of the association. The price is only 4 cents per copy in lots of a dozen or more, mailed to separate addresses. Further details of effective lines of action in Business Men's Associations are stated in the second preceding chapter.

Members of Pomona and Subordinate Granges are urged to act at once, for the anti-monopoly campaign is well advanced. Blanks for questioning candidates as to the referendum system in national affairs will be mailed if request is sent to Bro. George H. Shibley, Astoria Building, Washington, D. C. Copies of the proposed Rules of Procedure and Bill in Congress will accompany the blanks. The postage will probably be about 10 cents, and this amount should accompany the request for material. Orders for copies of the GRANGE NEWS should be

addressed to 64 Main Street, Chambersburg, Pa.

All should bear in mind that only one copy of this number is mailed into a district by the Pennsylvania State Grange. *It is in the nature of a sample copy, AND THEREFORE LAYS UPON THE RECEIVER THE DUTY OF EXTENDING THE CIRCULATION IN HIS DISTRICT.* Additional copies will be supplied at the mere cost of manufacture and distribution—4 cents, in lots of a dozen or more. Send in your personal order at once, then ask your neighbors to contribute, also suggest to each non-partisan organization of the district that it order a copy for each family in the Order. Granges can increase membership by sending copies to selected names. The greatest period of growth in the Grange was in the '70's, when the anti-monopoly work was at its height. In the state of Washington last year the increase in membership was 47 per cent. In Pennsylvania for the quarter following the mailing out of question blanks to Pomona and Subordinate Granges, *more Granges were organized and reorganized than in any other state!*

If your district is thoroughly converted to the need for the people's sovereignty, *then contribute funds for mailing this special number WHERE MOST NEEDED.* Many of the

states are backward and the organizations therein should be educated to this non-partisan work. In this national program none can secure its benefits until Congress is secured by a majority vote.

If you are in a rural district or in a village or city that has not yet questioned candidates, organize a People's Sovereignty League and proceed with the work. It will cost you practically nothing in time or cash; for details see Appendix III.

Editors of daily, weekly and monthly papers are urged to review the Anti-Monopoly and Anti-Machine program. You can get but little of the news from the Associated Press, for it suppresses nearly everything concerning the referendum and initiative. This news distributing agency is itself a monopoly and is dominated by monopolists, and therefore is suppressing, so far as possible, all news concerning the Anti-Monopoly campaign, for examples, see pages 2 and 44.

Readers of these pages who are not editors are urged to take their copy to the local editor and ask for a review. And by all means see that whatever action is taken in your district is supplied to the local press.

Write letters to the papers, also. In nearly every case they will gladly publish these communications. Refute at every opportunity the false statements concerning the campaign or its objects. This will open to you an opportunity for a clear statement of the Anti-Monopoly program.

Above all else bear in mind that the united political action of non-partisan organizations *is along the line of least resistance* (Book VI, above) AND THEREFORE SHOULD RECEIVE THE HEARTY CO-OPERATION OF EVERY CITIZEN. TO DO SO WILL NOT INTERFERE IN THE LEAST WITH YOUR PARTY AFFILIATION.

This non-partisan movement for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs without waiting for a change in the written constitution is of such great importance that one cannot realize it at first sight. But a close inspection demonstrates that it opens a quick and easy

road to the establishment of the people's power. Where only yesterday, as it were, the federal constitution obstructed the establishment of the referendum and the initiative and the party machines were being used to continue party government, *now all is changed*: The immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty has become the dominant issue, *forced to the front by the questioning of candidates by non-partisan organizations, which will at once win the day*, FOR CANDIDATES DARE NOT OPENLY OPPOSE A PROPOSITION SO SELF-EVIDENTLY IN THE VOTERS' INTERESTS. COMPLETE SUCCESS ONLY REQUIRES THAT A FEW PEOPLE IN ABOUT HALF THE DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES SHALL BECOME DOMINATED WITH THE IDEA! Already the sentiment in the states west of Indiana is completely won over to the referendum and initiative. Mere paper organization will at once secure the pledges of candidates! In the central, eastern and southern states immediate success can be secured by the numerous non-partisan forces *if an active interest is aroused*.

The quick-acting qualities of this program for establishing the referendum were pointed out two years ago in the introduction to the extra number of *The American Federationist*. It was there said:

The new questions as to the system of government and the method for installing it are such as must revolutionize the prevailing ideals. This new system can be adopted with an ease and rapidity which places it as much ahead of the prevailing campaign methods as the telegraph is ahead of the stage coach.

But relief from Trustocracy is coming none too soon, as is pointed out in the chapters showing the extent to which even the forms of popular government are openly repudiated, while class war is raging in Colorado and may become national at any time. If the people's sovereignty is not established in this year's campaign, it will be two years before another opportunity occurs; and in the meantime the monopolists will continue as our rulers and will become more and more arrogant and oppressive.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM PRINCIPLE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Proposed by Pennsylvania State Grange, American Federation of Labor, People's Sovereignty Leagues, and Other Organizations.

ALL WHO BELIEVE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY ARE REQUESTED TO CO-OPERATE TO SECURE THE ADOPTION OF THE SYSTEM BY THE INCOMING CONGRESS.

The following is a draft of resolution to be introduced in the congress of the United States, and also draft of the bill to be enacted by the congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several states. The adoption of these will open the way for important statutory changes and con-

stitutional amendments. Minor changes in the proposed draft of the resolution and bill are provided for in the questions to candidates; that is, these changes may be agreed to by the authorized representatives of the National Grange and the American Federation of Labor.

I. Resolution for Proposed Rules of Procedure.

A RESOLUTION:

For rules of procedure in the U. S. House of Representatives establishing in the people an advisory initiative as to interstate commerce and ten other topics, and an advisory referendum as to laws of congress and measures passed by a house or by both houses—a system whereby the people may more effectually instruct national representatives.

Resolved, That until the people take to themselves the final power in legislation by a constitutional amendment for the optional referendum and direct initiative, this house adopts the following rules for a system whereby the people may instruct national representatives:

ADVISORY INITIATIVE AS TO LEGISLATION CONCERNING INTERSTATE COMMERCE AND TEN OTHER TOPICS.

Section 1. Whenever seven hundred fifty thousand (750,000) voters shall present to this House and Senate any bill, constitutional amendment, or other form of question as to national policy concerning interstate commerce (that is, concerning railways, telegraphs, telephones, currency, or other instrument of interstate commerce, or a corporation or individual whose business it is to operate any of the instruments of interstate commerce) and (2) trial by jury or any modification of the law of injunction; (3) dependencies; (4) hours and conditions of labor; (5) immigration; (6) postal savings bank; (7) direct election of senators, president and vice-president of the United States; (8) the civil service, including direct election of fourth-class postmasters; (9) direct nominations; (10) direct initiative and optional referendum, and (11) proportional representation, the petition shall be received and numbered, read twice, referred to a committee for consideration and reported back, together with such amendments, substitute, or recommendation as may be thought desirable. The House, after considering

the subject and agreeing with the Senate, but without an enacting clause, shall refer to the voters the original bill as initiated, and also such alternative measure or recommendation as shall have been agreed upon, the details as to petition, referendum ballot, and all other steps leading up to and including the announcement of the result to be prescribed by laws of congress and of the several states.

Section 2. Each measure initiated by petitioners shall have precedence over all other measures except appropriation bills and bills immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, and shall be reported to the Speaker of the House for submission not later than one year from the time it was filed. There shall be at least 90 days between the final reporting of the initiative measure and the balloting by the voters. In case there is less time the ballot shall be cast not later than the succeeding year. Where practicable the balloting shall take place at the autumn election.

Section 3. If, in a majority of the congress-

sional districts and a majority of the states, a majority of the votes legally cast for and against both measures shall favor one of them, or if only one measure is presented and it shall receive a majority (as herein defined), there shall be incorporated an enacting clause, if the measure is a bill, read three times and voted upon by yeas and nays. If the successful measure is not in detail it shall be referred to committee for the reporting of a bill which shall be considered with a view to expressing therein the will of the people, and shall go to third reading.

Section 4. Where there are competing measures and neither receives a majority of the votes cast for and against them ("majority" being used as defined above), the one receiving the highest vote shall be resubmitted by itself if it receives more than one-third of the votes cast for and against both bills. Voters may indicate second choice, which shall be counted for a bill in case the first choice does not secure a majority. If a measure receives a majority as herein defined, there shall follow the procedure described in section 3.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM AS TO LAWS OF CONGRESS AND MEASURES PASSED BY A HOUSE OR BY BOTH HOUSES.

Section 1. Whenever five hundred thousand (500,000) voters request in writing that a law of congress or a measure passed by the Senate or House or by both houses shall be submitted to a vote of the people for the purpose of instructing representatives, their request shall be granted. The procedure for petitioning, verification of signatures, decision as to compliance with requirements, steps in an appeal, submission of question to the voters, return of vote, decision of contests, etc., to be prescribed by laws of congress and of the several states.

Section 2. The balloting shall take place not later than the following general election which occurs more than sixty days after the filing of the petition.

Section 3. Where a people's advisory vote on the subject-matter enumerated in section 1 of this rule is requested by a million (1,000,000) petitioners they shall be entitled to call a special election and shall specify the date.

A similar set of rules is to be presented in the Senate.

II. Constitutional and Effective.

The authority in the federal constitution for the enactment of the proposed rules of procedure is as follows:

Each house may determine the rules of its procedure (article I, section 5).

Congress shall have power * * * to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states * * * to establish post roads, etc. (Art. I, Section 8).

In other words, Congress is specifically authorized to legislate concerning interstate commerce and the ten other topics to which the rules are to apply.

Upon these questions of public policy congress may determine the rules of its procedure so long as there is no infringement of other portions of the constitution. The advisory initiative is not in conflict with any portion of the constitution, nor is the advisory referendum. *They are simply regulations setting forth how a certain class of petitions to congress may be inaugurated, filed and considered in congress, then referred to an advisory vote of the people through referendum machinery provided by state legislatures.* The people's will, when expressed, will not legally bind the members of congress, therefore no constitutional provision will be infringed. The candidates, however, who vote for the establishment of the system will be pledged to obey the will of the voters in their district when indicated by referendum vote. *This moral obligation will make the system effective.*

That the people are morally warranted in instructing their representatives is not an open question. Every candidate for legislative office promises that if elected he will carry out the principles set forth in the platform on which he stands. In this way the majority vote is an instruction. To-day we propose to go another step *and separate some of the issues from the vote for candidates, and also to separate some of the issues themselves.* This will enable the voters to act more intelligently, for there is no vote-purchasing at referendum elections on such measures as we propose. Furthermore, before a referendum vote can be taken the question will first be considered in congress in order that testimony may be taken and the truth ferreted out; and congress can frame a competing measure where the direct initiative is used.

Note, also, that the rules provide that before the members of congress become morally bound to install a measure it shall have received the people's assent in a majority of the congressional districts and in a majority of the states. This conforms to the requirements for a majority vote in the Senate and in the House—a double majority, as it is frequently termed. In Switzerland every measure adopted by a referendum vote must receive this double majority, and it is an interesting fact that every measure which has received the assent of a majority of the districts has also been assented to in a majority of the cantons.

The statutory provisions for installing the proposed system are as follows:

III. Details of Proposed National System.

A BILL:

Supplementing two rules of procedure in the National Senate and House which establish in the people an advisory initiative as to interstate commerce and ten other topics and an advisory referendum as to laws of congress and measures passed by either house or by both houses—a system through which the people may more effectually instruct national representatives.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following shall be substantially the form of petition for an advisory vote of the people upon a law of congress or measure passed by either house, or by both houses.

REFERENDUM PETITION.

To the honorable President of the United States Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters in the several states, respectfully request that (describe measure) shall be referred to the legal electors in the several states that they may instruct their national representatives, and that the vote be taken at the regular general election to be held at the day of, 19.. (or special election), and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the state of and my residence, postoffice, and voting precinct are correctly written after my name.

Name.	Residence (if in city, street and number).	Postoffice.	Voting precinct.
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Each sheet on which petitioners sign shall have printed at the top or be attached to a correct copy of the title and text of the measure which it is proposed shall be submitted to the people. And there shall be printed on the sheet with the petition the words "Important Notice," and underneath this notice the words of the statute describing those who are entitled to sign and the penalty for an infraction of the law. The petition shall be filed with the clerk of the House in numbered sections for convenience in handling.

Section 2. Initiative Petition.—The following shall be substantially the form of an initiative petition for any law or amendment to the constitution of the United States or for a resolution or statement of public policy.

INITIATIVE PETITION.

To the Honorable President of the Senate and Speaker of the House:

We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters in the several states, respectfully request that the following proposed law (or amendment to the constitution, or resolution, or question of public policy) shall be submitted to the legal electors in the states that they may instruct their national representatives, the vote to be taken at the next general election (or special election) after congress shall have finished its consideration of the measure, but there shall be at least 90 days between the submission by congress and the referendum vote, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition, and my residence, postoffice, and voting precinct are correctly written after my name.

Name.	Residence (if in city, street and number).	Postoffice.	Voting precinct.
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Each sheet on which initiative petitioners sign shall have printed at the top or be attached to a full and correct copy of the title and text of the measure proposed. And there shall be printed on the sheet with the petition the words "Important Notice," and underneath this notice the words of the statute describing those who are entitled to sign and the penalty for an infraction of the law. The petition shall be filed with the clerk of the House in numbered sections for convenience in handling.

Section 3. Verification of Signatures.—The legislature in each of the several states shall provide machinery for the verification of signatures to national petitions, and the following provisions, sections 3a, 3b, and 3c, are recommended, and until machinery for the verification of signatures to national petitions is provided for in a state the signatures on petitions therefrom shall be considered genuine until disproved.

Section 3a. The provision for registration of voters shall include the taking of two signatures, together with residence, postoffice, and voting precinct, one of which shall be filed in the county clerk's office. A certified copy of the lists on file with the county clerk shall be transmitted by him to the clerk of the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C.

Section 3b. The signatures of voters in the state of (insert name of state) to national petitions for a direct vote of the people shall be verified by the county clerks in the several counties. As rapidly as sheets of signatures to a petition are filed with a county clerk he shall compare the signatures with the signatures on the registration books and blanks on file in his office for the preceding general election, and the genuineness of the several signatures shall be certified to the clerk of the House of Representatives substantially as follows:

State of.....

ss.

County of

To the honorable, clerk of the U. S.

House of Representatives:

I,, county clerk for the county of, state of, hereby certify that I have compared the signatures on (number of sheets) of the national referendum (national initiative) petition attached hereto, with the signatures of said electors as they appear on the registration books and blanks in my office, and I hereby certify to the best of my knowledge and belief that the signatures of (names of signers) numbering (number of genuine signatures) are genuine. As to the remainder of the signatures thereon I believe they are not genuine, except that the following names do not appear on the registration books and blanks in my office.

(Seal of Office) (Signed) County Clerk.
ByDeputy.

Every such certificate shall be prima facie evidence of the facts stated therein and of the qualifications of the electors, whose signatures are thus certified to be genuine. The county clerk shall not retain in his possession any such petition or any part thereof for a longer period than two days for the first two hundred signatures thereon, and one additional day for each two hundred additional signatures or fraction thereof on the sheets presented to him, and at the expiration of such time he shall deliver the same to the person from whom he received it, with his certificate attached thereto as above provided. The forms herein given are not mandatory, and if substantially followed in any petition it shall be sufficient, disregarding clerical and merely technical errors.

Section 3c. The signatures which the county clerks shall refuse to certify as genuine may be certified to by notaries public, and the certificate shall be substantially in the following form:

State of

ss.

County of

I,, a duly qualified and acting notary public in and for the above named county and state, do hereby certify that I personally know each of the following named electors, and each on oath has declared to me that he personally signed a national petition, of which the annexed petition is a copy, the original petition being one which has been certified to by the county clerk of this county, and he further declares on oath that he is a legal voter in the state and that his name is on the registration books of this county for the last general election. The names of said electors are as follows:

(Names of such electors.)

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal this ... day of 19...

Notary for (name of state).

The certificates of the notaries public shall be filed with the secretary of state, at the capital of the state, who shall compare and certify as to the genuineness of the official signatures and seals of the notaries, and the secretary's of state certificate, together with the certificates of the notaries, shall be ready for delivery within two days from the time of filing.

Section 4. Filing of Petition—Appeal to Supreme Court.—When a petition for the national initiative or national referendum shall be filed with the clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, he shall at once notify in writing the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States, who in person or by appointment of an associate justice shall at once pass upon whether the petition is sufficient to have the measure referred to the people under the rule of procedure of the Senate and House and supplementary legislation. An appeal to the supreme court of the United States may be taken by the petitioners or the remonstrants, if any. The appellants shall serve

upon the justice and clerk of the House of Representatives a written notice of appeal, and they shall thereupon transmit to the clerk of the supreme court a copy of the decision, together with such of the original papers and documents in the case as may be demanded by any of the appellants.

Section 5. Introduction of Initiative Petition—Submission to Voters.—An initiative petition shall be presented to the House of Representatives the third day after a petition has been held to be sufficient, or the first day thereafter that the House convenes, unless an appeal shall have been taken; and a copy of the petition with a statement as to the number of signatures shall be presented to the Senate the same day that the petition is presented in the House or the first day thereafter that the Senate is in session. One year from the date of presentation to the House and Senate, or at such earlier day as the measure may be reported to the speaker of the House for submission to the people, he shall in writing notify the President of the United States of the reporting of such petition for popular vote, and the President shall forthwith issue a proclamation announcing the fact and the date of the referendum vote with the title of the measure and of competing measure by congress, if there is one.

Section 6. Submission of Question to Referendum Vote.—A written notice of the filing of a referendum petition shall be submitted to the President of the United States by the clerk of the House of Representatives, on the third day after a favorable decision has been rendered, unless an appeal shall have been taken, and the President shall forthwith issue a proclamation announcing the filing of the petition, the date of the referendum vote, with a statement of the title of the measure.

Section 7. Numbering of Petitions—Title of Petitions.—Each petition for a direct vote of the people that is filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives shall be numbered by him consecutively year after year, beginning with one. The title to each petition shall be that selected by the petitioners or by the committee or organization representing them.

Section 8. Publication of Text of Measures—Copies for Distribution.—Not later than the first Monday of the sixth month next before any general election at which a national question is to be submitted to a direct vote of the people, the speaker of the House of Representatives shall transmit to the public printer a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted; and printed copies shall be supplied the document rooms, from time to time, and the chief of each shall supply copies to applicants and in such quantities as demanded, provided reasonable assurance is given that they will be placed singly in the hands of the people. All bills, or copies of bills, arguments, ballots, sample ballots, lists, returns, and all other official matter necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this law shall receive the franking privilege in the U. S. postoffice.

Section 9. Publication of Official Ballot—Copies for Distribution.—At the time the speaker of the House of Representatives transmits to the public printer the above-described copy he shall include manuscript copy for the official ballot, indicating the styles of type. Said ballot shall be of white paper and there shall be placed at the head in bold type the words, "National Question [or Questions]" and the following: "Official Refer-

endum Ballot to be Used (date). Issued by Order of the Congress of the United States." The questions shall be published in numerical order, beginning with number one each year, with a brief catch line over each set of questions, also at the left-hand side of each question, if there are two or more questions on one general topic, and at the end or bottom of each question the words "yes" and "no," with instruction to place a cross opposite the word which expresses the voter's preference. There shall be a provision for second choice. In connection with each measure there shall be stated who presented it. The following is a sample:

[SAMPLE BALLOT.]

NATIONAL QUESTIONS.

Official referendum ballot to be used (date).

Issued by order of the congress of the United States.

(To County Clerk: In printing the ballots insert here the names of State, County, Township, or Ward and Precinct.)

CONCERNING INTERSTATE RAILROADS.

To indicate your choice place a cross (x) opposite the word you wish to adopt. If you have second choice indicate it by "second choice" or its equivalent.

Immediate Public Ownership of Railways.

Question 1. Direct Initiative No. 1, proposed by 800,000 voters: "For the immediate purchase of the railway systems of the United States by eminent domain proceedings (probably at the average market price of their stocks and bonds for preceding five years), with operation of the roads by the federal government, and with equal rights to all shippers." Shall it be adopted?

Yes.....

No.....

Regulation of Railway Rates Through Interstate Commerce Commission.

Question 2. House Bill No. 101, submitted by congress: "For (1) regulation of rates of interstate transportation by means of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and (2) for the securing of equal rights to shippers." Shall it be adopted?

Yes.....

No.....

Transition to Public Ownership Through Fixed Rate of Profit and Public Control.

Question 3. Direct Initiative No. 2, proposed by 1,000,000 voters: "For transition to public ownership of railways by (1) immediate regulation of rates of interstate transportation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the object of which shall be to provide sufficient net earning for dividends that will keep the market price of the capital stock practically at par; said capital stock to be limited to such an amount as shall represent the cost of reproducing the plant, together with the sums paid for the right of way, with a deduction of the market value of the bonds outstanding; and further protection of public interests by prescribing civil service regulations and clothing the Interstate Commerce Commission with general supervisory powers equal to those now exercised in railway re-

celverships by federal courts; and (2) after the amount of the capital stock is ascertained the government shall purchase it and issue bonds against the roads." Shall it be adopted?

Yes.....

No.....

Attested copies of the printed ballot shall be forwarded by the clerk of the House to the several secretaries of state enclosing a copy for each county clerk. And the clerk of the House shall supply printed copies to applicants and in such quantities as may be wanted, provided reasonable assurance is given that single copies will be placed in the hands of the people.

Referendum petitions filed at least 60 days from general election day, initiative petitions reported to the Speaker of the House of Representatives at least 90 days before election day, and referendum petition for a special election shall at once be submitted to the voters in the manner prescribed in this and the preceding sections.

Section 10. Machinery for Disseminating the Bills, Sample Ballot and Arguments.—Immediately after the time set for the publication of the text of bills that are to go to referendum vote the public printer shall publish copies of the bills, and an argument for and against each bill, not to exceed 2,000 words for each side, one-fourth of which may be in rebuttal. The arguments shall be in charge of a joint committee of the Senate and House, and a committee or organization representing the petitioners. The first part of each argument shall be filed six and one-half months before the general election, except as to measures filed subsequently, in which case five days shall be allowed. Rebuttals shall be filed six months and three days before the general election, except as to measures filed subsequently, in which case two days for rebuttals shall be allowed. One copy of text of measures and arguments and a sample referendum ballot shall be mailed to each voter in the United States whose address is on file with the clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, preference to be given to the addresses supplied by registration officers in the several states [see section 3a]. Unofficial lists shall be filed by voting precincts and the names shall be in alphabetical order.

[The total cost to the government for publication and distribution would not exceed two cents per name. For 15,000,000 voters the cost would be \$300,000. The demand for referendum voting will be confined to few but important measures. In Switzerland it is the conservator of the people's rights and is the court of last resort, and such will be the case in America. To explain the objections to a proposed law is very important.]

Section 11. Machinery for Referendum Vote.—The legislature in each of the several states is requested to provide machinery for a direct vote on questions of public policy submitted by congress, and provide also for counting, canvassing, and returning the vote. The following provisions, sections 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, and 11e, are urged.

Section 11a. The secretary of state at the time that he furnishes to the county clerks in the several counties certified copies of the names of the candidates for state and district offices shall furnish to each of said clerks a certified copy of the national referendum ballot to be voted upon at the ensuing general election and shall instruct the

county clerks to print copies and distribute to the precinct election officials, the number of ballots to be that of each of the other ballots.

Section 11b. Whenever congress shall order a referendum vote at a time other than the general election the secretary of state of each of the several states shall transmit to the county clerks a certified copy of the national referendum ballot and shall instruct them to print copies and distribute them to the precinct election officials, the number to be printed to be that of the state ballot in the preceding general election.

Section 11c. At each polling booth a separate box shall be used for the ballots on national questions.

Section 11d. The ballots on national questions shall be counted, canvassed, and returned by the regular board of judges, clerks, and officers as votes for candidates are counted, canvassed, and returned, and the abstract made by the several county clerks of votes on national measures shall be returned to the clerk of the House of Representatives on abstract sheets in the manner in which ballots on amendments to state constitutions are returned.

Section 11e. Who May Sign Petition and Vote—Penalties.—Every person in (name of state) who is qualified to vote for member of the House of Representatives may sign a petition for a direct vote on a national question or questions, and on such questions may cast a referendum ballot. Any person signing any name other than his own to

any such petition, or signing the same more than once for the same measure at one election, or who is not at the time of signing the same a legal voter of the state, or any person who swears falsely before a notary public as to signing a national petition for direct vote, or as to being a legal voter in the state, or that his name is on the registration books of the county for the last general election, or any person who shall unlawfully cast a national referendum ballot, or any officer or any person violating any provision of this statute, shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$500 or by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court before which such conviction shall be had.

Section 12. Final Count of Referendum Vote—Publication of Result.—Thirty days after the referendum vote has been taken, and sooner if the returns be all received, the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States or any associate justice whom he may appoint, shall, in the presence of a committee of the petitioners and of the opposing side, who shall have been previously notified, proceed to canvass the returns and the result shall be placed in writing and filed in the office of the clerk of the House with access to the public. The returns shall be presented to the House and Senate by the clerk of the House immediately upon the assembling of said houses.

APPENDIX II.

OUTLINE OF COMPLETE ARGUMENT FOR SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

People's Sovereignty the Dominant Issue—Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum the Line of Least Resistance in National Affairs

The art of producing in the minds of men a belief in the ideas which the speaker or writer wishes them to accept, is termed Argumentation.

The art consists in applying rules of logic, persuasive methods, rhetoric and the rules of evidence.

Preparatory to making an extended argument it is absolutely necessary to outline the case by (1) stating the exact question in dispute, (2) defining terms used, (3) showing the origin of the question, (4) stating what facts are admitted by both sides, (5) eliminating the extraneous ideas, (6) finding the special issue, and (7) arranging the evidence.

This constitutes the brief, which has three divisions, the introduction, the brief proper and the conclusion.

These principles of argumentation are herewith applied to the following questions:

QUESTIONS:

Resolved, That the dominant issue in the politics of the United States is the establishment of the sovereignty of the people through a people's veto and direct initiative, for it is the only way that trustocracy, imperialism, militarism, and other forms of rule by the few can be abolished; and

Resolved, That the advisory referendum and advisory initiative as to interstate trusts and ten other topics proposed by organized wage-earners

and organized farmers, will establish the people's sovereignty as to these national questions and will lead to the people's complete sovereignty.

QUESTION I.

Introduction.

1. "Trusts" is the term generally applied to private monopolies.
2. Each dollar taken from the people through private monopoly is a tax for private pockets—a private tax.
3. The amount of this private tax is about two billion dollars each year—\$125 per family, \$10 per month.
4. The people who are thus taxed for private purposes are slaves, for if they were the sovereign power they would not be taxed for private pockets.
5. After the monopolists had the people of the United States well in hand they reached out through the government and gained control of the Filipinos and Porto Ricans, openly holding them as subjects instead of citizens.
6. Since the entry of this country into the colonial business there has been a steady development of militarism at home, in order to hold in subjection those whom the trusts are fleeing:

- a. The army that is immediately subject to the call of the President is 155,000 men—a three hundred per cent. increase in three years.
- b. The reserve which the President can draft at a moment's notice is some 15,000,000 men.
7. Along with the development of militarism by the trusts is,
 - a. The abolition of trial by jury in certain cases and abolition of appeal as to questions of fact—Government by Injunction.
 - b. The open repudiation of the forms of popular government in three states—Colorado, Utah and Illinois.
 - c. The legal establishment of one-man rule in Colorado—the first time that such a system was ever legally established by an Anglo-Saxon people.
8. The name of the political system through which the few are ruling is party government—machine rule. Where one man controls the party machine it is boss rule.
9. The monopolists have been and are controlling the political machines of the leading parties by out-bidding all competitors in supplying campaign funds.
10. The political power of the monopolists has been terminated wherever the people have abolished all unnecessary delegation of power by taking to themselves a veto power as to acts of their legislative agents, and a direct initiative.
11. And where the people's veto and direct initiative have been established the system has terminated private monopoly. For example, in Switzerland, and in Oregon and South Dakota except as to interstate monopolies.
12. This people's veto and direct initiative establishes the people's sovereignty and is in the line of social and political evolution and consequently is sure to come.
- (c) Such measures as do go to a referendum vote under the optional referendum and direct initiative are vital questions and widely discussed, thereby bringing out a full vote, except that the ignorant and careless stay away from the polls or do not mark the referendum ballot.
- (d) There is no tendency to vote-purchasing at referendum elections, except where a special privilege is at stake, for example, the location of a county seat or state capital.
- (e) The absence of vote-purchasing at referendum votings on questions concerning railways and nearly all public questions, is the reason why the ignorant and careless voters stay away from the polls or do not mark the referendum ballot.
- (f) The intelligent and earnest voters exercise their judgment at referendum elections—they do not vote blindly.
- (g) There is an almost total absence of partisan feeling or prejudice in referendum votings.
- (h) The facts as to the referendum questions are clearly brought to light and placed before the intelligent and earnest voters, thereby resulting in an enlightened majority rule.
- (2) The objection that the area of our country is too great for voting on national issues is not valid, for
 - (a) The people are already voting on national issues at every election.
 - (b) The only change in the election machinery will be that the election judges will hand to the voters a referendum ballot in addition to the ballot containing the names of candidates. This referendum system is in successful operation in Iowa, South Dakota, and Oregon.

Argument.

1. The people in the states of the Union other than Oregon and South Dakota should establish their sovereignty in state and municipal affairs, and the people of the entire nation should extend their veto power to all but urgency questions, for
 - a. The system is practicable.
 - (1) Such is the history of the system in Oregon, South Dakota and Switzerland, and the system has been partially adopted in every state and city, always with success, because
 - (a) The people's veto (through the optional referendum) and direct initiative are largely effective without a referendum vote—only a few close questions are ordered to a vote of the people.
 - (b) This removes the objection that too many referendum votings will take place.
 - (2) The issues themselves will be separated, for the people can order any question to a referendum vote and separately mark each question.
 - (3) The system will abolish private monopolies, for
 - (a) Such is the result of the right to a direct ballot wherever adopted.
 - (b) The reason why the direct ballot abolishes private monopoly is because such a course is in the interest of the majority.

c. The objection that our people are not sufficiently developed to establish their sovereignty and terminate monopoly rule and robbery is invalid, for

(1) History demonstrates that through the constitutional convention and referendum vote in state affairs there was terminated—

(a) Repudiation of state debts.

(b) Wild-cat bank currency.

(c) Railway monopoly extortions and discriminations in the states.

(2) Now that the railway question and other monopoly questions have become interstate the proposal is simply to extend the people's veto to those national issues, and to install a direct initiative in place of calling a constitutional convention.

(3) This direct initiative is practicable, because

(a) It does not open up the entire framework of government.

(b) It can be secured, whereas the constitutional convention cannot be secured.

(4) This direct initiative is desirable, for

(a) It is more conservative than the rule of the monopolists or the rule of a radical party.

(b) The history of the direct initiative in Iowa, Oregon, South Dakota and San Francisco demonstrates that our people are fitted for the direct initiative, an essential element in self-government. In Switzerland the direct initiative was established in 1891 and the best of results have followed. The doleful prophecies that the people would hurt themselves have been false prophecies.

(5) But the following are conclusive reasons for the establishment of the people's sovereignty at the earliest practicable day:

(a) The two-billion dollar robbery by the trusts each year.

(b) The monopolists' refusal to arbitrate wage differences, which

(b1) May bring about another famine famine.

(b1) May bring about another famine in dressed meats.

(c1) May tie up all the transportation lines.

(c) The monopolists have abolished trial by jury and review of facts by higher court, through government by injunction.

(d) The monopolists are openly repudiating popular government in Colorado, Utah and Illinois, a condition that will become national if existing tendencies to centralization are continued long enough.

(6) Another conclusive reason for establishing the people's veto and direct initiative is that it is the only way whereby the rule of the few can be abolished—any system or representative government that does not include a people's veto and direct initiative leaves the sovereignty in the few, who rule through the party machine.

Conclusion.

Reviewing the arguments it appears that it is practicable for the people to establish their sovereignty in national affairs, and that this will quickly terminate the private monopolies in interstate commerce—will settle the trust question. The objection that the area of the country is too great for the referendum ballot is invalid, as also is the objection that our people are not sufficiently developed to establish their sovereignty and terminate trust rule and robbery. Conclusive proof that our people ought to establish their sovereignty is the two-billion dollar robbery by the trusts each year—a sum so large as to be almost beyond comprehension. And the monopolists have openly repudiated even the forms of popular government in three states, which condition must become national if the centralization of wealth continues through the trust robberies. A second and third line of conclusive proof is that the establishment of the people's veto and direct initiative is the only way that the people's sovereignty can be established in the United States, and the whole trend of evolution is toward the people's sovereignty. This tendency being part of the universe demonstrates that it is right and will surely come.

QUESTION II.

Introduction.

1. It is practically impossible to amend the federal constitution under the existing system of machine rule, as is demonstrated by

a. The failure to secure an amendment for the direct election of United States Senators—a measure demanded by practically all the people.

2. The difficulty in amending the written constitution has led to many indirect changes, for example,

a. The presidential electors do not exercise their own judgment in voting for president and vice president, as was intended by the framers of the constitution for they are instructed for whom they shall vote, and are pledged in advance to obey the instruction.

b. The members of congress do not exercise their own judgment in determining what legislation shall be enacted, as was intended by the framers of the constitution for the national convention of each party instructs its members, while the people determine which party shall be in power.

3. But instructions by means of party platforms are indefinite and the system does not confer on the people a veto power nor a direct initiative. These are to be secured through the following system:

a. The candidates for congress (the house and senate, are being questioned as follows,—

- (1) If elected, will you vote to install rules of procedure and a statute providing for an advisory referendum vote on interstate commerce questions and ten other topics?
- (2) If elected, will you obey the will of your district when expressed by referendum vote?

Argument.

1. This proposed system is constitutional for
 - a. The federal constitution provides (1) That "each house shall determine the rules of its procedure" (Art. 1, Sec. 5), and (2) That Congress may legislate on the eleven topics to which the rules are to apply.
 - b. The proposed rules do not conflict with any provision in the written constitution.
2. The proposed system will be effective for
 - a. The candidates will be pledged to obey the will of the voters in their district when indicated by referendum vote.
 - b. The written pledges of the candidates elected will be lived up to, for
 - (1) Not one of the presidential electors has violated his pledge.
 - (2) It is customary in this country for legislative agents to carry out their written pledges, especially when demanded by a strong public sentiment, and by associations thoroughly organized.
 - (3) Even the aldermen in great cities like Chicago and Detroit are living up to their pledges and with sixty million dollars worth of franchises at stake; (page 78, above).
 - (4) The establishment of the people's sovereignty is so big an issue that public sentiment will become centered upon it, and nothing can defeat an aroused public sentiment on this question

backed by the non-partisan organizations. (Page 84, above).

3. This advisory system is to give way to the usual form of the referendum and initiative as quickly as an amendment to the federal constitution can be enacted through the advisory initiative.
4. But without waiting for this change the trust problem will be taken up and settled.
5. Finally, it is possible to install the system in the incoming congress, for
 - a. It is possible to secure a majority vote in the house, and
 - b. A majority vote in the senate is to be secured by pledging the candidates for the legislature to vote to instruct the senators and vote for the election of such candidates only as are pledged to the system.

Conclusion.

As the proposed system of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum for establishing the people's sovereignty in national affairs will be constitutional, effective, can be installed in a single campaign, will solve the trust problem and will quickly lead to alterations in the written constitution, we submit it should be adopted.

The foregoing system is that used in *Principles of Argumentation*, by Professor Baker of Harvard University. He employs the numerals and letters as they are essential to the mathematical precision to which the art has been developed. A careful study of Professor Baker's book of 400 pages is earnestly recommended. It is the treatise used in the universities and the writer knows of no other book that covers the field so thoroughly. The price is only \$1.18 net. It is published by Ginn & Co., but should be ordered of your bookseller. Another excellent work, to which Baker's book is an introduction, is Robinson's *Forensic Oratory*, listed at \$2.50. Little, Brown & Co., are the publishers.

The foregoing brief has been hastily drawn and doubtless can be improved upon in many ways.

See, also, Book III.

APPENDIX III.

CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL LEAGUE.

Non-Partisan, With One Possible Exception.

The following is suggested for a Local League.

To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative, we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves in an organization to be known as the PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUE OF
(Name of township.)

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP—NO DUES. Voters may become members upon application. There shall be no dues.

ARTICLE II. OFFICERS—DUTIES. SECTION 1. There shall be a chairman and treasurer. The regular election shall be the first Monday in December, 1905, and every alternate year thereafter. A secretary shall be chosen for each session of the league. At other times

the secretary's duties shall be performed by the chairman.

SEC. 2. The chairman shall represent the organization in a county league. [The chairmen of the several township leagues should constitute the county committee. The chairmen of the county leagues should constitute the state committee.]

SEC. 3. The chairman of this league shall join with the chairmen of the other township leagues in the county and with the county league in questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties in this district. The questions shall be asked by the county chairman. The replies shall be made public throughout the district, and such other activities shall be engaged in by the county and township leagues as will

tend most effectually to elect the candidates who are pledged. In case the candidates of both the leading parties refuse to pledge for the people's sovereignty, this league may join in nominating a candidate or candidates by petition.

SEC. 4. Reports to the county league shall be made upon request.

SEC. 5. As rapidly as the referendum and initiative are installed the league shall help to apply the system.

ARTICLE III. MAIL VOTE. Balloting, including the election of officers, may be conducted by mail.

ARTICLE IV. AMENDMENT. This constitution may be amended by majority of those voting.

CHARTER MEMBERS.

[Five or more signatures are a sufficient number to start the organization. If you believe in the peo-

ple's sovereignty, sign and get the voters in the family and a few of your neighbors.]

Signatures.	Residence.	P. O. Address.
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX IV.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY.

Practically Inexpensive in Time and Money.

In place of organizing a local league as provided for in the preceding constitution a County League can be organized, which outlines a plan for at once organizing the townships of the county. The constitution is as follows:

To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative, we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves in an organization to be known as the PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY LEAGUE OF
(Name of county.)

ARTICLE I. MEMBERS—COUNTY COMMITTEE. The league shall be composed of the township leagues, represented by their chairmen, who shall constitute the county committee.

ARTICLE II. OFFICERS — ELECTION. The officers shall consist of an executive committee of five members, including the chairman, secretary, and treasurer. An advisory council and organizers may be appointed. The regular election of officers shall be the first Monday in January, 1905, and every alternate year thereafter.

ARTICLE III. DUTIES OF OFFICERS. SECTION 1. The officers elected by the charter members shall endeavor to organize as speedily as possible in each township in the county a People's Sovereignty League. Voters are eligible to membership, and shall become members upon application. There shall be no dues.

SEC. 2. The officers shall serve without pay. Expenses shall be paid from the treasury, the funds to be provided by voluntary contributions.

SEC. 3. The county chairman, in his official capacity and in the name of the chairmen of the township leagues shall question the legislative candidates of all the parties in the district. The replies shall be made public throughout the district, and such other activities shall be engaged in by the county and township leagues as will tend most effectually to elect the candidates who are pledged. In case the candidates of the two leading parties refuse to pledge for the people's sovereignty, a candidate or candidates may be placed in nomination by the league.

SEC. 4. Reports to the state league shall be made upon request.

SEC. 5. As rapidly as the referendum and initiative are installed the league shall co-operate with other non-partisan organizations in applying the system.

ARTICLE IV. MAIL VOTE. Balloting, including the election of officers, may be conducted by mail.

Signatures.	Residence.
.....
.....

In the above plan the county chairman is to organize a league in as many townships as is practicable, which is to be accomplished by addressing a letter to some one in each township requesting that a local league be organized and enclosing a constitution, similar to the one in Appendix III. To facilitate the election of local chairman in order that his name may be forwarded at once to the county committee for use in questioning candidates, the following statement should accompany the constitutions to the townships.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND TREASURER.

Prompt organization is essential in order that the chairman's name may be forwarded at once to the county chairman for use in questioning candidates. *Charter members will therefore elect members by stating their choice on this sheet:*

For Chairman and Treasurer of the People's Sovereignty League of (name of township) we, the undersigned charter members of the league vote for Mr. for chairman, and Mr. for treasurer.
Signatures.

.....
.....

APPENDIX V.

ORGANIZATION OF STATE LEAGUE.

The organization of a State League can be effected in one of several ways. A meeting can be called at some central place in the state. If the time or expense will not warrant such a course, a constitution for a state league can be submitted through the mails for signatures of charter members, at the same time asking for subscriptions to pay the expenses of the league. If each charter member would subscribe the expense he would be to in attending a state meeting, the total would furnish sufficient funds for an effective campaign.

After the state league is started there should be issued at once a charter for each county. The details of the charter are stated in a note.*

In issuing the charter the name of the county chairman can be inserted, and he, if he accepts, can fill in the names of the secretary-treasurer and other members of the executive committee. Or, better still, the name of the chairman can be left blank and the papers sent to the leading men in the county in whom the committee has confidence, asking him to select the chairman, who can fill in the names of the other temporary officers.

If township organization is attempted this year the letter from the county chairman to the township (see preceding appendix), can be printed at

state headquarters and mailed with other printed matter to each county committee.

Another addition is the date of issuance and place for signatures of the members of Executive Committees.

Under this plan an entire state can be organized by counties and townships, quickly and quite thoroughly. *The state chairman will need to find only one good man in a county, and each county chairman will have only 30 or 40 envelopes to address and fill.*

This is an especially good year for the work, because the entire body of Organized Labor and many of the Farmers' and Business Men's Associations are questioning candidates, and the political parties are so reactionary that *the progressive people in these parties are driven to do league work if they expect to accomplish anything.* The conditions are ripe for rapid organization.

The needed funds should be pledged when you get the names of the charter members and names of members of Advisory Council.

The clerical work can be paid for. All that is needed, then, to organize a state is the calling of a meeting of the go-ahead men of the city and vicinity to take steps toward mailing out a constitution for charter members, and then oversee the work if you are elected chairman.

* FORM OF CHARTER. The charter for county organizations can consist of the constitution in Appendix III. except that the preamble and the first article should be as follows:

"To aid in establishing the people's sovereignty in place of trustocracy and then aid in applying the referendum and initiative the following County Constitution of the People's Sovereignty League of (name of State) is provided for in the constitution of the State League, subject to amendment in the manner provided in said constitution.

"Article I. NAME. The name of the organization shall be the (name of county) County Branch of the People's Sovereignty League of (name of state)."

The charter should include, also, the following provision:

"ARTICLE IV. TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION. There is hereby appointed as chairman, Mr. of; as secretary, Mr. of; as treasurer, Mr. of; as members of the executive committee, Sirs of and of They shall hold office until their successors are elected at the regular election unless recalled by the state league."

APPENDIX VI.

VOTERS NON-PARTISAN AGREEMENT.

An Effective System of Campaigning.

If any candidate refuses to pledge for the People's Sovereignty he can be defeated by circulating for signatures the following Voters' Agreement.

Read, sign and mail to address given below.

NON-PARTISAN AGREEMENT OF VOTERS
FOR THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN SOVEREIGNTY.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof."—(Inscription on Liberty Bell at Philadelphia, 1776).

WHEREAS, It is known to all that in this country there is the Rule of the Few through Representative Government, except where the voters have guarded their sovereignty by taking a Veto Power through the optional referendum and a Direct Initiative; and

WHEREAS, The rule of the few has resulted in SPECIAL PRIVILEGES, one form of which is Private Monopolies in Transportation, such as railroads and the telegraph; and Private Monopolies in Raw Materials, such as coal, iron, salt, etc.; and Private Monopolies in Manufacture and Trade, secured through the monopolies in transportation and raw materials; and so rapid is the increase in the monopolies in raw materials and transportation that if the rule of the few is continued a while longer it will result in a private monopoly in every line of manufacture and trade; and

WHEREAS, experience demonstrates that the remedy is for the people to guard their sovereignty—insist on the establishment of a People's Veto through the optional referendum and a Direct Initiative; but the party managers through their control of party platforms and nominations have steadily refused to install

the system or make its adoption a live issue, an obstruction which now is overcome by the systematic questioning of all legislative candidates by the non-partisan organizations and the securing of a Voters' Agreement—an agreement by the voters that they will support only such candidates for Congress and the Legislatures as pledge in writing that if elected they will vote to establish the sovereignty of those who elect them—establish a People's Veto and Direct Initiative; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the undersigned voters in — (town and state), join with our fellow-citizens in agreeing to vote for such candidates only as promise in writing

that, if elected, they will use the power of their office to establish the People's Sovereignty. The details of the proposed system are set forth in the accompanying Addresses and Questions to Candidates for Congress and the Legislature.

Names.

Addresses.

PLEASE CIRCULATE THIS FOR SIGNATURES. When signatures are filled in deliver or mail to or any of its members. For additional copies drop a postal to above address, giving your name and street number.

APPENDIX VII.

EFFECTIVE PARTY PROGRAM.

Kentucky Program of 1903—Consistent and Effective.

It is stated in Chapter 25 that from the people's standpoint the program of every one of the political parties is deficient. But there is described an effective program framed two years ago, and reference is made to the following platform adopted at a joint state convention of the People's party of Kentucky and the Labor party of that state:

[The legislative demands of the parties are recited in the platform and it is said:

Recognizing that no reform is possible until the majority of the people favor it, and feeling perfectly secure in trusting the welfare of this Commonwealth with a fair and unprejudiced majority of the people, we declare the most important of all issues to be that of the initiative and referendum, or Majority Rule, PROVIDING THE OPEN DOOR THROUGH WHICH ALL OTHER REFORMS MAY BE SECURED; and without deserting or modifying our position on any of the great issues we deem necessary for the advancement of labor, we RECOMMEND THAT OUR EFFORTS BE CENTERED UPON THE ISSUE OF MAJORITY RULE IN AN ATTEMPT TO SECURE ITS IMMEDIATE ADOPTION.

In this connection it is therefore

Resolved, That in counties where there are no reform candidates for legislative offices, the labor forces organize to secure practical results, and agree to vote for no man for representative or senator who will not sign the following pledge:

PLEDGE TO BE SIGNED.

"If elected to the legislative office to which I aspire, I agree on my honor as a man and a citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, to vote against any proposed election law which is not absolutely fair to all political parties and does not guarantee to every citizen the full enjoyment of his constitutional rights. I also, agree to vote to submit to the people at the next general election a proposed amendment to the constitution of Kentucky providing for the initiative and referendum, by which not over five per cent of the voters of the state or any legal subdivision thereof may demand the submission of a proposed law to a vote of the people before it becomes operative, or may propose a law, and that the people may likewise propose and secure further amendments to the State Constitution."

Resolved, That we call upon all labor and other organizations favoring this principle to join us in demanding pledges from all candidates.

Resolved, That this pledge be submitted to all candidates, and where all sign it that no organized action

be taken in favor of or against any candidate, but should only one candidate sign it and others refuse, that reform and labor voters be requested to support the candidate willing to so pledge himself. Where no candidate will sign this agreement AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE SHOULD BE PLACED IN THE FIELD AND A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN WAGED ON THESE LINES.

Resolved, That the support given to any candidate signing this pledge be given solely on the ground of principles involved, and that no division of offices or other reward be asked for or accepted.

Resolved, That an Executive Committee of three members, representing both organized labor and the peoples' party, be appointed to organize the state on these lines and to secure from the various political parties lists of all legislative candidates, and that the above pledge be submitted to all, with the information that unless a reply be received by October 15 it will be considered that the candidate failing to answer is opposed to the principles set forth.

Resolved, That the names of all candidates signing the pledge referred to be published, and copies furnished to all committeemen and workers throughout the state and every reasonable effort put forth to elect those who do so pledge themselves.

Resolved, That under existing circumstances we feel that the nomination of a state ticket [for administrative offices] would be inopportune, but that we recommend to reform and labor voters to use their votes in the most effective manner to purify and uplift the politics of our grand old commonwealth, and to free our citizenship from the domination of political rings, cliques and factions.

Resolved, That we urge upon all friends of labor the importance of demanding union made goods when they go to make purchases, and that they accept no goods that do not bear the union label as a guarantee that they were made by intelligent, fair, union labor.

The campaign was in charge of Hon. Jo. A. Parker. But little organization existed and there were no funds with which to make an effective campaign—no legislation was for sale and therefore the campaign contributions were small. A letter by Mr. Parker to the National Federation for Majority Rule contains the following statement:

NEW STYLE OF THIRD PARTY CAMPAIGN EFFECTIVE.

In all my work I found but little antagonism. The one obstacle was the bitter, unreasonable campaign carried on in this state in which all principle was lost sight of and the issue made on the hanging of Caleb

Powers. The election was a riot of fraud and dishonor, and showed too clearly what little hope there can ever be in partisan action. The last election, not only in Kentucky, but all over the nation has shown that to gain any substantial reform the lines laid out by the Federation for Majority Rule must be followed—we must concentrate all effort on pledging candidates, AND IF THIS EFFORT IS SUPPORTED BY INTELLIGENT LOCAL EFFORT WE CAN WIN IN ANY STATE. An in-

stance of this was found in a Senatorial district in this state where Dr. J. S. Dossey had enrolled perhaps 300 volunteers for Majority Rule. The Republican signed our pledge and the Democrat ignoring the matter until after the time limit had expired, I wrote letters to our workers stating the situation and within forty-eight hours came the Democrat's pledge with a strong letter to support it, declaring that if elected would give our bill his hearty support.

APPENDIX VIII.

MICHIGAN NON-PARTISAN SYSTEM.

Advisory Referendum in State Affairs Advocated.

In Michigan the last annual convention of the State Federation of Labor, September, 1903, instructed that the Secretary-Treasurer issue a circular letter to all labor organizations in the state requesting them to secure from all the legislative candidates in their districts satisfactory pledges for the referendum and initiative, also to request the the unions circulate for signatures a Voters' Agreement, wherein the subscribing citizens agree not to vote for any legislative candidate who has failed to pledge.

The resolution further says:

That, inasmuch as there already is a practicable organization in this state for that purpose known as the *Direct Legislation League of Michigan* the Secretary-Treasurer is hereby further instructed to furnish them, before the end of this year, with the addresses of all labor organizations in this state as well as to supply them with the necessary number of copies of said

circular letter, properly attested, with the seal of this organization.

The system of the initiative and referendum that is being worked for in Michigan is the submission of a constitutional amendment, and a further provision is described as follows:

As a constitutional amendment in this state requires a two-thirds majority in each branch, and as we may fail to obtain the requisite number in one or the other of them and as each body can make its own rules by a plain majority a provision has been inserted in the "Candidate's Pledge" pledging him also to a rule of procedure by means of which WE MAY ATTAIN THE SAME OBJECT DURING THE LIFE OF THE LEGISLATURE, PROVIDED WE ELECT A MAJORITY IN EACH HOUSE AND THEY HONOR THEIR PLEDGES AND DO NOT SUSPEND THE RULE. This course has been adopted by the Common Council of the City of Detroit and has been kept inviolate by that body for the last two years.

APPENDIX IX.

MISSOURIANS HAVE WON THROUGH NON-PARTISAN SYSTEM.

MR. ELTWEED POMEROY, president of the National Direct Legislation League, in an article in the *Nebraska Independent*, August 25, 1904, said:

To many people the word lobbying is like as a red rag to a bull. To a few people in Missouri it seemed the only way to get any real legislation. So a few of the faithful organized a direct legislation league some three or four years ago and got a direct legislation amendment introduced into the legislature, and they were able to bring enough influence to bear to get it to a vote. Of course it was defeated.

Then they paid a small salary to one of their number, Mr. S. L. Moser, and his expenses. Mr. Moser is a lawyer, tactful, able, a thoroughly devoted man. He traveled back and forth over the state saying they would do all they could to kill off every man who was renominated who had voted against direct legislation, no matter what his party, and that they would throw all their strength to those candidates who would pledge themselves to direct legislation.

His position was invulnerable. He wanted no office, job or contract for himself, and they could not hurt him that way. He did not openly espouse any party, though I personally know he has strong political convictions. Some of the men he opposed called him some rather hard names, but he smiled back and said: "Come out for direct legislation and we won't hurt

you." He did not oppose or advocate candidates on other grounds than direct legislation and he mainly tried to prevent the nomination of candidates opposed to direct legislation.

He traveled up and down and back and across old Missouri for a year with this singleness of purpose and back of him was shrewd, patient, semi-invalid, Dr. William P. Hill, of St. Louis, and others, financing, writing letters, pulling wires. Toward the end, the trade unions, under Mr. Sarman's lead, commenced questioning candidates on direct legislation. [See page 80 above.]

When the legislature was elected, only one man who had voted against the direct legislation amendment in the previous legislature, was re-elected, and a majority of the legislature were pledged to vote for a direct legislation amendment that should have a five per cent condition for a referendum petition and an eight per cent for the initiative.

But the 1903 Missouri legislation was the culmination of the corruption in Missouri and rottenness in legislation. Of course, the venal politicians did not want direct legislation and they only pledged themselves to it because they did not well see how they could help it. Of course they did not intend to keep these pledges, and their masters, the bribing corporations, did not mean to have it either.

But Moser and Sarman, aided by some others, camped on their trail for three or four months and by honest lobbying *they forced the legislature to pass a direct legislation amendment.* * * * Now it goes to the people for a vote and quiet but determined Dr. Hill has persuaded the Democrats to put the following in their state platform:

"We congratulate the people of the State on the fulfillment of the party's pledge, made in its platform two years ago, to submit for the voters' approval a constitutional amendment which, if adopted at the November election, will always secure to the people a veto power over bad legislation, as well as a means of initiating new measures when desired, thus rendering ineffective the results of corrupt methods in legislation and lessening the inducements to the same."

And then he visited the republican convention, having previously pulled some wires, and here is the re-

sult in the following plank from the republican state platform:

"We condemn the insincerity of the Democratic party in proposing a plan of initiative and referendum so cumbrous as to make its operation impracticable, and we are in favor of a just and honest measure that shall give to the people of this state the largest control of and participation in legislation and government."

Dr. Hill has also gotten letters from the state chairman urging their voters to vote for it.

Thus much has persistent, honest lobbying accomplished, but back of it is the growing sentiment of the people which this lobbying focused on the legislature.

A large majority is wanted for this amendment. If you can, *aid in increasing its vote. If you are in another state, can you not follow this example?*

APPENDIX X.

THE "LID" OFF IN MISSOURI.

An Example of How the Machine Operates.

Hon. Joseph Folk, the state's attorney in St. Louis, Missouri, who has been exposing "machine" politics, is reported as follows by Frank G. Carpenter in the *Washington Evening Star*, August 27, 1904. Mr. Folk said:

"For twenty years past St. Louis has been in the hands of a ring just large enough to control the city legislature and override the mayor's veto, and this ring has levied blackmail upon every license, privilege and franchise granted by the city. Laws have been unblushingly sold to the highest bidder. The ring has tried to sell the waterworks, the court house and the Union market for its own enrichment. Nothing has been safe from its avarice, not even the sewer pipes in the ground. It has had its regular schedules of bribe prices, based upon what each business would stand, ranging from a few hundred dollars for a switch bill to thousands of dollars for a franchise. Indeed, I believe as much as \$10,000,000 has been paid out in blackmail on such accounts.

"The business has been done by a continuous gang of nineteen and their subordinates," continued Mr. Folk. "It took nineteen votes to control the city council, and these nineteen men passed upon what legislation should be enacted and how much they should be

paid for each act or franchise. At one time the combine received \$47,500 for an ordinance to light the city. The bargain was made on the floor of the house of delegates and the money was handed over to one of the combine. After voting the nineteen met at the house of one of their number, and the host sat at the piano and played 'Home, Sweet Home,' while the money was distributed in \$2,500 lots."

I asked Mr. Folk about the Central Traction deal of 1898, out of which a New York promoter made almost \$1,000,000. He replied:

"That was for a franchise which covered nearly all the street railways of the city. The promoter, a man named Snyder, gave \$250,000 in bribes to the municipal assembly to get it. He paid twenty-five out of the twenty-eight members of the house of delegates \$3,000 each and the seven members of the council from \$10,000 to \$17,000 each. One councilman took \$25,000 from other parties to vote against the franchise, but returned it when he found that he could get \$50,000 from the promoter to vote in its favor. He gave back the first amount, saying he did not think he could honestly earn it. That franchise was sold by the promoter for \$1,250,000, so that he made a clean million out of the transaction. The city did not receive one cent for all the streets given away."

APPENDIX XI.

SOCIALIST DOCTRINE.

(CONTINUED FROM CHAPTER 37.)

Part I. Revolutionary Socialism Opposed to *Immediate* Establishment of Referendum System in Governmental Affairs.

Socialists are of two great classes, Revolutionary socialists and Step-by-Step socialists. (Fabian socialists). On one side the program is for a sudden change from the existing system to the public ownership of *all* the means of production and distribution—a confiscation of private property, with government ownership and operation of all the industries. This is the revolutionary program. The opposite program is gradual public ownership of industries, paying for the properties acquired.

As between these two sets of political theories, history demonstrates that *the establishment of the people's power through the referendum and initiative is a sure preventative for the revolutionary program.* Swiss history demonstrates this, as also does the referendum voting in America. This is realized by the revolutionary socialists, therefore they oppose the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty, claiming, and very properly, that it will not give fruition to the revolutionary program. In the words of Walter Thomas

Mills, in his book published last April, "The Struggle for Existence":

But the effort to carry any measure so radical and so far-reaching as the measures which the Socialists propose, by a referendum vote, is like an effort to compel the obedience of an armed and organized army by simply declaring the wishes of an unarmed and unorganized mob.

To the same effect is the following quotation from an article by Mr. A. M. Simon, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, published in the *Direct Legislation Record*, June, 1901:

The Socialist holds that *to-day* the system of individual ownership and distribution of the common product and means of production has reached a point where they must be owned and controlled by the conscious collectivity.

When this *has been done*, and the question arises as to *how* this new social organization, which has developed from the old, shall be managed, the Social Democracy, as its name indicates, declares that every facility must be offered for the popular will to make itself felt. (Original not italicized.)

To the same effect is the following statement in a preceding paragraph:

The tendency [of the Initiative and Referendum] would be to *prolong the present economic system* [capitalistic system] because of the great opportunity that would be offered for making small tinkering repairs to the structure that should be *completely remade*."

Part II. Revolutionary Socialism Opposed to Labor Unions.

Revolutionary socialism is opposed, also, to Labor Unions, and for the same reason that it objects to the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in governmental affairs. It is claimed that progress demands the *immediate* public ownership of all the means of production and distribution and therefore that the centering of efforts upon trade agreements between employers and employees is worse than a waste of time.

Granting the premise the deduction is logical. People who believe in revolutionary socialism feel that the trade unions should declare for socialism and center their efforts upon the goal.

This attitude of the socialists is reflected in the proceedings of labor union conventions. Said President Gompers in a speech at the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston:

I shall not refer at this time to their [the Socialists'] very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade union movement; but I shall refer to some of the declarations made upon the floor of this convention by delegates participating in this discussion and show you that though they may believe themselves to be

Mr. Earnest Untermann, associate editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, wrote the following to Mr. Shibley, January 7, 1903:

The very fact that capitalistic parties advocate direct legislation and government ownership, is an evidence of the advanced stage of our political development, *and we socialists are glad to be relieved of advocating reforms THAT DO NOT TOUCH THE BASIS OF CAPITALISM.* * * * You cannot claim to represent a movement that will free the working class from capitalist rule.

BLOODSHED AND CONFISCATION THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

From the above it is clear that the aim of the socialist machine is that it shall come into power and proceed at once to appropriate all the means of production and distribution. To do this it is expected that the army and navy must be employed. In the words of Walter Thomas Mills in his chapter on Labor Unions and Socialism in his new book, "The Struggle for Existence":

For the Socialist teacher will teach the new lesson [to the Labor Unionist] *and the Socialist army and navy in its final contest with capitalism will dispose of the oppressor* and then dispose of the militarism which made the oppressor in the first place.

From the foregoing it is plainly evident that revolutionary socialism is opposed to the *immediate* establishment of the referendum system in government affairs.

trade unionists they are at heart and logically the antagonists of our movement.

Discussing the socialist attitude, President Gompers continued:

Their statements as to economic ills are right, their conclusions and their philosophy are all askew.
* * *

I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy.

Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.

SUGGESTED RESOLUTION FOR GRANGE, BOARD OF TRADE OR OTHER NON-PARTISAN BODY.

Whereas, There is a widespread movement for questioning the legislative candidates of all the parties as to whether, if elected, they will vote for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of trust rule; therefore,

RESOLVED, That directs the chairman to appoint a committee
(Name of Organization.)
of three to question the legislative candidates in this district as to the establishment of the People's Sovereignty and give to their replies the widest possible publicity. (See also, Chapters 33, 34, 35.)

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE NON-PARTISAN PROGRAM

BY SUBSCRIBING FOR THE

PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE NEWS

ISSUED MONTHLY

ONLY 20 CENTS PER YEAR

Every citizen is in duty bound to assist in Establishing the People's Sovereignty. The least you can reasonably do is to subscribe for the Official Magazine that will keep you informed of the progress of the movement.

ACTIVE CHAMPIONSHIP OF REFERENDUM SYSTEM IN BOTH THE GREAT PARTIES.

The Democratic national convention of 1900 declared for the referendum and initiative, but the party leadership has changed and is opposed to the people's sovereignty.

In three states, however, where the Democratic party is in power, the machine is pushing the reform as rapidly as possible. Where the party is in the minority it is pledged to the referendum and initiative.

It is the Republican states, however, that have first established the people's sovereignty. The following is an editorial of two years ago, in the leading Republican paper of Missouri, *The Globe-Democrat*:

As far as the Referendum principle has been applied in this country the Republican party has led the way.

Preceding this declaration the editorial heartily approved the referendum system. Shortly afterward the leading evening Republican paper of St. Louis, *The Evening Star*, in an editorial said:

The Referendum and the Initiative are principles so eminently just that, sooner or later, they must be incorporated as cardinal principles in the foundations of all governments.

IT IS NOT IMPROBABLE THAT THE NEXT NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM MAY CONTAIN A PLANK INDORSING BOTH PRINCIPLES, AND, IF SO, THAT PROVISION WILL BE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY INDORSED, provided the people can be brought to a full understanding of them.

State conventions of the Republican party are declaring for the system in some of the Southern states and in Missouri, for it is a minority party. But in practically every Northern state there are declarations by Republican county conventions. For example, in Los Angeles, California, on August 16th, the following platform was enunciated by the Republican county convention:

We believe that the power to make laws originates fundamentally with the people, and favor the passage by the next legislature of an amendment to the constitution to be presented to the voters of the state which will grant to the people the right of the initiative and referendum in state, county and municipal legislation, in accordance with the plans set forth in the bill which passed the assembly at the last session of the legislature.



vol 1-3
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THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

Diff

Pennsylvania Grange News



Read October 1

October, 1904

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***The Thirty-second Annual Session of Pennsylvania State
Grange will Convene in Erie December 13, 1904.***

Pennsylvania Grange News

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

VOL. I NO. 3

OCTOBER, 1904

20 CENTS PER YEAR
5 CENTS PER COPY

W. F. HILL,

EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,

EDITOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT.

W. T. CREASY,

EDITOR LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT.

Official publication. Issued monthly. Entered at Chambersburg Post Office as Second Class Matter.

EDITORIAL.

This is the third number of Pennsylvania Grange News and it seems that our effort is meeting a kindly reception. For the August and September issues there were mailed a few over seventy six thousand copies and together they made one hundred and thirty six pages. We shall be very glad to receive kindly suggestions, subscriptions, communications containing Grange News, etc., from Patrons everywhere. Do not feel afraid to try "writing for the paper." We will see that your matter is fixed up all right for publication. Address all communications intended for this to Pennsylvania Grange News, Chambersburg, Penn'a.

—o—

This is October but the harvest season is still on. Deputies can harvest new Granges. Existing Granges can gather in new members.

—o—

It is probable that a revision of the Ritual of the Subordinate Grange will soon be made. Action will perhaps be taken upon it at next session of the National Grange. Penn'a Granges

that have changes to suggest may have their suggestions presented to the National Grange by formulating them carefully and having the Secretary transmit them to the Penn'a State Master. Be careful to indicate where the part occurs in the Ritual—giving both the old reading and the proposed.

—o—

GRANGES BE ON GUARD.

This is Presidential Campaign year and it will be well for each Grange to be on guard that it may not lend itself in any way to the wiles of the partisan politician. As the campaign progresses the political kettle may get to boiling harder and there may be some new traps set to catch the unwary. Let every Grange absolutely refuse to, as a Grange, participate in any way in any movement savoring of partisan politics. At seasons like this circular letters and newspaper reports are frequently circulated for the purpose of misleading or of causing dissension. Unsigned communications

—or those signed by irresponsible or unauthorized parties—Grange Masters will do well to not allow to be presented to the Grange. Whenever the State Grange Officials, the Executive or Legislative Committee, has a communication to make to the Granges it will be made through the established channels and over their own signatures. Let no Grange therefore, allow any partisan political matter to come before it. There is no place for it in our fraternity.

W. F. HILL,
Master State Grange.

—O—

Pennsylvania boasts 28 new granges and 10 reorganizations since last State Grange meeting. In addition to this several thousand members have been initiated in the older granges. In view of the fact that this State will hold its 32nd annual meeting in December and the National Grange its 38th in November even the skeptic must admit that it seems possible both for the farmers to organize and to keep up an organization.

—O—

When the foreigner invades the land or the rebel seeks to overthrow the government he is counted a traitor who will not take up arms and, if need be, give his life for his country. Invasion and rebellion are less formidable than those agencies that undermine a nation's manhood and moral force. Is he less than a traitor then who does not seek to develop as fully as possible, all the good that is within him and who does not give aid, and encouragement to every agency within his reach that is designed to help his fellows? The man who lives for himself alone has in a long time been regarded as deserving of contempt. His course defeats his own object in life for selfishness shrivels the soul and brings no joy into life. Individual broadens and his life becomes richer as he comes in contact and cooperates with his fellows.

The strength of the nation is in the minds and hearts of the people. Fleets and armies will not save the masses are ignorant and misled. The patriotic citizen should look

around him and lend a hand to the forces that uplift.

The farmers attention should be called to the Grange as one of these. If every farmer in the land could be brought into the Grange and would there fully imbibe its principles and avail himself of all that it offers he would become a model citizen.

—O—

POLITICAL ADVERTISING.

"Last week we refused an advertisement for a political party for which we were tendered nearly \$300. It has always been our policy to exclude partisan politics from these columns. We have never allowed the discussion of political questions. The difference between allowing the discussion of these questions and the advertising that discusses them is simply the difference between giving space away and selling it. We shall neither give nor sell space for this purpose. This paper's usefulness is in other fields than partisan politics and we cannot see our way clear to allow somebody to talk politics through it, even if he does pay a good price for the privilege. Several agricultural papers that profess to be non-partisan have accepted advertising and we have been urged to do so because "they are all doing it." Their policy does not concern us. We are sure that our position is correct. We should like to have the candid opinions of our readers, however."

—

The above is an Editorial in the National Stockman and Farmer of Sept. 15. They ask a candid opinion of their readers as to the correctness of their position. The writer has long been a reader of this journal and for some time acted as agent, sending them over one hundred subscribers per year. The position taken is highly commendable. One reason why we have always liked to have the Stockman in our home is that it was clean. It is encouraging that it is clean politically. Some agricultural papers are now running political partisan matter and the politicians pay them regularly for doing so. Certain farm papers hire their space away from their legitimate sphere to this alien and questionable purpose. It would be well for readers of the Penn'a. Grange News to look over their farm papers and spotting those that do so, mark them to be supplanted next year by papers whose standard is of a higher order, and whose fidelity to the interests of the farm home is beyond suspicion.

GRANGES ORGANIZED AND REORGANIZED DURING THE YEAR.

The records of the National Grange show that the number of Granges organized and reorganized during the year from October 1, 1903 to Sept. 30, 1904 is as follows:

	Organ- ized	Reorgan- ized	Total
Mich.	64	9	73
Penn'a.	34	12	46
New York.....	34	3	37
Maine	17	11	28
Ohio	22	4	26
Indiana	21	1	22
W. Virginia	3	18	21
Vermont	16		16
Maryland	15	1	16
Wash.	15		15
New Jersey	12		12
Mass.	6	5	11
Kansas	1	9	10
Oregon	8		8
Illinois	4	2	6
Colorado	2	2	4
Iowa		4	4
Connecticut	3		3
Rhode Island....	1		1
Texas	1		1
S. Carolina	1		1
California	1		1
Minnesota		1	1
Total	281	82	363

The above taken from the official records show that Penn'a. has climbed up to the second place in Grange promotion. This speaks volumes for the soundness of the policy of the Penn'a. State Grange and for the efficiency of the workers throughout the State. Let us continue to pursue the policy and methods that are bringing us such signal success and perhaps, by applying ourselves a little more closely all along the line we can next year swing into first place. This is not that we wish our sister State of Michigan any less new Granges to her credit but that we will try for even more than she can get. At the same time we will not fail to continue to strengthen existing Granges.

AN INFLUENTIAL, PROGRESSIVE GRANGE.

In this issue will be found in the News Department a report of a meeting headed "Degree of Flora in Sullivan County." This was an important event and the following is taken from a letter sent to this office by the hustling Master of Colley Grange, Bro. M. W. Reeser.

"The Degree meeting of Sept. 7 and the Picnic on the 8th seems to have put new life in the Grange. It has inspired our members with more zeal and created a desire for more earnest work in the Grange."

Colley Grange No. 365, organized Oct. 24, 1874, is an old one and well illustrates what a body of determined Patrons working harmoniously may accomplish. Situated in one of the hilly and rougher portions of the State where no one seems to possess a monopoly of wealth but where all have a share as is evidenced by the cosy but modest homes concealed among the hills.

Starting their Grange life in an old school house they had as neighbors a lodge of the Patrons of Industry. The latter wished to fly right away, not being content to wait until its wings had grown. So it at once launched upon the building of a fine three story Hall for itself right beside the little old school building. It is easy to imagine how its members would boast of the new building going up and how they would look down upon the plodding Grange, meeting in the dilapidated old school house a couple of rods away. The Grange did not lose its head and time passes on. When we were there for this occasion we found the Grange to be now the owner of that fine Hall and that it was freshly painted and well preserved. We found that the Grange owned four acres of land upon which this Hall stands and that it had erected a first rate barn with stabling provided for forty-five horses and shelter for buggies. From their own land they annually harvest an abundance of hay which is stored in the mow and while the Patrons are enjoying themselves in the meetings their horses are contentedly eating hay in the barn.

At convenient places around the grounds they have set out young apple and other fruit trees which will soon come into bearing and produce shade as well. There is a spring of good water at the foot of a tree while a clump of maples and beech in the rear of the barn form a cool and shady retreat for the out-door picnics which are frequently held.

The Patrons of Industry have long since passed away into the realm of the unknown but the birth-place and early childhood home of the Grange still stands by the side of their present commodious and well equipped home. The Patrons of Industry, hopeful but misguided, learned when too late that they were pursuing a

will-o-the-wisp. When their new Hall came on the market the Grange promptly bought it and took possession. The old home of early days is left—a reminder of those struggles, which, when conquered, always seem to insure permanency. The old school building did its full duty by the children of the District. Who will say that it failed in also schooling the parents as they met evening after evening within its bare walls! The members and the Grange are the better because of these early trials. Today Colley Grange stands as a bulwark in the community for inspiration, for self culture and development, for social and educational opportunities, and for the general weal of the neighborhood.

THE STATE MASTER TO PATRONS.

To be Read by the Secretary at Next Meeting of the Grange.

Grange Inspection.

The provision made by the State Grange for inspection service in the Subordinate Grange annually by the Deputy is a wise measure and each Grange should insist upon having a visit paid it by the Deputy for inspection. This service by qualified persons has been found by actual experience to be both profitable and necessary in commercial enterprises, military organizations, and in civil affairs. No argument is needed in support of the underlying principles, but I desire to call attention to it in its application to the Grange in Pennsylvania. This specific work is to be done by the Deputy. He is charged to visit and inspect each Grange within his jurisdiction at least once during each year. State Grange provides him with a report blank to be filled out for each Grange inspected and then the report is sent to the State Master. The Deputy receives one dollar from the State Grange treasury for this work and is recommended that the Grange visited contribute a like amount. He is to report on the working ability of the Grange, to exemplify the unwrit-

ten work, to answer enquiries upon the Order, and to give such helpful suggestions as occur to him as most beneficial to the particular Grange visited. It will readily be seen that in order to produce the best results in this field of labor the Deputy must possess good judgment, be well versed in the affairs of the Order, be a willing worker and able to express his thoughts clearly. Fortunately each county has men possessed of these requisite qualifications. To make it more certain that competent Patrons may be called to this important field the State Master requests Pomona Granges to recommend suitable patrons to him for appointment. He will gladly honor recommendations from this source as it is believed that in this way acceptable Deputies will be secured who either possess the necessary qualifications or the ambition to attain them. The recommendation should be made at the next meeting of Pomona after receipt of this. It is desirable to have the Fall session uniformly adopted throughout the State as the time when recom-

mendations will be made. The name and address of Patrons so honored should at once be sent to this office by the Pomona Secretary. They will then appear in the Register and commissions will also be promptly issued. If the present Deputy force is satisfactory its continuance can be recommended.

This is a good season of the year for

doing inspection work and if Deputies have not visited all of their Granges since the present corps of officers have been officiating it will be well to arrange to do so at the earliest convenience.

Fraternally,

W. F. HILL,

Master Penn'a. State Grange.

Executive Committee Department.

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR,

PRIZES FOR GRANGES.

It will be remembered that Photos have been awarded to 119 Granges for a given increase in membership in first quarter of this year. As announced by the Committee last January there is more to follow as "We also offer an additional prize of a handsome Banner to each of the five Subordinate Granges in the State that adds the largest number of members to the roll during the year ending Sept. 30, 1904 whose reports have been received by the State Secretary before Nov. 1st." The lucky Granges will be announced and the banners awarded at State Grange Meeting, Erie. Their representatives will have the proud honor of taking the trophies home with them to their Granges.

—o—

As the time for holding the next session of the State Grange draws near it will be well to get everything in readiness for it. Several Granges are not provided with Representative Badges for the Delegates. This Committee urges upon every Grange the necessity of getting these badges. They may be had of the Whitehead & Hoag Co., Newark, N. J., at a cost of \$1.00 for the pair. You will want to get two badges. Send them the money and give the number of your Grange and ask for Penn'a. State Grange Representative Badges. The

badges worn in Subordinate Granges will not answer for the delegates to the State Grange. New Granges and all others that do not have them should provide themselves with these at once so as to be ready.

As the Grange in Penn'a. is growing so fast and the State Grange has become so large, and so many visitors attend it, provision will be made for seating the delegates in a body together. There are three floors in the Opera House at Erie and unless delegates are together it will be almost impossible for the Worthy Master to recognize them and tell how they vote if scattered among a body of two or more thousand. Come clothed "in proper attire" by wearing the "Representative" Badge of the Grange and so get a seat with the voting membership.

—o—

The strategic value of questioning candidates while up for election is recognized in the up-to-date farm papers; for example, the October "Farm and Home" says:

"If any candidate fails to respond to the letter of an organization or voter, which asks for his views upon parcels post or other issue, set him down as opposed to it, and vote accordingly! Say brother farmers, we can get anything we want in reason, either from congress or the state legislature, if we attend to it before election! Make all parties compete for the farmers' votes."

Legislative Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.

Replies to Interrogatories.

We publish this issues the replies to Interrogatories so far as they have been furnished us, for this purpose. In nearly all instances the local Legislative Committees seem to have had the impression that they were doing a fill duty in giving publicity in their home counties to the replies and so did not send their answers to us in time for publication throughout the State. We commend to all counties the business like work done in Bradford County by the Pomona Grange Legislative Committee Bro. A. T. Lilly LeRoy, Chairman.

Interrogatories were there submitted to all candidates on all tickets. When replies were all in they were presented to the press of the County and published there. Then they were sent to us, and are now printed herein.

We give replies without comment. The whole proposition is a clear one to every voter.

The general letter sent to Candidates for the State Legislature follows:

_____1904

Mr. _____
Candidate for State Legislature.

Dear Sir:—

We understand that you have announced yourself as a Candidate to represent our District. This is a worthy ambition but the citizens claim the right to know in advance how you stand on certain important measures effecting our interests.

To ascertain this the accompanying interrogations are propounded to all Candidates in this District for this office on all tickets. This is a general circular conducted under the auspices of the Grange but the entire public here is interested in getting information and your position upon these questions will be made public. We expect positive and direct reply. An evasive answer or failure to reply

within a reasonable time—say ten days—will be taken to mean that you are opposed to the passage of these measures. Upon the character of your reply will largely depend our attitude toward you. Your attitude will be made known that voters may govern their voting accordingly.

Very respectfully yours,
Addresses

.....
.....
.....

Grange Legislative Committees.
Mail reply to the Chairman—the first address of the three.

Mr.
Chairman Grange Legislative Committee,
.....

Dear Sir:—

Replying to the letter of your Legislative Committee dated.....1904 I desire to say that, if elected, my influence and vote upon the following questions will be as indicated in my answer to each interrogation as follows:

Very respectfully yours,

.....
Candidate for House, Senate.

Dated.....1904.

Interrogation No. 1.

Will you, if elected, favor legislation giving to Trolley Companies the right to carry freight in Pennsylvania?

Answer.

Interrogation No. 2.

This organization is in favor of good roads but we believe that all classes of property should bear an equitable share in building and maintaining them. To equitably effect this we ask that a tax of at least one mill should be placed on all personal and corporate property for road purposes and that this money should be applied locally in proportion to the road mileage to reduce road taxes. Will you, is elected support such legislation?

Answer.

Interrogation No. 3.

From Resolutions passed at the last session of the State Grange it is evident that there is a growing demand in this State for a Constitutional Amendment giving to the people the right to initiate and to veto legislation. Are you favorable to legislation to this effect?

Answer.

Interrogation No. 4.

Will you, if elected, favor a law whereby all license taxes, personal property taxes and the tax on County and Municipal Loans shall remain in Counties and Municipalities? (As you are aware these taxes now all go to the State. As its Treasury is overflowing while many Counties and Municipalities are suffering from excessive taxation we insist that the State relinquish these taxes and by so doing local taxation will be relieved over \$3,000,000).

Answer.

Answers:

Warren Co.:—James Brann, No. 1, Yes; No. 2, Yes; No. 3, Yes; No. 4, Yes.

Wyoming Co.:—Chas L. Calahan, Yes to all four.

M. Shields Jr., yes to Nos. 1, 2 and 4. To No. 3 "I do not understand this question sufficiently to answer same to my satisfaction."

Clarion Co.:—Candidates agree to support these measures.

Lackawanna Co.:—Candidates could see nothing unworthy about the measures but were afraid to commit themselves. (We had always given Lackawanna county credit for having men with convictions and courage—Eds.)

Bucks Co.—These all answered yes to all interrogatories: Levi Keller, G. Raymond Fabian, Jas. H. Rockhill, H. J. Zane, A. Loomis.

Potter Co.:—A. J. Quimby. No. 1, I would; No. 2, I will; No. 3, I am in favor of the Initiative and Referendum; No. 4, I would favor such law.

Frank D. Councilman, Yes to all four.

C. H. Lugg. No. 1, I think I could without doubt; No. 2, yes; No. 3, yes, assuredly; No. 4, No answer.

N. B.—While I am for the best interest of the farmer and the whole people yea I reserve the right to act conscientiously.

Bradford Co.:—R. S. Edmuston, of Milan, answers all in the affirmative and George W. Kipp, of Towanda, the first, third and fourth and in reply to the second he says: "I am heartily in favor of good roads. A law along the lines suggested would have my support. The rate and details of such a law I would have to consider further." H. Champlin, of Oswell, answers the first, second and third in the affirmative and the fourth in the negative. John A. Morlig, of Athens, all in the affirmative.

C. P. VanDyke, of Milan, answers the first, second and fourth in the affirmative and in reply to the third says: "I believe the people have a right to demand of their representatives to initiate proper legislation and am in favor of an amendment referring to the people for their sanction of any legislation of moment."

Calvin Wood, of Smithfield, to No. 1: "Most emphatically yes." To No. 2 "I think the above a wise measure toward adjustment and would support it. To No. 3, "Would be glad to see this feature of the Initiative and Referendum adopted and would ever be favorable to it," and to No. 4 says: "Local and equal distribution of public funds and not concentration is the legitimate and just method. I would be glad to favor such measure."

James W. Burk, of Canton, replies to No. 1 "Yes. There is no better evidence of the corruption of the State legislature than the necessity of this question." To No. 2 "The necessity and injustice of such legislation is evident. I am sincerely favorable to it and believe the rate fair." To No. 3, "I am favorable to the result desired to be accomplished. The only question would be the method." To No. 4, "Most emphatically, yes."

Ira Finch, of Warren, in reply to No. 1 says: "Most emphatically. I have ever condemned that restraint." To No. 2 "I will. Believe however in keeping the townships separate." To No. 3 says, "I am and believe many acts would be annulled." To No. 4

he says: "This meets my approval."

W. D. Mosse, of Troy, says to No. 1: "Yes. Believing the right of eminent domain to be the basis of this problem I will favor such and believe the same should be restricted only in carrying freight in limits of cities and boroughs and this to be governed by the local municipality." He says: "Yes" to the second and third. "Yes, under certain restrictions on lesser legislation" and to the fourth, "Yes, when the condition of the State Treasury will permit."

N. W. Pendleton, says: "I am heartily in favor of and if elected as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly will cheerfully support and use my influence for the legislation in your communication."

L. T. Hoyt, of Athens, replies to the first "I have always been of the personal opinion that trolley companies should be accorded all rights of steam railroads particularly as to carrying freight and the right of eminent domain or acquiring the right of way by condemnation proceedings, providing that these privileges are so regulated that the rights of the public shall not be seriously interfered with. If elected, I shall support legislation to this effect." To No. 2 he says: "I desire to place myself on record as unequivocally in favor of legislation providing for good roads and the equitable taxation of personal and corporate property for this purpose. Not being sufficiently acquainted with the statistics of taxation, I am unable to say at this time whether one mill would be sufficient to accomplish so much needed." To the third he says: "My personal view is that it is the undoubted duty of the representative to represent the opinions and wishes of the constituents, and I should always be in favor of legislation tending to inform me of the opinion and wishes of the people whom I represent, that I might be in accord with them." In answer to the fourth he says: "I am of the opinion that when the condition of the State treasury will warrant it, as it certainly does at present, that license taxes, personal property taxes, and the taxes of county and municipality loans

should remain in the counties and municipalities."

The general letter sent to Candidates for Congress was identical with the above. We append these Interrogations together with the replies sent in from Bradford County:

"Interrogation No. 1.

Our Manufacturers of many lines of goods are selling their products cheaper in foreign markets than at home. Will you, if elected, assist in passing legislation which will enable American citizens to buy American products as cheap at home as they can be sold for abroad?"

"Interrogation No. 2.

Will you, if elected to Congress, use your influence to secure the establishment of Postal Savings Banks?"

"Interrogation No. 3.

The people living in the rural districts are very anxious to have legislation permitting the Post Office Department to carry larger parcels than four pounds the present limit and also at a reasonable charge. Will you, if elected, favor the establishment of a Parcels Post?"

W. S. H. Heermans, of Towanda, answers "Yes" to all three.

John Kuhbach, of Honesdale, answers all in the affirmative.

M. E. Lilley, of Towanda, says: "If your first interrogation is to be construed as desiring me to abandon the policy of the Republican party in favor of Protection then I may say to you that I will not so vote or act. If it is to be construed as desiring me to vote and act in favor of a reduction of tariff upon articles manufactured by Trusts where the protection afforded them is made use of to oppress the people of the United States, then I assure you that I am most heartily in favor of your proposition. I am also in favor of postal saving banks. In regard to the third interrogation permit me to say that the people of the country at large are universally in favor of increased postal facilities and penny postage and I count myself one among that number, but the annual deficiency of the Post Office Department has been an obstacle in the way. I believe however

that Rural Free Delivery will hasten the day for them both. I shall work for it."

—o—

REFERENDUM NEWS.

Since the publication of the September special number of the Grange News devoted to the referendum, word comes from Montana that the State conventions of each of the leading parties have pledged that if placed in power it will present to the people a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. Two years ago both the state conventions refused, but the questioning of candidates reversed the action of both conventions. The required two-thirds vote, however, was not secured, owing to the fact that half the senators held over. This year the political managers have pledged as we have said. Such is the power of the non-partisan system. The party machines are unable to side track the live issues and the voters do the rest.

—o—

Employing the Referendum Principle in N. Y. for Correcting an Error.

The American Agriculturist is initiating a movement to refer to the people the vote of last fall whereby there was authorized the expenditure of \$101,000,000 of the taxpayers money for the construction of a barge canal. The A. A. says that thousands who voted for the \$101,000,000 grab now realize the gravity of their error. They now see that a Barge Canal would be obsolete long before it could be finished. They recognize that what is needed is a deep waterway, for the largest craft to pass to and from the lakes and the Atlantic. Such a waterway would benefit 20 or 30 states and when built should be paid for, owned, operated and maintained by the federal government. So that newspaper is undertaking to organize a League movement to let the people vote on this measure again after they have had mature reflection upon it and it is their belief that such a referendum will defeat the scheme by an overwhelming majority. The movement is, as all referendum movements are expected to be, non partisan and non political and while

in this instance it is being initiated and carried forward by private enterprise it very nicely illustrates the Initiative and Referendum principle. It will be remembered that the vote to squander this money was forced through in New York by the Administration Party. The Grange was solidly against the scheme and public sentiment is now coming to be with the Grange position. The people now wane to protect themselves against this economic error. With the Initiative and Referendum installed it would be easy to correct such mistakes and save to the taxpayers this worse than useless expenditure. It should be a ship canal or nothing.

—o—

The practice of interrogating candidates seems to be common this year. It is right in principle and properly used will be of great value.

The Michigan State Grange has prepared a series of State Interrogatories and is submitting them to Candidates through Grange Legislative Committees. The Postal Progress League, New York City, has issued a letter and set forth the desires of the League. It contains considerable information and shows the Postal Rates that they would like to have established. As this is along the line of extending Parcels Post facilities we print it but will say that we think the maximum weight limit is too heavy to be practicable.

To Candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives and for the office of President of the United States:

Gentlemen:—Our postal service is far behind that of the progressive nations of Europe. Our postal legislation is full of the grossest absurdities. Great classes of business are left subject to the mere whim of a postal official. Our Post Office Department frequently assumes the office of law-maker, judge and executioner. A business is taxed one rate today; another rate tomorrow.

Organized solely for the purpose of public transportation the business of the Post Office today is largely espionage. The Post Office Department openly declares that the handling of

merchandise is an infringement on the express business and that its influence will be exerted to the utmost to prevent any extension of the present four-pound weight limit.

The Hon. Eugene F. Loud—appointed Representative of the United States at the Universal Postal Congress of Rome, in 1905—declares himself in favor of cutting down postal facilities.

Our free-rural-horse-power machine, restricted to teaspoon-traffic—letters, periodicals, four-pound parcels at 16c. per lb—is a tantalizing delusion to the farmer. He is in the position of a thirsty man offered a tumbler containing a teaspoon of water. With a machine at hand easily capable of carrying barrels of flour and sacks of grain, the farmer is still obliged to hitch up his team every time he would buy a pound of merchandise or send off a pound of produce. Limited to four-pound parcels, this machine that might pay its way and at the same time add hundreds of millions of dollars each year to the value of American farms is made a heavy burden to the postal revenues and is of very little practical benefit to the public. One is tempted to believe that the \$20,000,000 Free Rural appropriation of this year was made with the expectation of causing such a postal deficiency as would excuse Congress from the establishment of a General Merchandise Post.

In 73,000 American towns and villages the public are still obliged to fetch and carry their mail between their homes and the Post Office, although the postage paid entitles them to a door-to-door service.

We call your attention to the following comparison of the Free Delivery Services of Germany, Switzerland and the United States.

Local Free Delivery.

London has a Penny-c. Free Delivery Post, carrying letters and parcels up to a pound, with insurance up to \$50 in 1690.

Local Delivery Rates of Germany, Switzerland and United States in 1904:

Letters.

Germany—City delivery including neighboring places 8 oz., 1c.

Switzerland—Distance up to 6 miles, 8 oz., 1c. Whole Country, 8 oz., 2c.

United States—1 oz., 2c.; 8 oz., 16c. City and Rural Delivery.

Parcels of Merchandise.

Germany—Distances up to 40 miles, 11 lbs., 6c.; 22 lbs., 12c.; 33 lbs., 18c.; 44 lbs., 24c.; 110 lbs., 60c. All Germany, including Austria-Hungary, 11 lbs., 12c.

Switzerland—General Rates, 1 lb., 3c.; 5 lbs., 5c.; 11 lbs., 8c.; 22 lbs., 17c.; 33 lbs., 23c.; 44 lbs., 35c.; Up to 62 miles, 110 lbs., 60c.

United States—City and Rural Delivery, 1 oz., 1c.; 1 lb., 16c.; 2 lbs., 32c.; 3 lbs., 48c.; 4 lbs., 64c.

Library Post to and from home and library—4 lbs., 3c.; U. S., 4 lbs. \$1.28.

Are not the people of the United States entitled to as much consideration at the hands of their public servants as the German and Swiss receive from their public servants?

Private transportation agencies carry magazines throughout the island of Manhattan 1 lb., for 1c.; 200 lb. trunk, for 25c.

The Metropolitan Railway carries a 200-lb. person—Battery Park, to 221st street—for 5c.

Is not a system of low, local delivery rates a necessary complement to the appropriation of \$20,000,000 for the Free Rural Service of this year? Is it not certain that a system of local delivery rates, door to door, country and city, say:

- 1 lb. parcels, 1c.
- 10 lb. parcels, 5c.
- 30 lb. parcels, 10c.
- 50 lb. parcels, 15c.
- 100 lb. parcels, 20c.
- 200 lb. parcels, 25c.

would make the Free Delivery service of both city and country a source of profit to the Post Office and an incalculable benefit to the public?

The British public have long enjoyed a four-ounce-two-cent letter rate. Congress at the late session, provided a four-ounce-free-letter service for the United States Congressmen and Senators. If a four-ounce-free-letter ser-

vice is practicable for American public servants, is not a four-ounce-two-cent letter rate possible for the American public?

As long ago as 1887, Mr. Vilas, then Postmaster General, advocated the Government ownership of postal cars, claiming that it would save to the Government the value of the cars every year.

"The peril to the public of private ownership," said Mr. Vilas, "is not lessened, but augments yearly. Whatever may be done by private hands may as well be done by the Department. Ownership by the Government of its postal cars cannot but much relieve the difficulty of the compensation problem."

The Pennsylvania Grange—interrogating the candidates for Congress from Pennsylvania as to their attitude toward an extended and cheap parcels post—adds the following supplement: Upon the character of your reply will largely depend our attitude toward you. Your attitude will be made known that voters may govern their voting accordingly."

Every voter in the country is interested in the election of each of the public servants who are to be entrusted with the management of their public business.

You must appreciate the growing public interest in the Post Office. We think you will therefore gladly embrace the opportunity which we offer for making known your views of the postal service to your constituents and to the general public.

If you are a member of the present Government, will you not give your support this winter to the following propositions?

(1) The appointment of a committee to prepare a bill providing for a revision of our postal laws, and to report to the next Congress.

(2) The enactment into law of H. R. 7874 of the present Congress, providing for a general parcels post:

3 oz. parcels, 1c.

1 lb. parcels, 5c.

11 lb. parcels, 25c.

(3) The establishment of a system of cheap local delivery rates.

(4) A 4-oz.-2c. letter rate.

(5) The Government ownership of postal cars.

(6) A fractional currency for the convenient payment of small accounts by mail.

Friends of the Post Office will surely find friends among the voters.

Please be kind enough to send us an early reply. Respectfully yours,

The Postal Progress League.

James L. Cowles, Sec.

21 Park Rowe, N. Y.

Sept. 23, 1904.

—o—

WORKING FOR THE PARCELS POST.

The makers of the party platforms are wise. They know how to make their declarations in harmony with the sentiments of the time. They know—generally, though not always—what subjects to make prominent and what subjects to place in the background. Usually they can be trusted to omit the very matters the more advanced reformers are anxious to have them introduce to public attention.

Most of us forget that it is not the office of great parties to advocate the new ideas and isms which originate in the brains and imaginations of the more progressive reformers. To do so would be to invite defeat. This no great party cares to do. Its business is to try to discover the opinions of the majority and to set them forth in a platform in so attractive a way that a majority of the voters will be favorable to the platform and the party and its candidates. The practical politician is not a reformer.

The Grange advocates the parcels post. The Grange is a business organization, working for the interests of its members and for the interests of the large class of people to whom it looks for increasing support. All these people or the large majority of them, would be glad to have the parcels post; it would be glad to have the parcels post; it would be a real convenience and a real saving to them.

So we are demanding legislation to authorize the carrying by the Post-office Department of parcels of merchandise larger than are now allowed to be carried, and at reasonable rates. To get what we want, we must con-

vince Congressmen that we are asking for what we have a good right to demand. In addition, we must convince a large number of them that they are more likely to be elected if they announce themselves in favor of the parcels post than if they try to evade the issue or express themselves as being opposed to it. We must "get after" the candidates in sensible ways. Doing so, we shall bring them to our way of thinking in due time. Otherwise, we may adopt resolutions till doomsday without getting what we want.

An exchange says:

"The fight for postal progress and the parcels post has got to be carried on outside as well as inside Congress if we are to win. The express companies are doing their best to block the scheme, a policy they have pursued for years. They own, body and soul, some of the leading members of Congress. The majority of the post-office committees, as now made up, are opposed to the parcels post. These committees, which consist of the Representatives and Senators named below, must be changed before a bill will be reported favorably.

Everyone who is at all interested in securing the expansion of the postal service and of the parcels post should refuse to support any candidate, either in the primaries or at the polls, who will not give his voice and vote for this measure. Are you a postman or an expressman? should be the shibboleth by which we separate the sheep from the goats in the coming campaign. Here are the committees; ask them how they stand:

"Senate: Penrose, of Pa.; Dolliver, of Ia.; Lodge, of Mass.; Beveridge, of Ind.; Mitchell, of Ore.; Procter, of Vt.; Burrows, of Mich.; Scott, of W. Va.; Burton, of Kan.; Clay, of Ga.; Culbertson, of Tex.; Taliferro, of Fla.; Simmons, of N. C.; Gorman, of Md.

House: Overstreet, of Ind.; Gardner, of N. J.; Sperry, of Conn.; Hedge, of Ia.; Sibley, of Pa.; Snapp, of Ill.; Goebel, of Ohio; Steenerson, of Minn.; Stafford, of Wis.; Darragh, of Mich.; Murdock, of Kan.; Moon, of Tenn.; Griggs, of Ga.; Cowherd, of Mo.; Willson, of N. Y.; Finley, of S. C.; Klurtz, of N. C.; Kalanianacle, of Hawaii."—From American Grange Bulletin and Scientific Farmer.

ABOUT THE STATE.

STATE GRANGE MEETING.

"On to Erie" is the slogan throughout the North-western counties. We have urged the State Grange to meet with us and now committees from Erie, Crawford and Warren County Pomonas are planning and working for a fitting reception and entertainment for all who attend. Archie Billings, Edinboro, Erie Co., is chairman of this committee and W. R. Tucker, Cambridge Springs, Crawford County, is Secretary. It is expected that during the week Erie and Warren Counties will each be represented by 500 Patrons in attendance while Crawford will not be satisfied with less than 1000. We confidently expect 3000 Patrons present. Erie City has no large hotels but with medium sized

ones and boarding houses there will be ample accommodations for all. The week of December 13th will have at Erie the biggest gathering of Pennsylvania's Representative Farmers of the whole year and no fourth degree member can afford to miss this grand opportunity and our invitation to all is "On to Erie!"

W. R. TUCKER,

Secretary of Com. on Arrangements.

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DEGREE OF FLORA IN SULLIVAN COUNTY.

(By A. M. Cornell.)

Colley Grange, No. 365, has long been recognized by her sister Granges as possessing more than the usual amount of activity and thoroughness in the various departments of Grange

work which has led to success many worthy undertakings in the past, but perhaps one of the greatest ventures was conceived there several months ago, when the desire was expressed to have the sixth degree conferred in full form at their large and commodious Grange Hall.

Bro. M. W. Reeser is the present Master, to whom much credit is due for the pleasing results attained on this occasion. He was aided by efficient committees and untiring workers, who spent many hours in arranging the beautiful floral decorations and other interesting features.

Invitations were extended to the near-by Granges in Sullivan, Wyoming and Bradford Counties for candidates. September 7 was the appointed date, and the weather was all that could be asked. The Worthy State Master and Secretary were on duty early to look after their respective parts. As a number desired the sixth degree who had never received the fifth, arrangements had been made to meet their needs, and the degree of Pomona was conferred in all its effective detail by the officers of Pomona Grange, No. 23, on a class of twenty-eight. Several were reinstated and paid dues, so that the net receipts to Pomona treasury No. 23 was \$56.40.

When all was in readiness the fine class of sixty-three Patrons who had labored diligently in the field and household, who had ably and faithfully served the Order in every station to which they had been called, wended their way to the beautiful Court of Flora and were impressively taught the lessons of the sixth degree of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry. A bounteous feast of refreshments was served and social and fraternal intercourse enjoyed by all.

But Colley Patrons were not yet satisfied, as on the following day they had invited all to come and take part in a field day meeting in the grove near their hall on the land owned by the Grange. The Lopez Cornet Band came early to furnish music. Bro. M. Ferguson, the W. Master of Pomona No. 23, presided and introduced Bro. M. W. Reeser who extended in fitting

words a cordial greeting and welcome. Bro. Asa S. Stevens in like manner responded. The State Master, Secretary and Lecturer, each, were glad to express words of appreciation and encouragement, as the great upbuilding work of the order goes moving so grandly on.

—O—

Grout Law Resolutions.

Since the issuance of the Interrogations last Spring another matter of vital concern has sprung up. The Stage Grange Legislative Committee finds that there is reason for believing that the Oleo Trust intends to try to have the Grout Law repealed at the next session of Congress.

Upon being satisfied upon the truthfulness of this rumor the Legislative Committee of the State Grange at once took steps to canvass every member of the next Congress from this State to learn his attitude toward the Grout Law. In the letter each was advised that his position upon it would be placed before the Grange membership.

To further support and strengthen the active efforts of our Legislative Committee I request that at the next meeting of your Grange stirring resolutions be passed protesting against the repeal or modification of this law to impair its efficiency. Forward all Pomona and Subordinate Grange Resolutions upon the Grout Law to Hon. W. T. Creasy, Catawissa, Pa., Secretary State Grange Legislative Committee, and they will then be presented to the proper authorities at such time and in such manner as to produce the most effective results.

Now that the Supreme Court of the United States has declared the law to be constitutional we have a certainty to stand for.

Fraternally,

W. F. HILL,
Master State Grange.

—O—

At State Grange Meeting many Granges will have Resolutions to present. Do you care to present any? If so it will be well to make two copies. Have them bear the seal as well as the signatures of the W. Master and Secretary.

THE UNION LABEL
is approved but there is
no Union printing office
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THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

Pennsylvania

Grange News

AGRICULTURAL LIBRARY
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE



November, 1904

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**The Thirty-second Annual Session of Pennsylvania State
Grange will Convene in Erie December 13, 1904.**

Pennsylvania Grange News

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W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department.

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EDITORIAL.

PENNSYLVANIA Grange news is published on a co-operative plan. All subordinate Granges pay their dues to State Grange. The strong, well established Granges pay more than the weaker, newer ones. But it is a principle of our order that the strong shall help the weak. Grange news is an instance of it as the State Grange treasury bears this expense and all Granges receive three copies of the monthly free. It is the intent to put out certain special issues in which certain subjects that the State Grange has endorsed will be exhaustively treated.

The September special number is an instance of it. Later Equality in Taxation; Road Legislation; Grange Extension; Our Business System, etc., will be treated in the same way by competent authorities. The educational value of such thorough work must be apparent to all.

THE Pennsylvania State Grange meeting at Erie, Dec. 13-16, will be easily accessible to patrons of Western Pennsylvania and to many patrons in New York and Ohio. As these state meeting will not conflict with Pennsylvania, a cordial invitation is extended their patrons to visit us at Erie. We will be glad to welcome all visiting patrons from this as well as other States.

WORTHY DEPUTY A. T. Lilley, of Bradford county, in sending in reports of inspection of eleven granges states that the order was never in better condition in his territory. This tireless Grange worker will be remembered by many as Captain of the Open Hand Grange Degree Team that put on the work so creditably at Clearfield. He writes that their degree team has been visiting other Granges and doing initiatory work for them. Sister Lilley often accompanies him on inspection work and a Grange is drilled until the U. W. is fully understood. The reports for this year show splendid progress in this county over one year ago.

For Country Betterment

The growing interest in Grange work in Penn'a. has prompted several Fair Associations to provide for having a Grange speaker present as one of the attractions. His expected presence has been advertised and it is no doubt true that many farmers would attend, in part, at least, to see and hear more about the Grange. This organization is recognized today as one of the leading forces in behalf of the farmer and his family.

It develops a feeling of fraternity and of good fellowship among people in rural districts that opens up a new beauty to farm life.

The petty church, school, or social differences soon melt away in the neighborhood where a good Grange exists. Grange members learn that they have not been getting as much out of life as they can and they draw together in the Grange with new purposes and new ambition. The embarrassments of social life gradually wear away among both young and older ones, and they talk together freely and having literary and musical entertainment pass the evenings meeting pleasantly and profitably. There also comes the inspiration to do better for themselves. To have better yields per acre; to introduce thorough-bred stock into the locality and so improve the herds and flocks. There is quality in the "blood" of cereals and vegetables too and the members become desirous of having the best in these things. So they are interested patrons of the Fair where they size up the exhibits. Why would it not be well for more Fair Associations to embrace the opportunity and give premiums to Granges and Grange exhibits? By dealing with Granges in an organized capacity the Association would reach a large, intelligent, homogeneous class of people. In every Grange there are some who excel in certain kinds of farming. There may be found among the membership the fellow who is or wants to be a chicken fancier, a lover and breeder of fine cattle, swine, sheep; then there is the good gardner or house wife who delights in raising the finest vegetables in the neighborhood. The fellow who takes pride in fitting up a team of good horses while the boy with his pair of calves and the girl that has so carefully fixed up some canned goods, jellies or other delicacy can all be reached through this organization. I feel sure that should Fair managers make advances to the Granges and make them early that there would be a general response. The Fair would be discussed at the meetings and interest aroused which would result in better exhibitions and attendance.

Then again this movement looks toward having the Fairs return to their

original purpose. If a larger proportion of the premium money was awarded for excellence in the Exhibits and less to the varied (and often questionable) amusements and racing the whole effect would be better. The Grange is an educational force and is ready to cooperate with other similar forces at any time to the end that there may be done. "The greatest good to the greatest number."

There is room—as well as need—for a better understanding—"and a more genial and general pulling together" of the different forces in Penn'a. for the uplift and advancement of the practical farmers of our State. The Grange is thoroughly organized and in business all the year around; from fifteen to twenty thousand meetings will be held in Penn'a. this year under its auspices. It stands ready to give of its experience and influence to any movement, and to cooperate with kindred educational agencies, along agricultural lines, for the benefit of country interests.

Let no man or society say that there is no place for him or it in this great work. There is work for all. Get in touch with this movement—this organized force—and assist in building up the welfare of country citizenship and country institutions.

Note to Grange Masters.

IT is our desire to have in each issue of Pennsylvania Grange News a communication from the State Master to be read at the first meeting of the Grange after its receipt. For this issue we know nothing of more concern to Patrons of our State than the following matter, but by reason of its length we will leave it to your judgement as to whether it shall be read aloud, but if time will permit we strongly urge it. The first, headed "Very Bad Business," appeared in the Grange column of "The Country Gentleman," apparently as an editorial, and assails Grange work and workers in Pennsylvania. Following a reproduction of that article is the reply made to it by State Master Hill and sent to "The Country Gentleman" in Registered Mail November 2.

Very Bad Business.

"We greatly regret to receive from Mr. W. F. Hill, master of the Pennsylvania Grange, a 'Special Number of the Pennsylvania Grange News,' further described as the official magazine of the Penna. State Grange, and which proves to be a pamphlet dealing with what is certainly an important topic, viz: 'The dominant issue in this year's campaign, the people's sovereignty versus trustocracy, showing need for people's veto and direct initiative, and giving program of Pennsylvania State Grange, American Federation of Labor, and other non-partisan organizations for installing the system nationally as result of this year's campaign.'"

"We greatly regret to receive this document, we say, because its publication, if really authorized by the State Grange as it purports to be, shows that that body has travelled far in a path that leads directly toward the utter destruction of the usefulness of the order to agriculture in the Keystone State. The one thing for the Granges of the country to do is to look out for the interest of farmers AS FARMERS—just exactly that and nothing more or less. If they are going to combine with the labor unions to secure an eight-hour day for employees of contractors with the Government and to prevent the suppression of riotous interference with business when strikes take place, and to join with other non-partisan organizations in bringing about the free and unlimited coinage of silver and overhauling our government in general their end is not far off. To give an idea of the temper of this ill-advised Pennsylvania movement (ill advised for a Grange, we mean), we copy two of a long list of questions proposed to be propounded to every candidate for Congress and the Legislature:

"Question No. 3.—Will you, if elected, vote to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under this people's initiative and acted upon; the details of the advisory system to conform to the measures we herewith enclose, subject to such minor changes as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the American Federation of Labor and National Grange? Bear in mind that a refusal to promise to vote for an efficient system whereby the people may in-

struct their representatives will be a flat-footed and open repudiation of the people's right to self-government.

"Question No. 4.—If the people of this district select you as their agent in the House of Representatives, will you vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct?"

"Now let us not be misunderstood. There are very attractive points about the initiative and referendum plan; and we do not say that free silver would not be a good thing, or that the police or the courts or the U. S. army ought to protect workmen whom the American Federation of Labor desires to force into idleness. Opinions differ on these subjects; and they are entirely foreign to the interests which this paper was established to promote. NOT LESS ARE THEY ENTIRELY FOREIGN TO THE INTERESTS THE GRANGE WAS ESTABLISHED TO PROMOTE. They concern us not at all as farmers, but as citizens, which brings the matter into different relations altogether. The man of the town is just as much interested in them as the farmer can be, ten times more directly interested in some of them than is any resident of the country. They invite discussion and they ought to be discussed; every intelligent man should reach conclusions about them in his own mind, act conscientiously on such conclusions, unite with others who agree with him, and do his best to see that his opinions prevail. But he should do it outside of the Grange. To try to set the farmers' organization at the rather formidable task of correcting all the real or supposed evils of our social system, is about as judicious a proceeding as if the Methodist or Presbyterian members, or the Republicans or Democrats for that matter, should want to dragoon the whole order into the ranks of their particular churches or political parties. Let the Grange stand for agriculture and agricultural interests, ever ready, not only to defend these from attack in any quarter, but actively to promote every measure that is for their benefit, at the polls, in the state and national legislatures, and everywhere else. Let it stand for nothing else, and undertake nothing else. To tackle the job of reforming the political, financial and judicial methods of the country is simply to invite dissension within the order, and ultimately to disintegrate and ruin it.

"The National Grange will do well to look after Mr. Master Hill and his associates. It would seem that the management of the order in Pennsylvania has fallen into hands ill qualified to operate it."

DEFENSE OF THE GRANGE,

And Its Work, By State Master Hill and Sent to "Country Gentleman." Editor "Country Gentleman:"

In your paper of Oct. 27th., Patrons of Husbandry column, you take issue with the action of the Pennsylvania State Grange in its advocacy of the initiative and referendum. As Master of that organization I desire to reply in the same column. The question seems not to be on the value of this movement, but whether a broad issue like this should be worked for by the Grange.

You say: "The one thing for the Granges of the country to do is to look out for the interests of the farmers—AS FARMERS—just exactly that and nothing less." You then claim that the initiative and referendum does not concern the interests of the farmers as farmers but as citizens and, therefore, should not be worked for by the Pennsylvania Granges. Your words are: "Now let us not be misunderstood. There are very attractive points about the initiative and referendum plan. * * * Opinions differ on these subjects and they are entirely foreign to the interests which this paper (The Pennsylvania Grange News) was established to promote. NOT LESS ARE THEY FOREIGN TO THE INTERESTS WHICH THE GRANGE WAS ESTABLISHED TO PROMOTE. (Caps are yours). They concern us not at all as farmers, but as citizens, which brings the matter into different relations altogether."

You present here a distinction without a difference, we believe, and an argument that is at variance with the policy of this order of nearly forty years' standing. Certain it is that had the broad issues been kept out of the Grange it would have prevented the National and State Granges from declaring for a Parcels Post, for that affects all citizens. It would have kept them from declaring for a Postal Savings Bank, the Isthmian Canal, the Direct Election of U. S. Senators, the fraudulent sale of Oleomargarine, and even against Trusts, for all of these affect every citizen and not the farming in-

terests alone. Had these measures been kept out of the Granges it would have resulted in disintegration. But, owing to a full and fair discussion of public measures, combined with vigorous non-partisan activity, keeping clear of party politics—participation in which is ruinous to farmers' organizations—the Order has grown and is to-day making great strides.

We emphatically resent your inferences in the following statement:

"If they (the Granges) are going to combine with the Labor Unions to secure an eight-hour day for employees of contractors with the Government, and to prevent the suppression of riotous interference with business when strikes take place, and to "join with non-partisan organizations" in bringing about the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and overhauling our Government in general, their end is not far off."

The Granges are not working for the eight-hour day in Government contract work, nor for the anti-injunction law, nor for the free coinage of silver and you, Brother Editor, know that this is so. These inferences are so unwarranted—so much in harmony with the record of certain farm papers for taking political advertising within recent years, (in the interest of farmers—AS FARMERS; of course)—as to cause us almost to question the sincerity of the motive back of this article and to fear that "The Country Gentleman" has been misled on this matter. But we do not believe that "The Country Gentleman" can afford to stand for such misleading methods—or that it intends to do so when attention is directed to its utterances. No! the Pennsylvania State Grange is not combined with any kind of a union, organization or party, neither for "overhauling our Government in general" nor for any other purpose. The Pennsylvania State Grange wants more power to be vested in the people and less in the trusts and monopolists. The American Federation of Labor is working along its lines for this end. The Pennsylvania State Grange wants the Grout Law left intact. The Pure Butter Protective Association of Philadelphia is also

working to preserve this law. The State Grange of Pennsylvania wants to secure equitable freight rates for the Pennsylvania farmer—and all other citizens. There are over two hundred business organizations and associations working to attain this same end in a similar way—viz: The enlargement of the powers of The Interstate Commerce Commission. Yes, farmers here learned long years ago that through the Grange they can protect their every interest—including legislative, and under this policy the membership has made great increase. (See records of either the National Grange Secretary or of our State Secretary. We will be pleased to provide you with them if desired.) You will find that last year Pennsylvania stood fourth among the States in increase in new Granges and in membership, while this year we take second place. The only State that has made greater growth is Michigan and the legislative activities there are as pronounced as in Pennsylvania. In fact one of the underlying principles that has built, and is building, up the Granges is their activity and success in securing legislation in the interest of farmers. At the last meeting of the Pennsylvania State Grange held at Wilkesbarre it was unanimously voted that the State Grange officers should take up and push the advocacy of the initiative and referendum. This meeting was made up of representatives of the different Subordinate Granges—we have over five hundred Subordinate Granges and there were over five hundred voters in attendance—and we believe that they will especially resent your closing paragraph, which is:

"The National Grange will do well to look after Mr. Master Hill and his associates. It would seem that the management of the Order in Pennsylvania has fallen into hands ill qualified to operate it."

You take to task the joint action of over five hundred masters in the State, proclaiming that they have grossly violated the established order of things and call upon the National Grange to take action!

The whole article is out of line with the care, accuracy and frater-

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Sincerely yours, W. F. HILL.

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G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

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From Ohio Farmer, Oct. 22, '04.

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Congressmen with the Grange in Protecting the Grout Law.

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Franklin Co., Pa., Oct. 21, 1904.

Honorable Sir:

We have reliable information that an effort is to be made at next session of Congress to repeal the Grout Bill. The members of the Grange and farmers generally are unalterably opposed to the repeal of this valuable law or to any modification that will lessen its efficiency. The State Grange, thru its Legislative Committee would thank you for information as to your attitude toward preserving this measure intact. We shall then expect to publish your views to our membership. An early reply will oblige,

Very truly,
W. F. HILL,
Chairman.

Chambersburg, Penna.

York, Pa., Oct. 27, 1904.

Mr. W. F. Hill, Chairman,
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My Dear Sir: Referring to yours of the 21st inst., relative to the repealing of the "Grout Bill," I beg to inform you I am opposed to the repealing of this bill and I would be pleased to have you inform the members of the Grange that I will use every effort to prevent the enemies of this bill from having same removed from the statute books.

Yours very truly,
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I acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of the 21st. instant and have carefully noted contents. I take pleasure in advising you that I am opposed to the repeal of the Grout

Bill, as I believe the law is necessary to protect the large dairy interests of Pennsylvania, and I assure you that I am willing to use all honorable means to prevent the repeal of the Act.

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W. F. Hill, Chairman, Pennsylvania State Grange Patrons of Husbandry, Chambersburg, Penna.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 21st instant is just at hand. As you will find by reference to the Congressional Record of 1902 I took an active part in securing the passage of the Grout Bill. It seemed to me then, and seems to me now, an eminently wise and just measure, and its constitutionality has just been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. The makers of one hundred million pounds of butter in Pennsylvania are certainly entitled to be protected from the sale of anything, as butter, which really is not butter.

M. E. OLMSTED.

Marietta, Pa., Oct. 28, 1904.

I have your undated favor in reference to the Grout Law.

In reply would state that I supported this measure before and I expect to stand by the proposition in case it comes before Congress again at the next session.

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Meadville, Pa., Oct. 28, 1904.

If a movement comes up to repeal the Grout Bill I will take pleasure in helping defeat it. Can depend on me to oppose any movement to repeal or to any way modify the Grout Law to impair its efficiency.

ARTHUR L. BATES,

West Chester, Pa., Oct. 26, 1904.

Replying to a circular letter of Oct. 21st., to which your name is printed and in which you request me to define my attitude toward legislation commonly known as the "Grout Law," approved May 9th., 1902, "to make oleomargarine and other imitation dairy products subject to the laws of any State and to change the tax on oleomargarine and to impose further tax thereon," I direct you to the record which I made on this bill and which you will find in the Congressional Record of the First Session of Congress February 12th., 1902, pages 1678 and 1680.

You being the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Grange, I assume you are well acquainted with the history of the Act. If you need any further declaration from me on the subject, I will make it short by saying that I have not changed my mind.

THOMAS S. BUTLER,

M. C. 7th. Penna. Dist.

[Another O. K. record.]—Eds.

Norristown, Pa., Oct. 26, 1904.

The circular letter of inquiry without date asking me to define my attitude towards the so-called Grout Law, came duly to hand.

In view of my words for the enactment of the measure there can be no question respecting my cordial support when enacted.

On the 19th instant I wrote Secretary Critchfield thanking him for warning the public of the insidious purpose of "The Oleomargarine Interests of the United States," to secure the repeal of the Act of 1902, and concluded thus:—

"It is only necessary that the movement be advertised to secure its crushing defeat, as certainly no supporter of that measure will about face on the proposition because of its efficiency in securing the very results prompting its enactment."

IRVING P WANGER,

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1904.

I am in receipt of your circular letter regarding the proposition to repeal the Grout Act at the next session of Congress. In reply I beg to say that having voted for the enactment of the Grout Bill, after a thorough investigation into and serious reflection of the same, I naturally would be opposed to its repeal, unless there are very good reasons therefor, of which I am at present ignorant.

EDWARD MORRELL.

Susquehanna, Pa., Nov. 1, 1904.

Referring to your letter of the 21st. instant, 1904, if my position regarding the Grout Bill was not sufficiently shown by my action when the said Bill was before the Committee, I do not see how I can define it, so it can be understood.

C. F. WRIGHT.

[Mr. Wright was a power in getting this law.]—Eds.

Congressman Mahon says:

"Say that I am against the repeal of the Grout Law."

Pittsburg Pa., Oct. 27th., 1904.

Dear Sir: Your circular favor of 21st inst. is received. The Grout Bill, as I recall it, protects the dairy interests of the country from the sale of any other goods, excepting on their own merits, and requires such marks upon the packages of manufactured goods that they cannot be mistaken for dairy products.

Such a law seems to be just, and I know of no good reason why such a law should be repealed. It will give me great pleasure to consider carefully the whole subject, if it comes before Congress, that every legitimate enterprise may be properly protected and guarded from anything that might be considered fraudulent or wrong.

Very respectfully,

H. K. PORTER.

Parcels Posts Resolutions.

At the regular Fall session of the Pomona Grange of McKean County resolutions were passed favoring the Parcels Posts and pledging support to the Legislative Committees of the National and State Grange in securing it.

During the political campaign few have been carried away by party enthusiasm. The thinking farmer, when about to cast his ballot for congressman and legislators will ask: "What can I expect these men to do for my interests?" Here, again organization tells as against the individual. In this State candidates for Legislative honors have been made to understand what the Grange wants. In most of the counties these men are on record as to what they will do in matters affecting agriculture. We have made only modest and reasonable demands, but we propose to follow them up and, if possible, hold every man to his promise.

Michigan is one of the strongest grange States in the Union. The influence of the grange is felt and admitted by all parties. The State Grange has a strong Legislative Committee of five members, among whom are the master and secretary of the State Grange. They are prompt and

untiring in carrying out the instructions of the State Grange in legislative matters. One of the subjects receiving especial attention this fall is reform in Primary Elections. The reform element demands a law providing for the nomination of Governor, Lieutenant Governor and members of the Legislature by a direct vote of the people. It is needless to say that the Grange there favors this reform. Every candidate for legislative honors has been interrogated as to his position and the members of the Grange over the State know where the different candidates stand. It is not in any sense a party question and no doubt many members of the order will rise above party and vote for or against men entirely on the ground of their position on this question.

While discussing road laws it would not be a bad idea to be considering what this State should do with regard to Automobile legislation. A good many lives are endangered each year and some lost thru the recklessness of the drivers of these machines. To be sure, some of them are discreet and gentlemanly. We need restraining laws for those that are not.

ABOUT THE STATE.

Gleanings from "News Item."

Since last News Items were issued three new Granges have been organized as follows:

No. 1275 Blair Co., by Frank M. Glasgow.

No. 1276 Allegheny Co., by R. K. McEwen.

No. 1277 Clearfield Co., by Harrison Straw.

Two have been reorganized:

No. 869 Lehigh Co., by L. B. Geiger.

No. 704 Westmoreland Co., by W. F. Holtzer.

The secretary of Troy Grange No. 182 Bradford Co., writes: "Three and a half years ago Troy Grange had 88 members; now it has 209."

In sending in the charter list of the new Grange in Clearfield Co. (Glen Hope) the Worhy Deputy, Brother Harrison Straw, says: "I think we have something good started there."

Rasselas Grange, No. 1187, Elk Co., has recently completed a new hall. It is 24x50 feet. They have arranged to have it dedicated Oct. 24. No better evidence is needed to show that these people believe in the Grange. What they are doing many other Granges in the State have done and more are arranging to do. The members of any rural community have only done their duty to the generation now acting and more especially to the coming one when they have built the church, the school house and the Grange hall. Few care to live where the church and school are not within convenient reach. Due consideration of all the wants of a community will not fail to convince them that the Grange hall as a social, educational, fraternal, co-operative centre is scarcely less needed.

DEFENSE OF THE GRANGE,

And Its Work, By State Master Hill
and Sent to "Country Gentleman."
Editor "Country Gentleman:"

In your paper of Oct. 27th., Patrons of Husbandry column, you take issue with the action of the Pennsylvania State Grange in its advocacy of the initiative and referendum. As Master of that organization I desire to reply in the same column. The question seems not to be on the value of this movement, but whether a broad issue like this should be worked for by the Grange.

You say: "The one thing for the Granges of the country to do is to look out for the interests of the farmers—AS FARMERS—just exactly that and nothing less." You then claim that the initiative and referendum does not concern the interests of the farmers as farmers but as citizens and, therefore, should not be worked for by the Pennsylvania Granges. Your words are: "Now let us not be misunderstood. There are very attractive points about the initiative and referendum plan. * * * Opinions differ on these subjects and they are entirely foreign to the interests which this paper (The Pennsylvania Grange News) was established to promote. NOT LESS ARE THEY FOREIGN TO THE INTERESTS WHICH THE GRANGE WAS ESTABLISHED TO PROMOTE. (Caps are yours). They concern us not at all as farmers, but as citizens, which brings the matter into different relations altogether."

You present here a distinction without a difference, we believe, and an argument that is at variance with the policy of this order of nearly forty years' standing. Certain it is that had the broad issues been kept out of the Grange it would have prevented the National and State Granges from declaring for a Parcels Post, for that affects all citizens. It would have kept them from declaring for a Postal Savings Bank, the Isthmian Canal, the Direct Election of U. S. Senators, the fraudulent sale of Oleomargarine, and even against Trusts, for all of these affect every citizen and not the farming in-

terests alone. Had these measures been kept out of the Granges it would have resulted in disintegration. But, owing to a full and fair discussion of public measures, combined with vigorous non-partisan activity, keeping clear of party politics—participation in which is ruinous to farmers' organizations—the Order has grown and is to-day making great strides.

We emphatically resent your inferences in the following statement:

"If they (the Granges) are going to combine with the Labor Unions to secure an eight-hour day for employees of contractors with the Government, and to prevent the suppression of riotous interference with business when strikes take place, and to 'join with non-partisan organizations' in bringing about the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and overhauling our Government in general, their end is not far off."

The Granges are not working for the eight-hour day in Government contract work, nor for the anti-injunction law, nor for the free coinage of silver and you, Brother Editor, know that this is so. These inferences are so unwarranted—so much in harmony with the record of certain farm papers for taking political advertising within recent years, (in the interest of farmers—AS FARMERS, of course)—as to cause us almost to question the sincerity of the motive back of this article and to fear that "The Country Gentleman" has been misled on this matter. But we do not believe that "The Country Gentleman" can afford to stand for such misleading methods—or that it intends to do so when attention is directed to its utterances. No! the Pennsylvania State Grange is not combined with any kind of a union, organization or party, neither for "overhauling our Government in general" nor for any other purpose. The Pennsylvania State Grange wants more power to be vested in the people and less in the trusts and monopolists. The American Federation of Labor is working along its lines for this end. The Pennsylvania State Grange wants the Grout Law left intact. The Pure Butter Protective Association of Philadelphia is also

working to preserve this law. The State Grange of Pennsylvania wants to secure equitable freight rates for the Pennsylvania farmer—and all other citizens. There are over two hundred business organizations and associations working to attain this same end in a similar way—viz: The enlargement of the powers of The Interstate Commerce Commission. Yes, farmers here learned long years ago that through the Grange they can protect their every interest—including legislative, and under this policy the membership has made great increase. (See records of either the National Grange Secretary or of our State Secretary. We will be pleased to provide you with them if desired.) You will find that last year Pennsylvania stood fourth among the States in increase in new Granges and in membership, while this year we take second place. The only State that has made greater growth is Michigan and the legislative activities there are as pronounced as in Pennsylvania. In fact one of the underlying principles that has built, and is building, up the Granges is their activity and success in securing legislation in the interest of farmers. At the last meeting of the Pennsylvania State Grange held at Wilkesbarre it was unanimously voted that the State Grange officers should take up and push the advocacy of the initiative and referendum. This meeting was made up of representatives of the different Subordinate Granges—we have over five hundred Subordinate Granges and there were over five hundred voters in attendance—and we believe that they will especially resent your closing paragraph, which is:

"The National Grange will do well to look after Mr. Master Hill and his associates. It would seem that the management of the Order in Pennsylvania has fallen into hands ill qualified to operate it."

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On the 19th instant I wrote Secretary Critchfield thanking him for warning the public of the insidious purpose of "The Oleomargarine Interests of the United States," to secure the repeal of the Act of 1902., and concluded thus:—

"It is only necessary that the movement be advertised to secure its crushing defeat, as certainly no supporter of that measure will about face on the proposition because of its efficiency in securing the very results prompting its enactment

IRVING P WANGER,

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1904.

I am in receipt of your circular letter regarding the proposition to repeal the Grout Act at the next session of Congress. In reply I beg to say that having voted for the enactment of the Grout Bill, after a thorough investigation into and serious reflection of the same, I naturally would be opposed to its repeal, unless there are very good reasons therefor, of which I am at present ignorant.

EDWARD MORRELL.

Susquehanna, Pa., Nov. 1, 1904.

Referring to your letter of the 21st. instant, 1904, if my position regarding the Grout Bill was not sufficiently shown by my action when the said Bill was before the Committee, I do not see how I can define it, so it can be understood.

C. F. WRIGHT.

[Mr. Wright was a power in getting this law.]—Eds.

Congressman Mahon says:

"Say that I am against the repeal of the Grout Law."

Pittsburg Pa., Oct. 27th., 1904.

Dear Sir: Your circular favor of 21st inst. is received. The Grout Bill, as I recall it, protects the dairy interests of the country from the sale of any other goods, excepting on their own merits, and requires such marks upon the packages of manufactured goods that they cannot be mistaken for dairy products.

Such a law seems to be just, and I know of no good reason why such a law should be repealed. It will give me great pleasure to consider carefully the whole subject, if it comes before Congress, that every legitimate enterprise may be properly protected and guarded from anything that might be considered fraudulent or wrong.

Very respectfully,

H. K. PORTER.

Parcels Posts Resolutions.

At the regular Fall session of the Pomona Grange of McKean County resolutions were passed favoring the Parcels Posts and pledging support to the Legislative Committees of the National and State Grange in securing it.

During the political campaign few have been carried away by party enthusiasm. The thinking farmer, when about to cast his ballot for congressman and legislators will ask: "What can I expect these men to do for my interests?" Here, again organization tells as against the individual. In this State candidates for Legislative honors have been made to understand what the Grange wants. In most of the counties these men are on record as to what they will do in matters affecting agriculture. We have made only modest and reasonable demands, but we propose to follow them up and, if possible, hold every man to his promise.

Michigan is one of the strongest grange States in the Union. The influence of the grange is felt and admitted by all parties. The State Grange has a strong Legislative Committee of five members, among whom are the master and secretary of the State Grange. They are prompt and

untiring in carrying out the instructions of the State Grange in legislative matters. One of the subjects receiving especial attention this fall is reform in Primary Elections. The reform element demands a law providing for the nomination of Governor, Lieutenant Governor and members of the Legislature by a direct vote of the people. It is needless to say that the Grange there favors this reform. Every candidate for legislative honors has been interrogated as to his position and the members of the Grange over the State know where the different candidates stand. It is not in any sense a party question and no doubt many members of the order will rise above party and vote for or against men entirely on the ground of their position on this question.

While discussing road laws it would not be a bad idea to be considering what this State should do with regard to Automobile legislation. A good many lives are endangered each year and some lost thru the recklessness of the drivers of these machines. To be sure, some of them are discreet and gentlemanly. We need restraining laws for those that are not.

ABOUT THE STATE.

Gleanings from "News Item."

Since last News Items were issued three new Granges have been organized as follows:

No. 1275 Blair Co., by Frank M. Glasgow.

No. 1276 Allegheny Co., by R. K. McEwen.

No. 1277 Clearfield Co., by Harrison Straw.

Two have been reorganized:

No 869 Lehigh Co., by L. B. Geiger.

No. 704 Westmoreland Co., by W. F. Holtzer.

The secretary of Troy Grange No. 182 Bradford Co., writes: "Three and a half years ago Troy Grange had 88 members; now it has 209."

In sending in the charter list of the new Grange in Clearfield Co. (Glen Hope) the Worhy Deputy, Brother Harrison Straw, says: "I think we have something good started there."

Rasselas Grange, No. 1187, Elk Co., has recently completed a new hall. It is 24x50 feet. They have arranged to have it dedicated Oct. 24. No better evidence is needed to show that these people believe in the Grange. What they are doing many other Granges in the State have done and more are arranging to do. The members of any rural community have only done their duty to the generation now acting and more especially to the coming one when they have built the church, the school house and the Grange hall. Few care to live where the church and school are not within convenient reach. Due consideration of all the wants of a community will not fail to convince them that the Grange hall as a social, educational, fraternal, co-operative centre is scarcely less needed.

Clearfield Co now has 25 Granges.

For many years Mt. Chestnut Grange No. 133, Butler Co., was barely able to hold its charter. Within the last year it has rapidly come to the front. It now has 61 members, with more on the way. It has been in the lead all through in getting up the fire insurance company. We now hold some thirty policies.

We initiated four members in the first and second degrees last night and received some more applications.

BERTHA M. BELL, Sec.,

Leafydale Grange No. 1268,

McKean County.

Seven more applicants await initiation in No. 664, which will bring the number up to 75.

FRANK M GLASGOW,

Deputy Blair Co.

The delegates to the National Grange are packing their grips and will be ready to start for Oregon on the first train after they have voted on Election day. This is the most truly representative body of farmers that meets anywhere in the United States. They will go to the Pacific coast on the crest of the wave of prosperity so far as the organization is concerned, and those who expect them to speak positively and clearly in the interest of agriculture will not be disappointed.

Of no less importance to the Patrons and farmers of Pennsylvania is the coming State Grange meeting to be held in the city of Erie, Dec. 13-16. It promises to be one of the largest and most enthusiastic State Grange meetings ever held. If the plodding farmer, who has all his life never looked beyond his farm and the narrow limits of his little community, could spend at least a day in this meeting he would get such a revelation of the dignity of his calling and the possibilities before the American farmer as would be a revelation to him. Why should not every one of the more than 300,000 farmers of the State be represented there? What respect would be paid to the utterances of such a body!

Corydon Grange No. 1205 at last meeting conferred the 1st and 2nd degrees on a class of 12. Two candidates for the 3rd and 4th were prevented from being present on account of sickness. Worthy Deputy, Brother George A. Woodside was present to inspect the grange and to arrange for the Farmers' Institute to be held December 2 and 3 next. He complimented the work throughout, especially the floor work in the first de-

gree, the "Harvest March," the strict compliance with the constitution in collecting dues and the completeness and accuracy of the books and records of the grange.

A large delegation was present from Allegany grange, as well as representatives from Scandia and Elk Run granges. Seventy-four of our own members were present.

A. W. REEVES, Sec.

A grand meeting well reported. The Editor would like to have been among "Ye visitors."

We have received an excellent program for a meeting of Pomona No. 3, to be held at Avondale, Chester County, Nov. 16th and 17th. They have from four to six hundred Patrons present usually and we prophesy interesting discussions of these topics. The two day and evening session is an innovation, which we hope will prove to be a good move.

A Grange Fair.

New Vernon Grange, No. 608, Clark's Mills, Pa., held a fair and exhibition of stock and farm products, September 22, that was a success. We had about three weeks to work it up, and no place to take care of stock; yet the display was excellent.

There were three prizes awarded of horses, one on sucking colt, three on cattle, and one on flock of sheep. There were thirteen varieties of potatoes, thirty-three varieties of apples, a number of pumpkins and squashes, a good display of garden products; also of wheat, oats, corn, both field and sweet; also a good display of old coins, old books and other old relics.

We held a Grange picnic in the Lackey Grove, at Carpenter's Corners, August 10, under the management of Mercer County Pomona Grange, which was quite a success, and we intend to combine our picnic and fair next year. It was with that end in view that the exhibition was gotten up, to make a beginning.

W. S. SMITH,

Chairman of Committee.

The Grange at Tioga has bought the Pickering building in that village and will fit it up for a meeting place.

Three Juveniles Granges organized in the state so far this year.

Wyoming Co. Patrons carry \$1,000,000 fire insurance in the (Patrons') Brier Creek Insurance Co.

At its meeting last Saturday evening Wellsboro Grange conferred the third and fourth degrees on three candidates and took action against the repeal of the Grout oleomargarine bill.

The Northwestern (Patrons') Fire Insurance Co. (Crawford, Erie, Warren and Mercer counties) wrote \$300,000 worth of new insurance in June. The cost is less than one-half that in old-line companies.

Members of Mitchells Mills Grange have organized a brass band and received their instruments recently. They have several experienced musicians among them and are starting off finely.

POMONA'S FALL MEETING.

Twenty-two Granges of Tioga County In Conference in Wellsboro.

It was a representative gathering of well-to-do farmers and their families at the session of Tioga County Pomona Grange, No. 30, in Wellsboro on Thursday and Friday last.

Pomona Master Hagar not being present Overseer Gorrie called the meeting to order at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon and at his request Pomona Lecturer E. B. Dorsett took the chair and presided during the afternoon and evening. I. G. Stone, of Middle Ridge Grange No. 384, took the place of Mr. Dorsett as lecturer. The choir for the session included N. L. Hanscom and Rev. Wm. Raff, of Marshfield Grange; C. H. Dewitt, of Sullivan Grange; J. E. Spencer, R. Culver, Mrs. J. E. Spencer, Mrs. D. W. Shumway, Mrs. Towles and Mrs. E. J. Tuttle, of Wellsboro Grange; Mrs. Copestick, of Stony Fork Grange, and Mrs. C. N. Austin, of Charleston Union Grange. Mrs. W. H. Whiting, of Wellsboro, acted as organist.

Immediately after opening exercises the regular committees were appointed and then, Mrs. Luther Johnson not being present, E. R. Mulford was called upon to make the

address of welcome. In a brief talk he assured the delegates present that they were more than welcome to the best to be found in the homes of Wellsboro Grangers and thus paved the way for an eloquent and enthusiastic response by Rev. William Raff, of Marshfield, who took the place of O. S. Kimball, of Eulalia Grange, Westfield. Mr. Raff has been in Africa as a missionary and his illustrations and cheering remarks were both entertaining and instructive.

Reports from delegates were very encouraging. Twenty-two Granges were represented and the membership in the county is steadily increasing.

In his talk on "What Is the Duty of the Farmer in the Management of His Political Party?" E. B. Dorsett clearly brought out the fact that there could never be an honest administration of affairs of state unless the honest men of the land took an interest in party affairs.

An intermission for supper and visiting lasted from 5 until 7 o'clock and then Pomona Grange was opened in the fifth degree and a class instructed in its work. This was followed with an informal program made up by acting Lecturer Stone. It included music by the choir a hymn in the African dialect by Rev. William Raff, a Scotch recitation by T. J. Orr, of Stony Fork Grange, a history of the Sandwich Islands by E. B. Dorsett, pictures of native family life in Africa by Mr. Raff, anecdotes and antidotes by Muirford, Tuttle and others and a reading by I. G. Stone.

Friday morning was devoted to business and D. H. Lee, of Valley Grange, Academy Corners, presided. The five deputies now acting were recommended for another term. The proposition to sell a portion of the grounds in Wellsboro was voted down.

Friday afternoon there was a service conducted by Mrs. John Smith, of Charleston Union, Mrs. Copestick, of Stony Fork, and Mrs. Shumway, of Wellsboro, in memory of Mrs. Alanson Wheeler, of Round Top, and J. W. Whiting, of Sullivan, who have recently died.

The committee, I. G. Stone, Byron Haven and Mrs. D. W. Shumway, reported several resolutions which were unanimously adopted. They included thanks to the people of Wellsboro, a couple pertaining to Grange work, and the following:

Whereas, Brother B. H. Warren has so conducted the food dairy division of the Agricultural Department that it is doing a vast good for the farmer, therefore be it

Resolved, That as Pomona Grange No. 30 we do commend him in his efforts and trust he will continue in spite of all opposition.

The manager of the Farmers' Institute was requested to hold the day sessions of the next institute in Wellsboro at the Grange hall.

Rev. William Raff read a paper of more than ordinary interest on "What Is the Duty of the Farmer in the Management of Local Affairs, Including Roads, Schools and the Churches?"

[This was a very valuable paper. We regret that we do not have space to print it.]—Eds.

A BEAUTIFUL LEGEND UPON POMONA.

It is a fact that the ancient divinity from which the Pomona Grange takes its name originated among the Latins or the early Romans. These people were very different from the Romans of later and imperial days; in fact, they were farmers and shepherds, deriving their living from and delighting in their farms, their gardens and their stock. Among these simple and home-loving people Pomona was the patron divinity of garden produce, and especially fruit trees. The poets, we are told, represent several of the rural gods as in love with Pomona. Among these there was one called Vertrimnus; of him in particular it is related that after he had vainly tried to win her favor under a thousand different forms he at last succeeded by assuming the figure of an old woman. In this guise he told Pomona the lamentable fate of all old maids; and having touched her heart by this pit-

iful, although not very truthful tale, he suddenly transformed himself into a blooming youth and married her. The story, of course, is simply a beautiful allegory, setting forth the natural and progressive change by which the fruit tree advances from bare boughs to blossoms and fruit.

In works of art Pomona is generally represented with fruits in her lap or in a basket, with a garland of fruits in her hair and a pruning knife in her right hand. This, it seems to me, teaches us three things: First, that our lives ought to be productive and fruitful. Some fruit trees have a trick of all running into wood, refusing to bear; may a bountiful heaven forbid that any young life here today should thus grow fruitless. Secondly, that our characters ought to be adorned with those genial graces which our position in life is calculated to cultivate. And, lastly, that we should not spare the pruning knife of a rigid self mastery, but be swift and ready to cut off anything that tends to retard our growth and usefulness as men, women and citizens of the most glorious republic that the fruit ripening, flower maturing sun ever shone upon.

STATE LECTURER CORNELL COMMENTS ON THE WORK.

Fourth Quarter for 1904.

October, November and December, the closing months of the current year, are at hand, and the State Lecturer at this time desires to express to the many thousands of Patrons in the State words of commendation and appreciation for their active interest and co-operation in carrying forward Grange work along all lines during the past three quarters to a greater degree of efficiency and success than has been accomplished in the same time in the past twenty-five years. More new Granges have been organized, more reorganized, more Juvenile Granges established, more members initiated in the older Granges, more public and private meetings held, with larger attendance; more field meetings than usual under improved and systematized management; more

Grange printed matter circulated and read; more fire insurance written in all of the nine Grange insurance companies; more attention given to esoteric and degree work; more interest manifest for the success of the Order by younger people; more fraternal fellowship in evidence, and more influence being wielded, all aiding in advancing the financial, social, educational and moral condition of agriculture. And yet we have just approached that particular season of the year when the opportunities for effectual Grange progress are at hand. The arranging the autumn and winter's work should at once be taken up, the success of the past and the present should encourage all to press forward and on for even greater victories, that are in store for those who will accept and become studious students of the future possibilities that may be attained for mankind by harmonious concert of action.

Lecturers should strive to have Grange literature, Grange papers, and papers having Grange departments read by members, and circulated among those who should be affiliated with the Order, now that the season is favorable for reading and study. Those who accomplish must "keep everlastingly at it." And do not neglect the important part of contributing Grange items, reports, programs and the many helpful matters of interest pertaining to the work to the local papers seeking Grange news, to the Grange papers that are always pleased to receive such contributions, to Brother J. T. Ailman to aid him in his good work on the monthly "Pennsylvania Grange Items." In fact, have no hesitancy in hustling to get printers' ink to tell the many the good the Grange is doing educationally, socially, financially, fraternally, morally and influentially.

The desire has been expressed that a Lecturers' Conference, arranged for some convenient time during the State Grange session,

would be of interest and benefit to Subordinate and Pomona Lecturers.

The State Lecturer concurs in this, and will strive to arrange for same, if those Lecturers who hope to be present at such a meeting will so write us, with any suggestions not later than November 30, in time to plan for the place and work, provided sufficient numbers hope to attend to warrant such a conference.

Now, Worthy Lecturers, there awaits for us in the city of Erie, December 13-16 an opportunity for a helpful meeting, but to assure the success of this, like any other gathering, we must all strive to do our part. I will be pleased to hear from all of you relative to this matter, that I may know how you consider the proposition.

Juvenile Granges are receiving more than the usual attention. Several have been organized in the State this season, and others are being considered. Good reports come from the work being done along this line, and we desire to give all the encouragement possible to the movement, and ask other Granges to investigate the advisability of striving to interest and instruct the children early in life in Grange teachings.

Very recently the writer attended a Grange meeting in a well-equipped Grange home. Degrees were being impressively conferred on several candidates above, and at the same time the Juvenile members some twenty in number, were doing and enjoying their work under the direction of a competent matron in the hall below. We could but rejoice with these people for the present and future influence being exerted over this community by the work being done by this active, up-to-date Grange. We hold that one of the first duties a citizen owes his community and country is to aid in providing beneficial influences and associations for neighbors and residents, especially for the young, and truly the Juvenile Grange does this.

COME TO ERIE

December 13th and join your Fellow Patrons at the State Grange Meeting. Do not forget to bring any resolutions that your Subordinate and Pomona Grange may wish to have presented.

12-5

Pennsylvania Grange News

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December, 1904.

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Pennsylvania Grange News

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W. F. HILL.
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

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EDITORIAL.

This issue of the Penn'a. Grange News has been very much delayed. We regret this exceedingly but it seemed that it could not be helped. It will be our aim to have this publication appear promptly hereafter.

—O—

To Masters of Subordinate Granges.

Present this communication at your next meeting.

In each issue of Penn'a. Grange News we shall aim to have something to read at the meeting of the Grange. This publication is an official one and this particular communication will come naturally under the heading of "Communications from the State or National Grange." It will be written by the State Master and the aim will be to have a fraternal, helpful talk monthly with our vast and fast increasing membership. Perplexing questions arise very frequently and some of these can be treated here. We have in our State alone over 7000 Patrons who have been elected to occupy official positions in the Subordinate Granges. We share with you anxiety for the successful out-

come of your efforts. Every true Patron feels a sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of his Grange and right now—early in the year—is the very best time to lay out a campaign for the advancement of your Grange. Plan to have "something doing" in your Grange all of the time. Activity means life, and vice versa, both in Grange and elsewhere. Not doing enough work causes the people in the neighborhood to think that it is not worth their while to join. It also discourages young folks and brings on a general rusty condition. All of us are better off when we have something to do.

It is a good idea to have plenty of Committees. Refer propositions to a committee and have it report upon it after consideration and make recommendations to the Grange. The committee can get the matter in shape more readily and the time of the Grange will be left for other work.

Reinstatement of Members.

In this connection I wish to renew my recommendation that each Grange pass a resolution to reinstate, upon

payment of \$1.20 (one year's back dues) such members as for good reasons have been unaffiliated for a period of over one year. It sometimes occurs that former Patrons desire reinstatement by another Grange from that in which they had membership. In such instances if the party desires reinstatement in your Grange at the reduced fees because of former membership elsewhere, he should present you with evidence of that membership. A Demit Card will do this. If his former Grange is in working order the application for reinstatement should be sent there (by mail if need be) and the fee paid to that Grange. A Demit can then be taken out and upon this our State Grange Constitution says:—"Any Brother or Sister who is in good standing and clear on the books of the Grange shall be entitled to a demit card upon the payment of twenty-five cents. Persons bearing such cards may be admitted to membership in another Subordinate Grange at a fee not to exceed one dollar but shall be subject to the same form of petition, investigation, and ballot as those first applying for membership except that a majority vote shall elect them. A demit shall remain in force for a period of six months." It will be noted that this fee may be nothing at all or any sum between that and \$1.00.

Grange Increase Month.

Is your Grange growing? Others are and if yours is not it may be that you have not been extending the invitations persistently enough. A year ago 5000 new members were added to the Granges in Pennsylvania while last year the grand addition run up to over 7000. This year let us make it an even 10,000. We can do it. Brother Piolett sounded the key note for that number at Erie in his enthusiastic speech presenting the banners to those Granges that made the largest increase last year. The Executive Committee is offering banners again for the five Granges that add most members between Sept. 30, 1904 and Sept. 30, 1905 as shown by the books of Bro. Ailman. Each Grange has an equal show with every

other one in this and perhaps with work, one out of the five banners may be won to grace your hall.

All Granges would like to have more members and it is inspiring to take in a large class. The winter is a splendid harvest season for us and believing that a general campaign will be productive of good to the Order in adding new members I hereby designate as "Grange Special Increase Month" February 15th to March 15th both inclusive. Now it will be well for each Master to outline a system for his Grange. He can make a list of the families and persons in the families, that are available and then assign certain members to call upon those families with application blanks all ready, and after presenting the needs that exist for all to pull together invite them to join. Or the members may be divided to work in different school districts, or some better way may occur to you. What is most needed is a system by which to work. It will be nice too to have the whole month class take the Degree together after the period has closed. People will sometimes join with a class who would not be initiated alone. After you know the results of your plan and efforts we will be pleased to publish the ones that brought the best results if you will send them to Penn'a. Grange News, Chambersburg, Pa.

W. F. HILL.

—o—

Granges should ignore all requests for their influence from parties seeking it outside of our established and official channels. The very fact that circular letters reach you without the endorsement of the proper State Grange Officials indicates that the parties were afraid that they could not get their schemes endorsed, that they tried and failed, or that they are trying to use you and your Grange to divide our organization and so weaken its influence. Steer clear of all such designs. Penn'a. Grange News will keep all Granges advised as to what is going on officially and there will be plenty of legitimate work for us all to do

without allowing ourselves to be used "to pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for some Tom, Dick, or Harry somewhere else.

—o—

Study the Initiative and Referendum. When you understand it, then will be time enough to denounce it—if you find you ought to do so. The more you know about it the more you will approve it. If you want to put an end to "graft" in politics the initiative and referendum is the remedy. It would mean the rule of the people, the elimination of the lobby, and that the monopolist would lose his cinch. If Abraham Lincoln were alive to make a speech when we all celebrate his birthday, February 12th, what position would he take? We Americans are a liberty loving people and we intend to stand for square deals between man and man and between man and government. It is the very essence of the Republican form of government that power shall rest supreme in the People. The State Grange may well feel proud of its stand to this end and of the grand endorsement at Erie corroborating and reiterating our position in support of this American principle of the initiative and referendum. The State Grange of Pennsylvania goes progressively forward. It does not veer in its course simply because it gets on some fellows' corns and he squeals. He ought not to have that tender kind as there are several good varieties of corns for him to select from. Press reports credited the attendance upon the last session of the State Grange at 3000. Of these nearly six hundred were voting members. These voted practically unanimous that the existing policies of the State Grange should be promoted and they re-elected the same officers thus continuing both Officers and Policies.

It is not our idea that the initiative and referendum should be applied to minor matters and measures. It would be invoked only on important ones effecting the great body of people. If the Legislatures knew that their acts were liable to be reviewed by the people—for ap-

proval or rejection—they would not pass so many laws and the interests of the people would be more carefully guarded. Otherwise the people would set the law aside. We now vote on amendments to our Constitutions and on issuing bonds. Why not have the right to vote on the matter of granting franchises, of having a parcels post, of electing U. S. Senators by direct vote and so on?

—o—

When you see a statement or get an idea from the Penn'a. Grange News that applies to your Subordinate Grange consider yourself a Committee to bring the matter up at the first meeting of your Grange so as to be sure that it need not be lost. The difference between prosperity in the Grange, as elsewhere, is very largely determined by grasping—or failing to grasp—opportunity.

—o—

At the last session of the State Grange the following resolution was passed—"Resolved, That the Worthy Master and one other member of the State Grange together with the Dairy and Food Commissioner of Penn'a. be appointed as a special Committee on behalf of the State Grange to appear before the Committees of the Senate and House at Washington, D. C. to protest against the proposed repeal of the Grout Bill or any change in the same that will reduce the tax of ten cents per pound upon colored Oleo-margarine.

Resolved, That we earnestly request the Pure Butter Protective Association, the State Dairy Union, and the Live Stock Breeders Association to select Representatives to join the members of the Special Committee of the State Grange in its protest at the National Capitol as above indicated."

In addition to the State Master and the Dairy and Food Commissioner, Bro. Warren, (as named) Bros. F. P. Willitts of Delaware and Bro. Creasy of Columbia county have been appointed with the understanding that the expenses for the four are not to be more than for the three. These four members make a much more efficient

Committee and they have held themselves in readiness to respond to a call to appear before Committees of Congress at any time. The indications on the surface at this time are that the Oleo people purpose to lay back on their oars for awhile.

This is probably done that they may accumulate more strength and catch the Dairy people off of their guard. It is, however, our intention to be watchful, to stand at our guns ready to defend the Grount Law at any and all times when assault may be threatened. The combined united strength of the State Grange stands back of this Committee solid as a stone wall. The Committee is well fortified. The forces that have been working to crystalize and unify this sentiment in Pennsylvania have certainly succeeded well. At a large mass meeting in Harrisburg recently the Governor and both U. S. Senators attended and spoke for the preservation of the law. Our new U. S. Senator, Mr. Knox, stating that he was the Attorney General of the U. S. when the bill was passed. He passed upon it before the President signed it and in returning it to the President told him that he believed it was not only Constitutional but a wise measure of beneficent public policy. The work of Senator Penrose is so well and favorably known as to need no comment. Our delegation in the House of Representatives is also right and Pennsylvania stands as a Giant for the preservation of this law both in its phraseology and also for the principle it so well represents that legitimate interest shall be protected from that competition which becomes formidable only through misrepresentation.

—o—

Did you ever try Grange letter heads? If not you will be surprised to find how cheap you can get them and how good you will feel in using them. You feel as though you were "It" as the children say. You will want "Return card" envelopes to go with them for Grange correspondence. If the envelope card is printed something like this "After five days return

to Eagle Grange No. 1 _____ Montgomery, Penn'a. then it will be all right for any officer. The official using it can write his own name and office on the blank line, which should be made long enough for that. If your P. O. is served with Rural Delivery and you wish to have that indicated we suggest that you cut out the letter F. and have it printed simply "R. D. No. —."

Rural Delivery is no more Free than is City Delivery and "F" should never be used. As for the letter heads they may if desired contain a cut of some farm implement, farm scene, or something in keeping with farm life. It is well to have the letter head show both the name, number and county of the Grange. County is essential to appear for several reasons. Then near the date line should be printed "Office of _____". Leave date line blank. It sounds a little odd to us to have a farmer writing as though from an "office" but why shouldn't he! He has a place of business which is usually his residence. There is more business done in many of these farm residences than in many "offices" and not half so much fuss made over it either. Yes, the farmer is a business man; the Grange is a business organization. Let us put it so before the business world. When a business man gets a letter from a Grange, written clearly in ink, and under such a letter head, he will reason "Now these folks are wide awake. I must give them the best terms and the best goods I have in the shop." It pays. Try it.

—o—

The Legislative Committee of State Grange have some important matters for us all in this issue. Do not overlook acting upon them. Sales are being made through the Exchange Bulletin's free advertising for Patrons under the direction of Bro. Oster of the Executive Committee. He offers us all a chance to announce what we may have to sell or want to buy. It will cost only a postal or a letter to him to let him know about it. "Push the button" and he will do the rest. Here is a fine chance to do business.

Farmers Institutes are now being held in five sections of the State with that many different State forces at work. Bro. Martin as Director has kept a constant improvement going on until now he has a well-qualified force of instructors that are doing most excellent work. Many of the Institutes are held in Grange Halls and wherever they are held in the locality of a Grange they have good Institutes. Patrons should try to attend them whenever possible and take part in the exercises. Many of the speakers are members of our Order and got their first inspiration to fit themselves for this public work through the educational impulse that the Grange meetings gave them. Here too they acquired the ability to express their thought before others. They appreciate the part that the Grange plays in their education and in the educational development of the rural people generally. And so with the Institute. Its mission is to bring out the best that is in us as farmers, parents and citizens. It is in one locality for only a day or two per year and on those days no one in the locality can afford to not be present.

—o—

This issue is being sent to the Grange Officers for 1904 as at this time the addresses of the new officers are not available. We request each official to take this copy to Grange with him and hand it to his successor. Do not forget that we shall be glad to receive all subscriptions that may be sent us. Try getting up a club of subscribers. If you want to take the Penn'a. Grange News in connection with some Magazine or Newspaper we will get anything for you that is published and will probably save you money. It does not matter whether you want one other publication or forty, nor how many copies you want of each (for the whole Grange if you say) we will get them with Grange News. It will be noted that the Worthy State Lecturer addresses Grange Lecturers in this issue.

Other good things are being planned and you will want to get Grange News regularly by becoming a subscriber.

Ten two cent postage stamps will pay the bill for a whole year.

—o—

There is a deep settled conviction in the hearts of the farmers of this State that the best place to raise a family is in the country, and that the better education for the children comes when the child may combine the advantages of the school room for the day, with the influence of good home environments and with having something to do in the line of physical labor. The writer is in hearty accord with this view of the case. He believes that there is no place in the world quite so well calculated to ground a boy for successful life later as is found in a well regulated farm home. But to complete the complement there must be a good school accessible from this home for he would have the boy given the benefit of home influences up to at least sixteen years of age. To get this he ought to go to school from home and back in the evening. He can do this now so far as the common schools are concerned and we will pass them for this time. How about it though when he gets through with them! Nobody now thinks that that is enough of school. But many parents can not provide further than this for their children. If the requirement is, that to get more of school, the boy shall have to go away to board and pay for tuition and books beside, the parents abandon hope. The Legislature sized up the situation in 1895 and feeling that the farmers children ought to be helped made provision whereby Township High Schools might be established and the State would assist in maintaining them. Appropriations were made to them not to exceed \$800.00, \$600.00 and \$400.00 respectively on the basis of grade of four, three and two years courses of study above that stipulated by law for the common schools. This proposition has been taken advantage of by a good many townships. According to the Report of the State Superintendent for the year ending June 1903 there were 121 of them that year while for last year

there were 163. The appropriation to Township High Schools by the last Legislature was \$100,000.00 for the two years. This will not pay half of the maximum amount allowed for each school. We feel that this appropriation should be increased generously. The Legislative Committee is asking for it. For particulars see that Department in this issue. The Grange is continuing its grand work for the best interests of the State in standing for the betterment of our public schools, public roads, and equalization of taxation. Tell your neighbor of the attitude of the Grange on these things. Show him how it is working in the interest of all farmers and that it is a mistake in him to fail to become a member and to turn in and help with other farmers in the only organization that is doing business in a State and National way in his behalf. Penn'a. Grange News will send additional literature to him—or to you for him and for others—on receipt of request and address. Let us pull all together.

—o—

If the Grange may have its way Corn will be still further popularized. At the last session of the National Grange that body went on record in favor of having Corn for our National Flower. What is prettier than a field of waving Corn. Then too—better still—what is more useful! England has the Lily, France the Rose. Several of our States have State emblems but we lack one that is National.

—o—

The Report of the Committee on Agricultural Education made to State Grange and adopted by that body urges the Legislative Committee to work to secure (1) The appropriation of the \$150,000 virtually pledged by the last Legislature for the completion of the Agricultural Building at State College. (2) An adequate appropriation for the maintenance of the various agricultural courses, so that the just demands of the farmers of the state may be met and the equipment already provided fully utilized. (3) An appropriation for the work of in-

vestigating in agriculture sufficient to enable the Experiment Station to carry on its work upon a scale and in a manner worthy of the importance of agriculture and the rank of Pennsylvania among the states of the Union. The State Grange also instructs the Worthy Master to appoint a committee of five to continue the representation of the Grange in the allied agricultural organizations and to cooperate with representatives of other organizations in promoting the interests of agricultural education and research in the Commonwealth. (4) Strive to have the clerical positions in the Department of Agriculture held by Farmers.

As the Committee provides for the above the State Master has appointed E. J. Tuttle, Tioga; Mr. and Mrs. M. N. Clark, Westmoreland; Mr. and Mrs. S. B. Bayle, Erie. Bro. Bayle is not so well known among our Grange people over the State but he is Superintendent of Schools in Erie Co., was chairman of the Com. on Education at last State Grange Session and took a prominent part in the interesting discussion which preceeded the adoption of that able report.

—o—

Why not let the children organize a Juvenile Grange and meet in the other room of your hall. It would be a grand "night school" for them and you could then all come to the Grange Hall together.

—o—

If the Deputies, Pomona and Subordinate Masters of a county would like to have a school of instruction held on private Grange work, and will agree upon some central accessible point where they will meet a representative of the State Grange for this purpose we will endeavor to have some competent Patron meet with them. The request for it should be made to the State Master in ample time to admit of getting all arrangements made.

—o—

National Grange goes to Trenton, N. J., next year. It is none too early to decide to attend.

The Series Picnic Campaign for 1905.

These series picnics have been so successful, and have helped localities so much, that it has been decided to hold more of them provided the Granges will cooperate. As a basis from which to figure we ask that the blank be filled out and sent in soon. This is not good picnic weather but the weather will be all right by the time we get all plans perfected.

State Grange will furnish one speaker this year and for most of the picnics he will be a Pennsylvania Patron. It is expected that the State

speaker shall go from a picnic to another within reasonable distance and that he will have one to attend each day of the week, so the fixing of the dates in which State speakers participate must necessarily be largely left to the State Grange. It will not be necessary to take time now to discuss the location for the picnic. That will be asked for in a later number of the Penn'a. Grange News. In that issue we hope to present a list of State Patrons from among whom you can make a choice of speakers. Please fill out blanks promptly as you can and mail to the address on blank.

Mr. W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

Worthy State Master:—

At a meeting of our Grange action was taken on the picnic matter as indicated by the following answers to wit:

1. Does your Grange want to be included in the State Grange Series Picnics of the coming season? _____

2. Is it able to contribute something (say three dollars) toward helping to defray the expenses of the State Grange speaker? _____

3. About what month, and week of month, is preferable to you? _____

4. What dates in that month are objectionable (or already taken?) _____

5. If picnic is held will it be by your Grange alone or will it join with some Sister Subordinate Granges? _____

Remarks _____

Fraternally, _____,

Secretary of _____ Grange, No. _____ of _____

County, Penn'a.

This Picnic blank applies to both Pomona and Subordinate Granges. When you have decided upon this matter, fill out blanks, cut at line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

PICNIC DATA.

Grange No. _____

County of _____

(Do not write on this side. Use
seperate sheet).

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Remarks:

LECTURERS DEPARTMENT.

(By State Lecturer Cornell).

It has been decided to discontinue "Penn'a. Grange Field" in the American Grange Bulletin and give Penn'a. Grange News first consideration that more state matter, less national in character could receive that home like attention one feels when speaking direct to members of "Our own household." The nearer the acquaintance and thoroughness of understanding existing among the membership the more effectual and efficient will be the labors. It is desired that through this medium Penn'a. Patrons may come to feel more acquainted and not only receive helpful thoughts and suggestions from others, but contribute freely from their own storehouse of knowledge, thus helping to kindle the light that all may come to see more distinctly.

—o—

GRANGE PROGRAMME.

Many Granges meet with success by arranging programmes three, six months or a year in advance, some Granges having them printed with the date of each meeting and the officers names, circulating them among the members that all may know there is something doing. Inactivity will lead to decay sure. The time is opportune right now for each Lecturer having just commenced labor for 1905 to consider the advisability of arranging work in advance. If you feel that help is needed ask the Master to aid or request that a committee be appointed, designate a time and confer as to the matter. Do I hear you say that you haven't the time? Surely it means work, but did you ever know of desirable results being attained without effort? And the degree of success almost invariably can be measured by the earnestness of the effort.

Talk—Are the daily newspapers a benefit or a detriment to the country?

Song by some member.

Essay—Medicines that ought to be found in the farm home.

Discussion by members.

Song by Grange.

Question—What does it cost to pro-

duce a bushel of corn? (To be answered by each brother present).

Question—What is the entire cost of a farm meal? (To be answered by each sister present).

Recitation.

—o—

A GRANGE CONTEST.

To increase membership a grange often "chooses sides" to see which can secure the most new members, the losers to pay for a supper for both sides or some other "penalty." The following scale of points governed in one such contest:

Essay of 100 words or over.....	100
Essay of less than 100 words.....	50
Poem	100
Reading	20
Recitation	30
Bonquet	15
Each product of farm or home....	15
Each piece of fancy work.....	15
Song by grange	50
Song by individual.....	50
Whistling a tune.....	50
Instrumental music	50
Peck of potatoes with least number	50
Same as above for apples, pears, plums and peaches	50
For largest pumpkin, melon, ear of corn, potato, squash and apple	50
Application for membership.....	100
Attendance	20

We suggest that should Granges enter upon such a contest that the Lecturer rearrange the scale of points and keep "mum" on them. Contest can extend over several weeks and it is more exciting and diversified when the members do not know until the end what score they are making. The Lecturer should not be "in it" at all but keep the score of both sides. But when the penalty is paid he ought to be on hand to help eat the oysters and to make the principal "After dinner" speech.

—o—

A PRESS COMPLIMENT.

A large Philadelphia daily newspaper that devoted considerable space to reporting the Erie State Grange meeting, Dec. 13-16, in the issue of Dec. 17 in closing said report paid this excellent compliment to the Grange

that we are here pleased to reproduce the reporters impression in his own language, "Throughout this remarkable convention the idea of practical education and of perfected citizenship have moulded the character of all deliberations. There is a Lincoln stamp upon the assemblage, a strong, sane Americanism that inspires while it edifies."

—o—

The following is taken from a personal letter under date of Dec. 26, from Brother Gearhart, of Clearfield Co.: "I was very much pleased with the Erie meeting and came home more determined than ever to contribute my mite to strengthen our grand Order and to help remove the isolation of farm life. I am now working to establish rural telephone in our neighborhood with good prospects of success. We have also bright prospects for a trolley road from Clearfield to Curwensville, it will probably go through my farm. We had a very interesting meeting of Pomona Grange last Thursday. The hall was packed with Patrons from all over the county, the next meeting will be in Clearfield, Feb. 16."

—o—

Pomona Grange No. 30 of Tioga County met at Wellsboro on Dec. 22. Twenty-four Granges were represented and a better outlook than ever reported, the gain in membership is steady and finances in good condition. The following officers were elected for the ensuing two years: Master, Edward B. Dorsett, Wellsboro; Lecturer, Mrs. Martha Mitchell, Stony Fork; Secretary, W. H. Whiting, Wellsboro.

—o—

Bro. C. H. Dildine now of the State Executive Committee got out to hustling Grange work soon after being called to State duty. On Dec. 21st, he reorganized Monroe Grange No. 191, Snyder Co. This after several years again places Snyder Co. in the Grange column. Patrons will rejoice to welcome this wayward county back into the fold and trust that No. 191 may have several sister Granges there.

Columbia Grange No. 83 of Bradford Co. in October last started a contest to continue until last meeting in March, when the defeated side are to furnish a supper for all. Two leaders were appointed who chose alternately the one hundred and forty-five members then on the roll, designating one side red and the other blue by a bow of ribbon of the said colors, attendance counts one point for respective side each meeting; a new name counts five points for the side presenting the name and the new members remain on the side presenting the applicant. Up to January 1st the results are almost marvelous, on favorable weather (This Grange meets weekly) the seating capacity of the hall is taxed, the membership has increased to two hundred and nine, and twenty more on the way. A piano has been purchased, the organ to be used for the Juvenile Grange meeting regularly in lower hall.

—o—

Is it important to have the ritual work well rendered, and will our officers attend to it?

—o—

The lessons the first four degrees of the grange teach are faith, hope, charity and fidelity. Did you ever think how these are woven into the life of every one, no matter how low or exalted his station? Examine the teachings of any of our great fraternal organizations and you will find they are founded on the bed-rock of unity and charity, bound by the ties of brotherly love. At each meeting these lessons are firmly impressed. Is it not a good place for you to take your wife and son and daughter?

—o—

Granges should have sent the name and address of the Master, Lecturer and Secretary, to Bro. Ailman at once after the election. Has yours been sent in? You want your Grange to appear in the Register and to receive the Annual Word for 1905 so be sure that these addresses are sent. Do not delay and get left out in the cold.

A submission to the subordinate granges of a system for a patron's veto and direct initiative as to grange legislation within the state is undoubtedly in the right direction.

—o—

Send for the bulletins issued by the state experiment station. You can have them for the asking. Get them. Study them. Practice their instructions.

—o—

Do not fail to send in the Memorials promptly. Let us let all the members of the Legislature know what we want and that we want it bad.

—o—

Has your Grange tried the Circulating Library put out by the State? If you do not know all about it a card or letter to Hon. Thomas Montgomery, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa., will bring all information.

—o—

Hunt up every person in your community who is eligible to membership in the Grange, acquaint him with the main features and principles of the order, and induce him to join. This year should see the great order's banner carried farther and higher than ever.

McKean County has been in the Grange fold only a few years but they are wide awake folks up there. One of their Granges—Eldred—won the first prize banner last year for largest increase of members. This Grange now has a membership of 162—76 male and 76 female members. They should have another prize for being so fair to each sex. Coryville, No. 1212, has recently organized a Juvenile Grange. This will make the youngsters happy. Leafy Dale Grange No. 1268—a young Grange—has had entertainments and bought themselves an organ for the Hall and stands for the officers. Now they are selling a quilt at ten cents a chance to get funds to buy more badges. That is good. Work of almost any kind will make a Grange interesting and popular.

The Grange Fire Insurance Company there wrote \$597,930.00 of additional insurance upon members property last year. The hustling Deputy, Bro. Howden has recently finished a tour of visiting, which included each Grange, and reports that the eight Granges have 778 members. A good showing indeed.

Executive Committee Department

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

Fellow Patrons of Penna.

Another year has ended and another milestone in our young life is passed. Another year of Grange work is numbered with the past. We have much to be thankful for and much to be proud of in the grand old Keystone State. We have reasons to feel proud of our work done in this state and the results achieved during the last twelve months. Can we do as well in 1905 or can we do better?

I have faith and confidence enough in the Patrons of Penn'a. to believe that each will put his or her shoulder to the wheel and help push the good work along. Let us strive to do our utmost to build up and increase our membership and be able to show a

larger gain next year than this.

Our financial condition of the State Grange is good but the mileage to Erie was very heavy, and the expense of the last meeting of the State Grange was far beyond the usual cost of a meeting of the State Grange. I believe however that great good will result from our going to Erie in more ways than one, of which I may write later.

PRIZE BANNERS FOR GRANGES.

Secretary please read in open Grange.

Fellow Patrons:

You will remember that last year the Executive Committee offered a handsome banner to the five Subordi-

nate Granges in the State that would add the largest number of members to their rolls during the year ending Sept. 30, 1904. This friendly contest has resulted in much good. The banners were publicly presented at the State Grange meeting at Erie, as many of you will recall. Many of the representatives at Erie called on the several members of the committee and requested that a similar offer be made this year, that they would try their hand this time. In accordance with these requests the Executive Committee at the recent meeting held by them at Harrisburg have decided to renew the offer for 1905 on the same terms and conditions as last year, viz: A handsome banner will be given to each of the five Subordinate Granges in Pennsylvania that add the largest number of members to their rolls during the year ending Sept. 30, 1905, provided that their reports are received by the State Secretary not later than Oct. 31st, 1905. Now let us all go to work quietly, but earnestly and strive to win one of these beautiful tokens of reward for our earnest labors and efforts.

—o—

Our Business Houses.

I want to urge upon our membership to patronize our business houses as liberally as possible. The very small rebate on each dollars worth of goods you or I may buy is, of course, small in itself, but if we were to all use our Grange channels in purchasing our goods and wares the combined result in the aggregate would be great. This rebate fund goes into our own surplus fund just started and when the time comes that it shall reach a respectable sum the annual earnings from this source will help replenish our general fund in the treasury and our fees and dues to the State Grange can be reduced, thus helping our Subordinate Granges in that way. Several new contracts have been made in Erie which will be of special benefit to patrons of the northwest, because it will save them freight and time in getting their goods, and if patrons in that section will liberally patronize these houses, the rebate

to the State Grange will amount to a neat sum in the aggregate.

See to it that each member has a trade card, and members should always present this card when purchasing goods personally, so a record of all sales may be kept by these houses. The following new contracts have been entered into:

The Theilman Seed Co., 1517 State St., Erie, Pa. All kinds of garden, field and flower seeds, onion sets and garden implements.

John Scarlett, Groceries. Wholesale department No. 1502 Parade St., Erie, Pa., and retail department where patrons will deal in person, is known as New York Tea Co., 909 State St., Erie, Pa. This firm has four other retail stores under different names in the city of Erie alone.

A contract was made with Wm. Hjorth & Co., Jamestown, N. Y., for the Lightning Combination Wrench and Pliers, one of the best tools for a farmer I have ever seen. Write them for prices and circulars.

We have also contracted with G. E. Tyler, New Albany, Pa., for rural mail boxes and with The Carlson Stromberg Telephone Co., Rochester, N. Y., for farmers telephone supplies. Write under seal or trade card for prices and information, and let us all use our Grange houses in making our purchases to the fullest possible extent.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Secretaries of all Subordinate Granges will please read this letter at your next meeting and act promptly:

To the Patrons of Penna. Greeting:

You are no doubt aware that the Bureau of Exchange is not receiving the cooperation of our membership that its importance demands and is worthy of. The Executive Committee has directed me to ask every Subordinate Grange in the State to at once elect or appoint a Bureau Correspondent who shall serve for the year, and whose duty it shall be to canvass your Grange at the meetings of the Grange or elsewhere, and solicit cards or advertisements for our Exchange

Bulletin. Any "wants," "exchanges" or "for sales" will be inserted free for all members of the Grange, for whose use alone its columns are intended. This plan is followed by the Michigan State Grange Exchange Bureau, and they issue a monthly bulletin of four pages. The last issue contained 333 cards or ads. Why can't Pennsylvania do as well? We can if we will try and each Grange does its part.

Matter for the next issue must reach

me on or before March 1st to insure insertion. Now go to work at once, select your Bureau Correspondent or reporter, and he can take a slip of paper and begin at once to solicit cards. If the matter is pushed and made what it ought to be we can issue it monthly or bi-monthly instead of quarterly.

Fraternally,

GEO. W. OSTER,
Osterburg, Pa.

Committee in charge.

ABOUT THE STATE

The State Legislature is again grinding out laws. It now meets every two years and sometimes we feel that the State would be better off if every other one of those sessions were skipped. Bro. Creasy of the Legislative Committee has an influential place on several committees while the W. Overseer of State Grange will endeavor to take proper care of bills that are referred to him as Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. Does your Grange have a Committee on Legislation? If not this is a good time and a good year in which to make the start.

—O—

Lackawanna County Pomona Grange has recommended the following to the State Master for appointment as Deputies, S. A. Whitney, Grange No. 1200; A. F. Hobbs, No. 1199 and J. A. Yeager, No. 899. Several other Counties have also sent their recommendations to the State Master and the Commissions have been issued. These names and addresses must all be in soon or they will not get in the new Register.

—O—

The National Grange by resolution has recommended the establishment of a bureau of information by all the states composed of the state master, one member of the executive committee and one other member. A national head for this co-operative work will be established.

—O—

Wolcott Grange, No. 124, Wayne county, N. Y. the greatest grange of

the world, installed its officers on Saturday, and the biggest hall in town was crowded with enthusiastic grangers. The grange has over 800 members and a good majority were present. Over two hours was required, with a big force of expert waiters to serve the dinner.—Ex.

—O—

ECHOES FROM STATE MEETING.

Thirty-three new granges were organized in Pennsylvania last year.

Over 7000 members were received in the various Subordinate Granges.

The degree of Flora was conferred in all its beauty upon 215 at the Erie session of State Grange.

Over three thousand visitors and delegates attended.

State Master Derthick of Ohio, State Master Norris of New York and Past Lecturer of the National Grange Whitehead were guests of honor and eloquence. Their visit and ringing words of cheer were greatly appreciated. Come again.

The following granges in Pennsylvania received the silk banners awarded to the five granges in the state making the largest gains in membership: Eldred of McKean county, gain 82; Sparta, Crawford county, gain 71; Towanda, Bradford county, gain 62; Central Grange, Potter county, gain 62; Athens Grange, Crawford county, gain 59.

Receipts for the year were \$11,440.80, expenditures for the year were \$9,935.72, amount in treasury December 1st, 1904, \$13,092.16, gain over last year \$1,601.85. Resolutions were

passed favoring equal taxation, amending law to allow trolley lines to carry freight, opposing repeal of Grout law, favoring postal savings banks, parcels post, good roads, international peace and initiative and referendum.

—o—

Pomona Grange No. 3 of Chester and Delaware County will convene in Memorial Hall, West Chester, February 16th. A good program has been prepared by Sister Frances Broomall, the W. Lecturer and Memorial Hall will have a big lot of interested Patrons within its walls that day. This Pomona has recently established an Insurance Company under its direction and has over \$300,000 of insurance already placed on property of members of the Order.

—o—

Morning Star Grange, Fayette County, was organized last summer. W. M. Bro. Miller writes "On Jan'y 7th we initiated our sixty-fifth member and have more on the way. Our members have between thirty and forty thousand dollars of insurance in the Grange Insurance Company. We have bought fertilizer and bran by the car load, and nails, wire, oil meal and many other articles in varying quantities. I understand that our Sister Grange, Franklin, is also prospering."

—o—

Wellsboro Grange, Tioga County, has a class of from forty-five to fifty to initiate Feb. 3rd. When they learn that banners have been offered for the largest increase in membership our Wellsboro friends will think that they have a good start. So they have, and they were working too without thought of a reward from the State Grange for their increase as the offer had not been announced. However several Granges that have not as yet got "their names in the paper" may outstrip them in the year's race. It is the "Keeping everlastingly at it" that will bring the banner to grace your Hall. The Tortoise by steady plodding won the race from the Hare.

—o—

Granges organized and reorganized from Oct. 1, 1904 to Dec. 31, 1904 as

given by the National Grange Records:

	Org.	Reorg.	Total.
Mich.	19	1	20
Penna.	7	4	11
W. Va.		10	10
Vermont	5		5
Maine	4	1	5
Mass.	4		4
Ohio	4		4
Kansas	1	2	3
Carolina	1	2	3
N. Y.	2		2
Oregon	2		2
Wash.	2		2
Md.	1	1	2
Iowa		1	1
Ky.		1	1
N. J.		1	1
	52	24	76

—o—

The referendum has scored another victory, this time in Nevada, where the people have just authorized a constitutional amendment on the subject by a vote of 6 to 1. An advisory referendum has also been carried in Illinois. But still poor old Pennsylvania lags behind.

—o—

Trough Creek Grange No. 444, Huntingdon Co., has recently enclosed its Hall and grounds with a wire fence.

—o—

Donation Grange, No. 330 has also been improving. This with fresh paint.

—o—

Of the eighteen Granges in Huntingdon County W. Deputy Boring reports that nine of them lease halls, two meet in school houses [a poor practice, Ed.] and six meet in their own halls. One of the others is preparing to build a hall. This is a good move. The Grange is here to stay. Let members everywhere prepare to get the largest possible benefit from it. New halls going up look like business. In most localities the members can haul the stone and lumber during the Winter and the teams will be the better for the exercise.

Right now is the time with the State Assembly just assembled in the new State House yet far from completion and Congress on duty in Washington for Patrons everywhere to lay off that long worn coat of indifference and stand ready at the call of the National and State Grange Legislative Committees who are on duty to sound the signal for action on these law making bodies, in such certain tones that agriculture shall receive due and just consideration equal with other interests.

Discuss in Grange meetings and understand thoroughly the measures outlined in the late reports of the National and State Grange Legislative Committees. At an early Grange meeting consider the following timely topic given by the Lecturer of the National Grange for January "What national legislation endorsed by the National Grange is of the greatest importance to members of this Grange and what can we do to promote it?" Then use same question substituting the word State where National is used.

What to your mind would be the best way to secure new members or regain backsliders? Answer—Have something doing. Put life into your Grange. People are slow to unite with something dead or on the wane. As your earnestness begins to radiate throughout the community put the plan of personal solicitation into operation. Be a band of workers instead of a band of waiters.

—o—

At a Conference of the Allied Agricultural Organizations held in Harrisburg January 25th to further agricultural education in Penn'a., it was decided to ask appropriations from the Legislature for the Penn'a. Experiment Station as follows. An earnest effort will be made to secure it and personal letters to Representatives will greatly assist in this.

Items of Proposed Bill.

Completion of Agricultural Building	\$150000.
Tunnel, Piping and Wiring.	17528.63
Residence for Dean of School of Agriculture..	20000.
Maintenance of Department of Agriculture.....	50000.
House and Experimental Station	20000.
Implement Shed and Tool House and Experimental Poultry Houses for Experiment Station	3500.
Enlargement of Chemical Laboratory of Experiment Station	2500.
	<hr/>
	\$263528.63

—o—

THE FRIENDLY HAND.

By James Whitcomb Riley.

When a man ain't got a cent, an' he's
feeling kind o' blue,
An' the clouds hang dark an' heavy
and won't let the sunshine through
It's a great thing, O my brethren, for
a fellow just to lay
His hand upon your shoulder in a
friendly sort o' way!

It makes a man feel curious; it makes
the tear drops start,
An' you sort o' feel a flutter in the re-
gion of the heart.
You can't look up and meet his eyes;
you don't know what to say,
When his hand is on your shoulder in
a friendly sort o' way.

Oh, the world's a curious compound,
with its honey an' its gall,
With its cares an' bitter cusses; but
a good world after all.
An' a good God must have made it—
least-ways, that what I say
When a hand rests on my shoulder in
a friendly sort o' way.

—Selected.

Legislative Committee Department

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.

At a joint conference of the Executive, Legislative Committees and Officers of the State Grange, held in Harrisburg Jan. 16, 17, and 18 there was a legislative campaign outlined. The State Grange Legislative Committee has prepared Memorials along these lines and they appear herein. We issue them in this form as pages in the Penn'a. Grange News because this is an official publication sent to each Grange and it offers a splendid medium through which we may all keep in touch with each other. Penn'a. Grange News is not private property. It belongs to the organization. Its pages are to be used for the advancement of the interests that the Grange espouses. The pages upon which the Memorials are printed are blank upon one side so that it can be cut out neatly and after the blanks have been properly filled signed by the officers of the Grange and seal attached it is to be sent in to this Committee. As we can not tell in advance just when the most effective time for presenting them may be we suggest that these be all acted upon at your next meeting and sent at the same time. Send them to the Worthy Waster, W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa. They will then be sorted out and at such time as we think their influence will be most effective they will be sent to the Senators and Members from the District in which your Grange is located. Be very sure therefore to put on clearly the County in which your Grange is located and put in the proper blank the name of your State Senator on one of each of the three Memorials—one on the Township High Schools, one on Roads and one each on the Trolley and Tax Bills. Then fill out

another one of each of these four Memorials for each member that there is in the House from your county. We are sending to each Grange three copies of the Grange News, and there will be plenty of Memorial Blanks in the three copies, if not in one of them.

—o—

Bro John T. Patton of the Finance Committee of State Grange, has an appointment as Assistant P. M. in the Senate Post Office at Harrisburg. He will hand out to the Senators the letters and cards you write them to support our Grange bills.

—o—

Through the courtesy of Highway Commissioner Hunter Penn'a. Grange News presents the most complete information upon what is being done under the new road law that has been given to the public so far as we know. The Grange Committee met with him and went over the situation with a view to seeing what we could agree upon to make the law more satisfactory and valuable. We are hopeful that good will come from these conferences and Mr. Hunter expressed a willingness to cooperate should we be able to arrive at some acceptable conclusions. The Legislative Committee of the State Grange will be glad to get the views of Subordinate and Pomona Granges upon amendments to the law. It will be remembered that one million dollars of the six and one half millions became available during the years 1903 and 1904. This appropriation is distributed on the basis of the township or county road mileage in each county and the following table gives interesting data for each county.

County.	Area Square Miles.	Population exclusive of Cities and Boroughs	Miles public roads.	Miles of Turnpike.	Mileage per Sq. mile	Total apportionment 1903-04.	Per capita 2 years.	County Seat.
Adams	529	25,235	1,344	73	2.68	\$12,350.40	.489	Gettysburg
Allegheny	756	120,205	1,461	19	1.96	13,425.56	.112	Pittsburg
Armstrong	654	35,470	2,184		3.34	20,069.42	.566	Kittanning
Beaver	435	22,943	1,192		2.74	10,953.64	.477	Beaver
Bedford	1,015	30,834	1,750	9	1.73	16,081.26	.522	Bedford
Berks	859	69,372	2,449	27	2.88	22,504.58	.324	Reading
Blair	568	28,487	806	24	1.46	7,406.56	.26	Hollidaysburg
Bradford	1,159	39,079	2,400		2.07	22,055.42	.564	Towanda
Bucks	624	47,119	2,188	121	3.70	20,106.18	.427	Doylestown
Butler	788	37,799	1,578	14	2.02	14,500.70	.384	Butler
Cambria	699	41,876	1,500	10	2.16	13,783.94	.329	Ebensburg
Cameron	396	4,076	167		.42	1,534.60	.376	Emporium
Carbon	405	19,137	707		1.75	6,496.82	.339	Mauch Chunk
Centre	1,147	31,398	1,144	31	1.02	10,512.54	.335	Bellefonte
Chester	770	57,480	2,695	65	3.58	24,765.16	.431	West Chester
Clarion	609	26,086	1,702		2.79	15,640.18	.599	Clarion
Clearfield	1,155	52,596	2,139		1.85	19,655.90	.374	Clearfield
Clinton	892	14,725	626		.70	5,752.50	.391	Lock Haven
Columbia	483	23,895	1,475		3.05	13,554.20	.567	Bloomsburg
Crawford	1,036	36,767	2,046		1.97	18,801.30	.511	Meadville
Cumberland	531	28,427	1,394	43	2.70	12,809.88	.451	Carlisle
Dauphin	557	32,244	1,334	2	2.40	12,258.52	.38	Harrisburg
Delaware	190	34,718	580		3.05	5,329.78	.154	Media
Elk	809	21,199	600		.74	5,513.56	.26	Ridgway
Erie	808	30,894	1,646		2.04	15,125.58	.49	Erie
Fayette	800	81,618	1,850	35	2.36	17,000.20	.208	Uniontown
Forest	424	10,224	396		.93	3,638.96	.356	Tionesta
Franklin	754	37,978	1,627	86	2.27	14,950.98	.394	Chambersburg
Fulton	409	9,348	816	22	2.05	7,498.46	.802	McConnellsburg
Greene	567	24,226	1,790		3.16	16,448.84	.679	Waynesburg
Huntingdon	920	22,225	1,982		2.15	18,213.18	.819	Huntingdon
Indiana	836	30,693	2,265		2.71	20,813.76	.678	Indiana
Jefferson	661	42,203	1,668		2.52	15,327.74	.363	Brookville
Juniata	388	13,465	740		1.90	6,800.08	.505	Mifflintown
Lackawanna	458	20,626	589	5	1.30	5,412.48	.262	Scranton
Lancaster	979	88,361	3,143	141	3.35	28,881.96	.327	Lancaster
Lawrence	364	24,338	911		2.50	8,371.44	.344	New Castle
Lebanon	365	35,628	917	35	2.60	8,426.58	.237	Lebanon.
Lehigh	345	41,765	1,379	24	4.07	12,672.04	.303	Allentown
Luzerne	902	90,233	2,054	25	2.28	18,874.82	.209	Wilkes-Barre
Lycoming	1,232	32,793	1,756		1.43	16,136.40	.492	Williamsport
McKean	990	24,945	845		.85	7,764.54	.311	Smethport
Mercer	700	31,783	1,722		2.46	15,823.96	.498	Mercer
Mifflin	407	17,805	489	9	1.22	4,493.56	.252	Lewistown
Monroe	621	14,594	1,225		1.97	11,256.28	.771	Stroudsburg
Montgomery	488	74,140	1,852	104	4.01	17,018.58	.23	Norristown
Montour	132	7,272	384		3.00	3,528.68	.485	Danville

County.	Area Square Miles.	Population exclusive of Cities and Boroughs	Miles public roads.	Miles of Turnpike.	Mileage per Sq. mile	Total apportionment 1903-04.	Per capita 2 years.	County Seat.
Northampton	376	38,182	1,103		2.93	10,135.78	.265	Easton
Northumberland	479	37,607	1,293	15	2.73	11,881.76	.316	Sunbury
Perry	570	18,628	1,110		1.95	10,200.12	.547	New Bloomfield
Pike	559	7,882	693		1.24	6,368.18	.808	Milford
Potter	1,078	22,070	1,187		1.10	10,907.68	.494	Coudersport
Schuylkill	785	66,291	1,813		2.31	16,660.18	.251	Pottsville
Snyder	314	15,465	890		2.83	8,178.46	.529	Middleburg
Somerset	1,038	38,218	2,361	3	2.28	21,695.92	.568	Somerset
Sullivan	465	10,344	530	18	1.18	4,870.32	.471	Laporte
Susquehanna	844	23,877	2,185		2.59	20,078.60	.841	Montrose
Tioga	1,156	35,538	2,045		1.77	18,792.10	.529	Wellsboro
Union	307	11,846	514	16	1.73	4,723.28	.399	Lewisburg
Venango	682	24,713	1,341		1.97	12,322.84	.499	Franklin
Warren	910	26,230	1,202		1.32	11,045.52	.421	Warren
Washington	874	48,389	2,558	50	2.98	23,506.22	.486	Washington
Wayne	751	24,158	1,547		2.06	14,215.84	.588	Honesdale
Westmoreland	1,063	99,050	3,644	7	3.43	33,485.80	.338	Greensburg
Wyoming	404	13,686	819		2.27	7,526.02	.55	Tunkhannock
York	894	60,063	3,598	68	4.10	33,063.08	.554	York

Commissioner Hunter here gives some general comments.

The first contract was signed February 5th, 1904, with Frederick Robinson, of Meadville, Penna. This was for the reconstruction of a road in Crawford County, extending from Titusville city line to the Borough line of Hydetown, a distance of 1.46 miles.

The work of reconstructing township roads in Pennsylvania under the law of 1903, was inaugurated April 13th, when ground was broken for road improvement at Shamokin Dam in Snyder County, N. E. Hartman, of Shamokin Dam, Penna., having the contract for the work

One hundred and seventy-four (174) applications have been received from forty-six (46) counties, aggregating three hundred and two and one-third (302 1-3) miles. The first application filed with the Department was from Snyder County.

Nine and one-quarter miles of road have been completed and accepted by

the Department. A detailed list is hereto attached.

About thirty-two and one half (32½) miles of road are in process of construction.

Twenty-six (26) miles of roads are under contract, but work thereon has not been commenced.

Bids have been received on about thirty (30) miles of road but contracts have not yet been awarded.

About twenty-five (25) miles of roads have been advertised or advertisement requested.

Plans are in preparation for about twenty-five (25) miles of road which will be advertised within a month.

Native stone or stone along the line of the road has been used where it was suitable for the bottom course of either macadam or telford. The top courses have been of trap rock or hard limestone.

This next table shows in detail the status of the work under different stages of progress, at date of Dec. 15, 1904.

UNDER CONSTRUCTION.		Feet.	Miles.
Beaver	Hopewell	11,847	
Berks	Cumru	12,672	
Bucks	Middletown	13,935	
Chester	London Grove	10,067	
Crawford	West Mead	12,777	
Cumberland	East Pennsboro	2,987	
"	Lower Allen	3,162	
"	Upper Allen	2,800	
Greene	Franklin	15,840	
Lackawanna	South Abington	13,132	
Lancaster	Lancaster	1,475	
"	Upper Leacock	4,300	
Mercer	Hickory	28,745	
Montgomery	Moreland	14,400	
"	Worcester	11,630	
Montour	Mahoning	4,550	
Venango	Cranberry	6,938	
		<hr/> 171,165	32.44

UNDER CONTRACT.			
Blair	Snyder	2,600	
"	"	2,600	
Chester	East Goshen	22,667	
"	West Cain	6,569	
"	West Goshen	8,900	
"	Willistown	13,100	
Erie	Harbor Creek	5,300	
"	" "	5,280	
"	Springfield	18,700	
Lancaster	Upper Leacock	4,423	
Lawrence	Neshannock	3,390	
"	Shenango	33,700	
"	Union	2,640	
Lehigh	Whitehall	11,446	
McKean	Foster	16,237	
Tioga	Covington	4,700	
"	Richmond	12,000	
Westmoreland	Hempfield	19,913	
		<hr/> 144,165	27.30

BIDS RECEIVED; CONTRACTS NOT EXECUTED.

Adams	Germany	2,550
Chester	Kennett	1,700
"	New Garden	15,483
Clearfield	Cooper	2,141
"	"	5,723
Elk	Fox	8,000
Erie	Mill Creek	9,675
Fayette	North Union	4,453
"	Stewart	5,280
Huntingdon	Oneida	10,500
"	Porter	5,280
"	Smithfield	1,338
"	"	5,575
"	Walker	5,280

Lycoming	Hepburn	8,435		
"	Loyalsock	6,490		
"	Lyconing	13,782		
"	Old Lycoming	13,243		
Potter	Eulalia	9,100		
"	Sweden	5,500		
Tioga	Charleston	6,051		
Warren	Conewango	20,844		
		<hr/>	177,265	33.53

UNDER ADVERTISEMENT.

Clearfield	Lawrence	3,610		
Monroe	Barrett	5,280		
"	Tobyhanna	36,735		
		<hr/>	45,625	8.64

ADVERTISEMENT DIRECTED.

Cambria	Croyle	5,645		
Dauphin	Swatara	7,700		
	East Drumore	25,200		
Lancaster	Providence	5,280		
"	Lake	39,125		
Luzerne	Lehman	2,695		
"		<hr/>	85,645	16.28
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			672,802	127.42

ADVERTISEMENT REQUESTED: COUNTY COMMISSIONERS REFUSED
TO PUBLISH.

York	Springetsbury	16,480		
		<hr/>	689,282	130.54
	Total of Road Plans Completed by the Department		16,480	3.12
			<hr/>	<hr/>

In addition to the work done by the Department during the past year as shown in the foregoing statement the Department supervised the construction of 13.27 miles of road in Bensalem Township, Bucks County, that were constructed by the Township under plans and specifications approved by the Department.

And in the Township of Middletown in the same County 11.08 miles were constructed in a similar manner.

Both of these Townships issued bonds to pay for the improvement and will improve more roads the coming season.

10,000
NEW MEMBERS

This table gives the specific data upon the nine and one-quarter miles of completed road. There are 5280 feet in a mile and by multiplying that

by the cost per lineal foot the cost per mile in any of these sections can be learned. It will be noted that these strips of road run from a quar-

ter, up to two and one half miles, and that the width of the macadam varies from 14 to 22 feet. We suggest that these tables be preserved for future reference.

County.	Township.	Length of Road in Feet.	Width of Macadam.	Amount of Contract.	Extras.	Total Cost of Construction.	Cost of Surveys.	Cost of Advertising.	Cost of Inspection.	Cost of Engineering.	Total Cost of Road.	Cost per Lineal Foot.
Bucks	Bensalem	13,659	16	\$15,000.00	\$	\$15,000.00	\$	\$18.27	\$ 313.46	\$200.00	\$15,531.73	\$1.14
Clinton	Cstanea	1,935	20	3,253.15	81.79	3,334.94	31.60	9.00	350.00	30.00	3,405.54	1.76
Crawford	O. Creek	7,708	22	11,540.20	2,334.33	13,874.53	78.75	6.67	78.85	283.20	14,593.15	1.89
Delaware	Radnor	2,083	14	2,372.17		2,372.17	25.00	11.35		13.95	2,501.32	1.20
Delaware	Upper Darby & Haverford	3,580	16	6,473.31	885.94	7,359.25		18.75	258.22	117.50	7,753.72	2.17
Huntingdon	Smithfield	2,800	15	4,419.20	198.60	4,617.80		9.60	169.75		4,797.15	1.71
Lawrence	Hickory	2,700	16	3,972.35		3,972.35	18.00	12.25	100.00	142.27	4,244.87	1.57
Northampton	Forks (County Road)	1,320	14	7,485.00		7,485.00	\$	\$	88.54	75.00	7,648.54	5.79
Northumberland	Turbut	5,280	14	7,298.52	682.36	7,980.88	40.10	2.50	107.44	55.58	8,186.50	1.55
Northumberland	Turbut	5,280	14	4,738.20	228.00	4,966.20	40.10	2.50	107.44	55.58	5,171.82	.98
Snyder	Monroe	2,500	18	3,080.30	675.89	3,756.24	43.75	20.00	105.38	15.09	3,940.46	1.58
Totals		48,845		\$69,632.45	\$5,086.91	\$74,719.36	\$277.30	\$110.89	\$1,679.08	\$988.17	\$77,774.80	\$1.59

§ Statement of cost of surveys and advertising never furnished by County Commissioners.

ROAD MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable _____,

Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

As members of Grange No. — of — County, we desire to petition your Honorable body on the matter of road improvement. Under existing conditions we feel that the main traveled, continuous thoroughfares, or primary roads of the State maintenance, without expense to the real estate owners locally, should be placed under State supervision for improvement and In order that all classes of property may contribute to public road improvement and that sufficient State revenues shall be provided, for this purpose, we favor levying a State tax of one mill on all personal and corporate property including manufacturing corporations. All monies appropriated for public road improvement should go to the various counties in proportion to the township or county road mileage in each, and under no pretext should the share belonging to any county be taken from it. We also favor a continuous Board of Supervisors. We petition for your support of these principles.

Attested by:

_____ Master Grange No. —

_____ Sec'y. Grange No. —.

(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable _____
Member of General Assembly of Penn'a.

Hon. Sir:—

The Grange organization concerns itself with the betterment of rural conditions. At our meeting a resolution was introduced to the effect that the State should increase the appropriation to the Township High Schools as the present amount is inadequate to the growing needs of this important division of our system of popular education. The sentiment is growing to have the farmer's children educated at home and with proper encouragement this will develop into a strong bulwark of our Commonwealth. There are now about one hundred and sixty three of these Township Schools and the appropriation is at present sufficient to give them only about half of the amount originally contemplated. We ask that \$150,000 annually be set aside for this purpose to be in keeping with the dignity of this grade of schools and their importance to the welfare of the State.

We are constituents of yours and at a meeting of _____

Grange, No. — of County of _____ it was directed that this Memorial be sent to you advising you of our desire that you give to this important matter your cordial support.

_____ Master of Grange No. —
Attested by:

_____ Secretary of Grange No. —
(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

To the Honorable _____,

Member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

Honorable Sir:—

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

As constituents of yours and as members of _____ Grange, No. _____, of _____ County we beg to call your attention to the bill framed to grant Trolley Companies in this State the right to carry freight. We felt that the time has arrived when the promotion of not only the farm interests but of the varied industries, interests and sections, of the Commonwealth require that trolley companies shall be allowed to run cars for the carrying of freight.

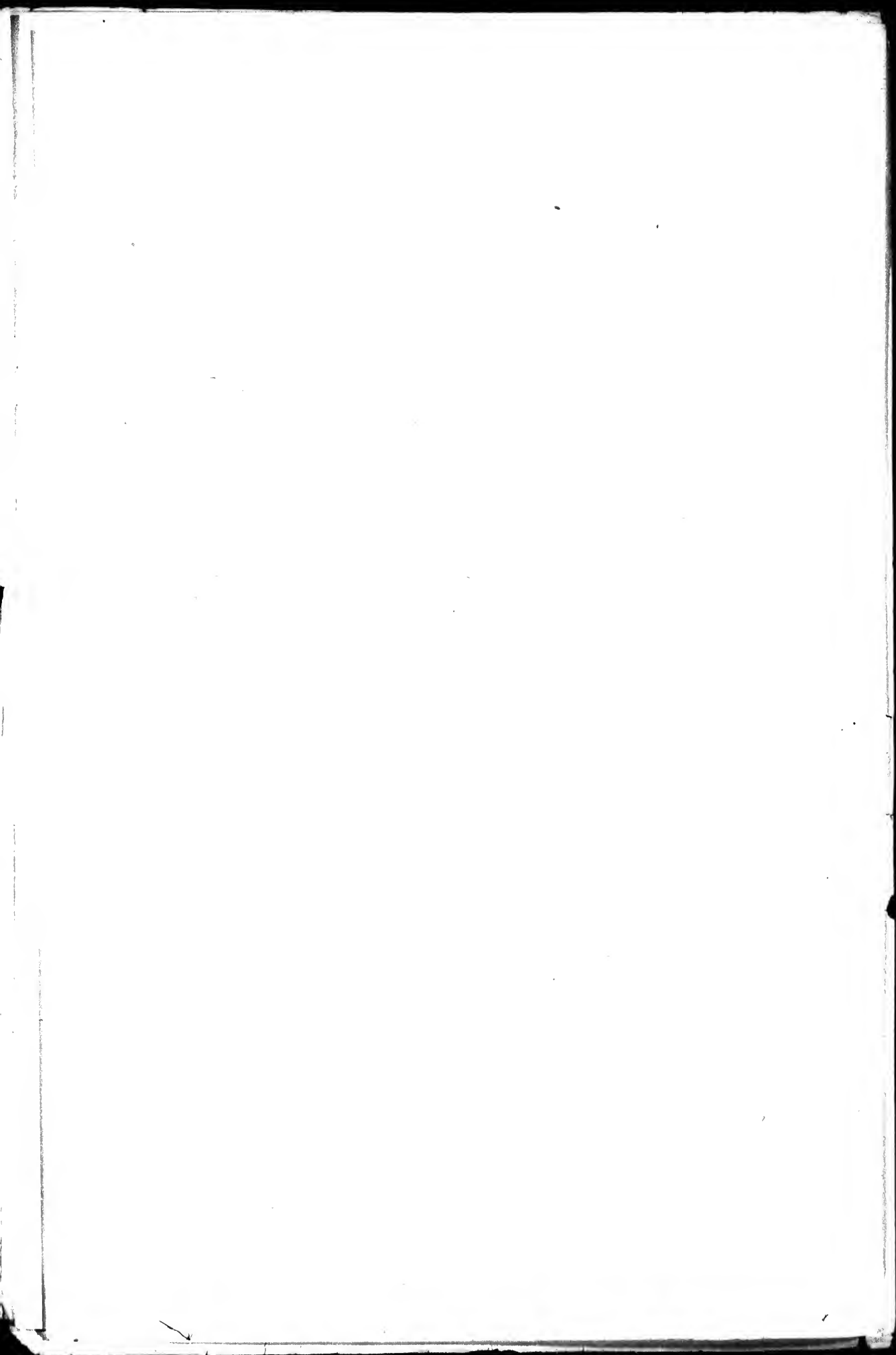
The benefits of this legislation are apparent to all and we need not cite them here further than to say that the more general extension of trolley privileges in the rural districts tends to increase the attractions of farm life, will enable the farmer to load his products direct from the field and to receive at his door the merchandise from the city.

To this end we petition and have caused to be impressed upon our Memorial the seal of this Grange together with the signature of the Master and Secretary.

_____ Master of Grange No. _____

Attested by:

_____ Sec'y of Grange No. _____
(Seal.).



TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable _____
Member of General Assembly of Penn'a.

Hon. Sir:—

The Grange organization concerns itself with the betterment of rural conditions. At our meeting a resolution was introduced to the effect that the State should increase the appropriation to the Township High Schools as the present amount is inadequate to the growing needs of this important division of our system of popular education. The sentiment is growing to have the farmer's children educated at home and with proper encouragement this will develop into a strong bulwark of our Commonwealth. There are now about one hundred and sixty three of these Township Schools and the appropriation is at present sufficient to give them only about half of the amount originally contemplated. We ask that \$150,000 annually be set aside for this purpose to be in keeping with the dignity of this grade of schools and their importance to the welfare of the State.

We are constituents of yours and at a meeting of _____

Grange, No. _____ of County of _____ it was directed that this Memorial be sent to you advising you of our desire that you give to this important matter your cordial support.

Attested by: _____ Master of Grange No. _____

(Seal.) _____ Secretary of Grange No. _____

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

TAX EQUALIZATION.

To the Honorable _____
Member of the Penn'a. G.

Hon. Sir:—

Your constituents, members of _____
of _____ County desire to
bill to allow the Counties to retain
tenths of the personal property tax
property within our counties and w
duce the taxes on the small home, a
averages about sixteen mills in this S
that the net earnings of Pennsylvania
the population of our agricultural sect
ing. We feel that this bill is a step
tions that are producing these undes
that as our Representative, you will
"stand pat" for this bill.

Attested by: _____ M

(Seal.) _____ S

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

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31

TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable _____
Member of General Assembly of Penn'a.

Hon. Sir:—

The Grange organization concerns itself with the betterment of rural conditions. At our meeting a resolution was introduced to the effect that the State should increase the appropriation to the Township High Schools as the present amount is inadequate to the growing needs of this important division of our system of popular education. The sentiment is growing to have the farmer's children educated at home and with proper encouragement this will develop into a strong bulwark of our Commonwealth. There are now about one hundred and sixty three of these Township Schools and the appropriation is at present sufficient to give them only about half of the amount originally contemplated. We ask that \$150,000 annually be set aside for this purpose to be in keeping with the dignity of this grade of schools and their importance to the welfare of the State.

We are constituents of yours and at a meeting of _____

Grange, No. _____ of County of _____ it was directed that this Memorial be sent to you advising you of our desire that you give to this important matter your cordial support.

Master of Grange No. _____

Attested by:

Secretary of Grange No. _____

(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

32

TAX EQUALIZATION.

To the Honorable _____
Member of the Penn'a. General Assembly.

Hon. Sir:—

Your constituents, members of _____ Grange, No. _____ of _____ County desire to enlist your support for the bill to allow the Counties to retain the License Taxes and nine-tenths of the personal property tax. These taxes originate on property within our counties and when retained they would reduce the taxes on the small home, and on real estate which now averages about sixteen mills in this State. It is a well known fact that the net earnings of Pennsylvania farms are small and that the population of our agricultural sections and counties is decreasing. We feel that this bill is a step toward correcting the conditions that are producing these undesirable results, and we trust, that as our Representative, you will aid your constituency and "stand pat" for this bill.

Master of Grange No. _____

Attested by:

Secretary of Grange No. _____

(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

33

ROAD MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable _____
Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

As members of Grange No. _____ of _____ County, we desire to petition your Honorable body on the matter of road improvement. Under existing conditions we feel that the main traveled, continuous thoroughfares, or primary roads of the State should be placed under State supervision for improvement and maintenance, without expense to the real estate owners locally. In order that all classes of property may contribute to public road improvement and that sufficient State revenues shall be provided, for this purpose, we favor levying a State tax of one mill on all personal and corporate property including manufacturing corporations. All monies appropriated for public road improvement should go to the various counties in proportion to the township or county road mileage in each, and under no pretext should the share belonging to any county be taken from it. We also favor a continuous Board of Supervisors. We petition for your support of these principles.

Attested by:

Master Grange No. _____

Sec'y. Grange No. _____

(Seal.)

To the Honorable _____,

Member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

Honorable Sir:—

As constituents of yours and as members of _____ Grange, No. —, of _____ County we beg to call your attention to the bill framed to grant Trolley Companies in this State the right to carry freight. We felt that the time has arrived when the promotion of not only the farm interests but of the varied industries, interests and sections, of the Commonwealth require that trolley companies shall be allowed to run cars for the carrying of freight.

The benefits of this legislation are apparent to all and we need not cite them here further than to say that the more general extension of trolley privileges in the rural districts tends to increase the attractions of farm life, will enable the farmer to load his products direct from the field and to receive at his door the merchandise from the city.

To this end we petition and have caused to be impressed upon our Memorial the seal of this Grange together with the signature of the Master and Secretary.

_____ Master of Grange No. —

Attested by:

_____ Sec'y of Grange No. —.

(Seal.).

TAX EQUALIZATION.

To the Honorable _____

Member of the Penn'a. General Assembly.

Hon. Sir:—

Your constituents, members of _____ Grange, No. — of _____ County desire to enlist your support for the bill to allow the Counties to retain the License Taxes and nine-tenths of the personal property tax. These taxes originate on property within our counties and when retained they would reduce the taxes on the small home, and on real estate which now averages about sixteen mills in this State. It is a well known fact that the net earnings of Pennsylvania farms are small and the population of our agricultural sections and counties is decreasing. We feel that this bill is a step toward correcting the conditions that are producing these undesirable results, and we trust, that as our Representative, you will aid your constituency and "stand pat" for this bill.

_____ Master of Grange No. —.

Attested by:

_____ Secretary of Grange No. —.

(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable _____
Member of General Assembly of Penn'a.

Hon. Sir:—

The Grange organization concerns itself with the betterment of rural conditions. At our meeting a resolution was introduced to the effect that the State should increase the appropriation to the Township High Schools as the present amount is inadequate to the growing needs of this important division of our system of popular education. The sentiment is growing to have the farmer's children educated at home and with proper encouragement this will develop into a strong bulwark of our Commonwealth. There are now about one hundred and sixty three of these Township Schools and the appropriation is at present sufficient to give them only about half of the amount originally contemplated. We ask that \$150,000 annually be set aside for this purpose to be in keeping with the dignity of this grade of schools and their importance to the welfare of the State.

We are constituents of yours and at a meeting of _____

Grange, No. _____ of County of _____ it was directed that this Memorial be sent to you advising you of our desire that you give to this important matter your cordial support.

Attested by: _____ Master of Grange No. _____

(Seal.) _____ Secretary of Grange No. _____

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Attested by: _____ Master of Grange No. _____

(Seal.) _____ Secretary of Grange No. _____

ROAD MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable _____,
Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

As members of Grange No. _____ of _____ County, we desire to petition your Honorable body on the matter of road improvement. Under existing conditions we feel that the main traveled, continuous thoroughfares, or primary roads of the State should be placed under State supervision for improvement and maintenance, without expense to the real estate owners locally. In order that all classes of property may contribute to public road improvement and that sufficient State revenues shall be provided, for this purpose, we favor levying a State tax of one mill on all personal and corporate property including manufacturing corporations. All monies appropriated for public road improvement should go to the various counties in proportion to the township or county road mileage in each, and under no pretext should the share belonging to any county be taken from it. We also favor a continuous Board of Supervisors. We petition for your support of these principles.

Attested by:

Master Grange No. _____

Sec'y. Grange No. _____

(Seal.)

Fill out this Memorial with name, number and county of your Grange. Master and Secretary should sign it, affix seal, cut off neatly at the line below and mail to W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Pa.

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PENNSYLVANIA GRANGE NEWS

JANUARY, 1905.

Containing the Journal of
Proceedings of the Thirty-
Second Annual Meeting of
the Pennsylvania State
Grange, Patrons of Hus-
bandry.



ERIE, PENNA.,
DECEMBER 13, 14, 15, 16, 1904.

Pennsylvania Grange News

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange.

VOL. 1, NO. 6.

JANUARY, 1905.

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5 CENTS PER COPY.

W. F. HILL,

EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,

EDITOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
DEPARTMENT.

W. T. CREASY,

EDITOR LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
DEPARTMENT.

Official publication. Issued monthly. Entered at Chambersburg Post Office as
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Comment.

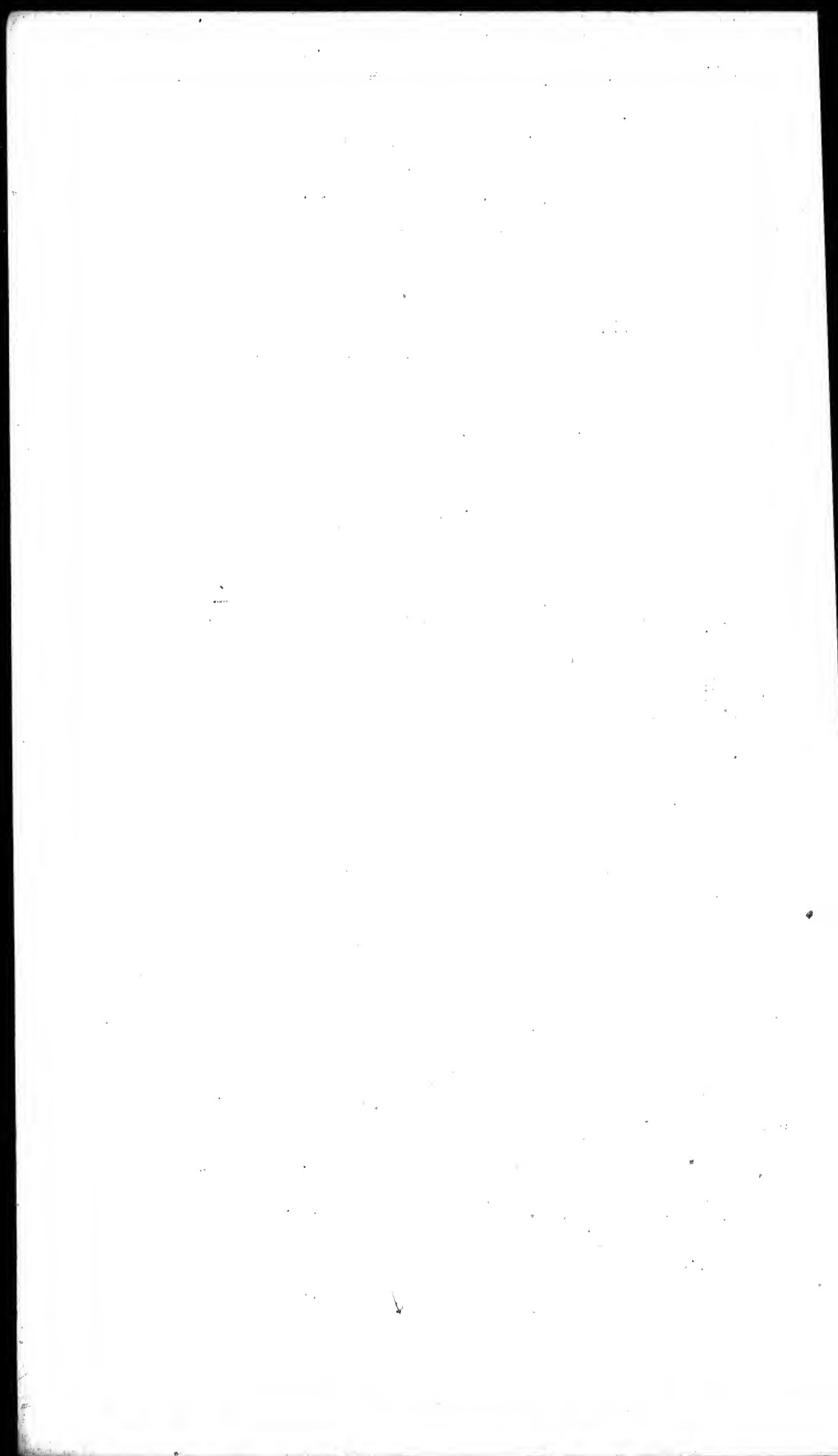
We devote this issue to a report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Session of the Pennsylvania State Grange, held at Erie, December 13, 14, 15, 16, 1905. This Journal of Proceedings is the official record of that meeting as kept by the State Secretary, and will be found to be interesting reading and well worthy of preservation.

The Master can find many selections that may be read in the meetings of your Grange with benefit to all. The same applies to the Lecturer.

Let the good news and good suggestions be known to all of the Patrons.

We want each member to be fully informed upon the workings, the condition, and the progress of the State Grange, and this issue gives a lot of valuable information along these lines.

EDITOR.



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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Thirty-Second Annual Session
OF THE
Pennsylvania State Grange,
PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY,
HELD AT
Erie, Pa., December 13, 14, 15, 16, 1904.

TUESDAY FORENOON.

The Pennsylvania State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, met in its Thirty-Second Annual Session in the Mannerchor Hall, in the city of Erie, Pa., at 10:30 o'clock A. M., with Worthy Master W. F. Hill, in the chair.

Chairs were filled by appointment as follows:

Chaplain, H. H. Olmstead, 803, Warren.

Overseer, E. B. Dorsett, 1009, Tioga

Gate-Keeper, C. E. Green, 628, Elk.

Assistant Stewards, Myrt Ferguson, 257, Bradford; Ezra Thomas, 121, Chester; Peter Leib, 1121, Cambria; J. L. Hager, 918, Tioga; H. E. Owens, 1240, Clearfield.

The State Grange was then opened in full form.

The following committees were appointed:

ARRANGEMENTS.

Archie Billings, 942, Erie; A. J. Rushmore, 604, Crawford; W. R. Tucker, 169, Crawford; G. H. Howard, 106, Erie; R. B. Arters, 131, Erie; J. A. More, 1097, Erie; W. E. Lawrence, 1079, Erie; Thos. Hurst, 997, Erie; Henry Buckley, Jr., 110, Crawford; E. D. Stewart, 1025, Warren; Otto Marker, 407, Warren; M. Crocker, 407, Warren.

CREDENTIALS.

Stanley C. Moore, 83, Bradford; Geo. A. Woodside, 847, Warren; E. Estella Kennedy, 55, Erie.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

A. M. Cornell, Bradford; I. Frank Chandler, Chester; John M. Seamans, Tioga.

On motion of Brother G. W. Oster, the hours for opening and closing were fixed as follows: 9 a. m. to 12 m., 2 p. m. to 5:00 p. m., 7:30 p. m. until the labors of the day are completed.

On motion of Brother Louis Piollett, the hour of 2 o'clock p. m. to-day was made a special order for the hearing of the Worthy Master's Annual Address.

It was moved by Brother Marsh, of Erie, to admit the public during the delivery of the Worthy Master's address. Amended and carried as amended to open the galleries.

Hon. Mortimer Whitehead, Past Lecturer of the National Grange, was introduced and delivered a short address in his usual happy manner.

Brother N. B. Critchfield, Secretary of Agriculture, followed and spoke to an appreciative audience.

Recess until 2 p. m.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

Grange called to order by Worthy Master Hill.

The special hour, 2 p. m., having arrived the Worthy Master, W. F. Hill, submitted his annual address, as follows:

To Officers and Members of Pennsylvania State Grange:

Another year with its responsibilities and opportunities has passed and added its quota to the work already done by the Grange organization in this State. And once more assembled in the capacity of a State Grange it is our mission to review the past that we may learn from it for our future guidance. Experience holds value for us to just the extent that we are able to properly glean from it the essentials and their contributing causes. Fortunate, indeed, shall we be if we here shall be able to pick, from out of the fabric so recently woven, only the strongest of the threads, and then provide that they, while entering into our coming growth, shall be bound together with the same firm, strong warp that has united our membership in Pennsylvania into one grand, harmonious fraternal band. From the north to the south, the east to the west, there exists everywhere a common desire and determination to build up our glorious fraternity. Generally speaking, good fellowship prevails in all our Granges and upon this we may congratulate ourselves. When we reflect that there has been absorbed

into our membership 12,000 new people in past two years—adding about 25 per cent. to our membership—and this without any disturbance of our equanimity, we must recognize the stability and good poise of the Grange in Pennsylvania.

The vast majority of these new members are not accustomed to working co-operatively with others to achieve specific results; they are not used to the guiding influence of discipline, nor are they very familiar with, or well grounded in, the underlying principles and purposes of our Order. This is a critical time in our existence that this large percentage of untrained workers in our Subordinate Granges is producing. At such times the sober judgment and coolness of experienced leaders and workers in all Granges should come to the front and gradually the newer members will be steadied and developed. In these new members and our young members the hopes of our Order are centered. It is essential that they be started right.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

This committee has been vigilant during the year in its efforts to perform the duties devolving upon it. A few new contracts have been entered into, as it appeared to the committee that they would be of advantage to the Order. The relations between all of the officials and committeemen of the State Grange have been of the most fraternal character. During this year matters arose that seemed to merit thorough consideration and discussion. It seemed to me that we would more likely arrive at right conclusions and adopt the best policy if they were considered by more counselors. Accordingly, I arranged to have two general conferences, inviting the Executive Committee, the Legislative Committee, W. State Lecturer and W. State Secretary to meet together. Every matter was carefully gone over by all present. It was desired to carry out the instructions of the State Grange in the best manner. Each movement was perfected and unanimously endorsed. This committee and Legislative Committee will submit full reports later upon their respective work.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

While the Legislature has not been in session during the year, yet as a preliminary to its meeting, and that of Congress, a large amount of work has been done. The character of this work was in large part mapped out at a joint conference referred to above. There being so much to do, it was urged that the committee, which consisted of but two members—Brothers Creasey and Brunges—should be increased by the addition of two others. After consideration, Brother E. B. Dorsett and Brother Henry Buckley were appointed. The former is honored with different positions in the Order in Tioga county, while Brother Buckley is W. Master of the Pomona Grange of Crawford county. This gives representation of two strong Grange counties upon this im-

portant committee, and those who know the brothers feel that no mistake has been made in their selection. The questions of equalizing taxation, the new road law and other legislative matters will be passed over here, as they will be presented by the Legislative Committee.

DEPUTY SERVICE.

The work in this branch of Grange discipline and extension is less appreciated and not so highly developed as it should be. There are about one hundred Patrons in our State holding commissions as Deputies and with the proper organization, encouragement and compensation the influence of this body of workers can be materially extended to the profit of the Order.

I am of the opinion that Deputies are often not welcomed to Granges and invited to visit them, as they should be. This causes a Deputy to feel that to go would be to thrust himself upon the Grange. It is not improbable that both the Deputy and members of the Grange feel the lack of his sufficient qualification to enable him to instruct and assist the Grange. Wherever this feeling exists, but little good will come from a visit. The remedy for this is one in which the Subordinate, Pomona and State Granges have each a share. Pomonas will do well to each year recommend to the State Master for his appointment Patrons suitable for Deputies. Only those who are devoted to the Order and who can and will qualify themselves and give freely of their time and talents should be recommended. For various reasons the fall session of Pomona seems to be the best time to select the Deputy force, and it is best that recommendations be made annually, whether changes are desired or not. It is my opinion that the State Grange ought then to make provision for fitting each Deputy for his work. It is a mistake to allow Patrons to go out as Deputies to represent the State Master, without sufficient preparation to enable them to properly and correctly present the W. and to set forth in clear and forceful language all the varied activities of our work in every branch. In the past it has been advocated that Deputies should be made voting members of this body and have their fare paid the same as other delegates. The marvelous growth of the Order in Pennsylvania in the last few years has rendered this unadvisable with our present large representation. I therefore recommend that schools of instruction for Deputies be held throughout the State during the coming winter under the direction of the State Master and Executive Committee. A sufficient number of them should be held and located so as to be convenient of access for the Deputies within that territory.

PICNIC WORK.

The practice of holding Grange Series Picnics in August under joint local and State Granges auspices may be said to have now become

part of the present established policy of the Order in Pennsylvania. Picnics afford not only an occasion of recreation and of profit for the member, but they afford him an opportunity for inviting his neighbor to come out and hear the principles of our Order presented by a representative of the State Grange. As now systematized, these are being held at relatively small cost per picnic, and I recommend strongly that they be continued along practically the same lines. Last year during August we had as outside help Worthy Master Jones, Brother Wilson, Worthy Master Illinois State Grange; Brother Whitehead, and Brother Ager, Worthy Master of Maryland State Grange, also came to help at separate meetings, and the work of each was much appreciated. In return for a week that I spent in Michigan, Brother Horton has promised to be with us a week in picnic work the coming season. Now that the series plan has become so well understood it will be well this year to issue, early in the year, blank forms to each Pomona to learn how many picnics the Granges want in the county, whether they are willing to contribute toward the expenses and what dates, if any, are objectionable. This information should all be in before the spring Pomona and dates assigned as early as possible. The following did more or less picnic speaking by State Grange direction last season: Brothers Cornell, Ailman, Creasey, Surface, Martin, Blyholder, Olmstead, Seeds, Buckley and myself. Others also were engaged by local management and it is believed that the Order has been strengthened by these labors. As supplemented to this there was more or less lecture work done by Brothers Benninger, Dildine, Green and Oster. The total expenses of the picnic and lecture work was \$770.80 for the year. The contributions were \$88.00, leaving a net cost to the State Grange of \$682.80. This includes the account of Brother Cornell and so is a very conservative sum to expend.

CONDITION OF THE ORDER.

The report of the Secretary will show that there have been added to our membership during the past year even more than the 7,000 new members that I asked for at the beginning of the year. The year before 5,000 new members were added. There was no State in the Union able to present a more gratifying report to the National Grange than Pennsylvania, and as we look over the record of our State in recent years we find a continuous and ever increasing growth—each year exceeding its predecessor. This large influx of new members lacking acquaintance with the purposes, tradition and machinery of our Order have greatly increased the responsibilities and labor of the executive and administrative branches of the State Grange. These new members are not necessarily young people, but membership in our Order is perhaps their first experience in a fraternal society. They are eager to render service to their Grange and to achieve distinction within the

Order. They seek power in the Grange and are given it by their fellow members, in some instance before they are qualified to exercise it. This danger should not be overlooked in the Grange. Zeal to work for the Order is commendable. But that its value may be secured, it must be directed along lines that are practical, and acceptable to the Order. Our new friends earnestly seek information and assistance to this end and we must provide to meet the increasing demands made upon the State Grange from all directions.

The Grange work done by and in the office of the State Master is easily 200 per cent. greater now than six years ago. Grange activities have increased correspondingly throughout the State. Under such conditions it would be natural to expect an increase in the difficulties arising in Subordinate Granges. But wherever they have arisen they have, with few exceptions, been adjusted locally, and without the State Grange being called upon to intervene.

It is further gratifying that the financial condition of the State Grange has also kept pace in its improvement with the progress of the Order in other respects. Our established policy of judiciously guarding our treasury, keeping the expenditures always within the receipts, and of drawing out money only when its use promises good returns for our Order, is most commendable. Permit me to urge careful consideration of any propositions that may arise affecting the State Grange treasury unfavorably, unless you become satisfied that the investments contemplated are backed by prudent business arguments and will tend to promote the best interests of the Order. The Worthy Secretary and Treasurer will submit detailed reports later.

THE STATE GRANGE POSTOFFICE FRANCHISE.

For a period of years the State Grange has endeavored to find some economical but satisfactory medium through which a more liberal use of printers' ink might be made. About three years ago the Executive Committee made an effort to meet this need through an arrangement with the Farmers' Friend, but met with disappointment. Then provision was made for issuing a News Letter Monthly, under the editorial direction of Brother Ailman. This was to be sent to every newspaper in the State that would publish items from it, and it was to be made up of such matter as, while interesting the public generally, would tend to incline them favorable toward our Order. This has been well edited and doubtless has a value to our Order of many times its small cost. Its primary mission, however, was to convert the outsider, and it offered no opportunity for inter-communication on the part of the membership or State Grange officers and members. A little later the Executive Committee tried providing for this deficiency and an arrangement was made with the American Grange Bulletin, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the State Lecturer was requested to edit and send to this

paper quarterly a sufficient amount of matter to make at least one page. The Cincinnati Bulletin was very liberal and generous indeed, and "The Pennsylvania Grange Field" therein, as well as the other matter of this paper, is highly appreciated all over the State. It was felt that we could not ask the Bulletin to specialize more on this State alone, however, and the ground was not being covered as the growing needs of the organization required. At a joint conference this subject was all gone over and it was determined to establish a journal under the name of "The Pennsylvania Grange News," provided that second class mailing rates could be secured for it. August, the initial number with twenty-four pages, was gotten out, and application made at Washington for a postoffice franchise for second-class rates for it to be mailed from Chambersburg, Pa. Pending the granting of the franchise, six thousand copies were mailed and the postage on them was a trifle over forty dollars. When the franchise was granted, all of this money was returned by the postoffice except three dollars and eleven cents. This franchise is in the name of the State Grange for the Pennsylvania Grange News, to be mailed at Chambersburg monthly, and this instance of a saving of thirty-seven dollars on postage on this item shows that it is a valuable asset to the State Grange. The postage paid last year on the eight hundred registered was thirty-two dollars. Under our present postoffice franchise the postage this year on that number of Grange News containing the register for 1905 will not be over a dollar and a half. The same saving of postage can be effected on our Journal of Proceedings and literature and by having the printing done wherever it can be done most cheaply, the State Grange is in an advantageous position. I recommend that the Pennsylvania Grange News be continued and that the Executive Committee be authorized to make such changes in its franchise and make-up as experience may seem to them to be advisable.

With a change in the franchise—which can be made without expense—advertising matter may be taken. Then the Business Bulletin now edited and issued quarterly by Brother Oster, under authority of the Executive Committee, and containing the "wants and for sale" notices of different members can be put in as Grange News. Advertising from all of our business houses and individual Patrons can be inserted at reasonable rates. If deemed advisable by the Executive Committee or if it be necessary in order to make the publication self-supporting, advertising can be solicited from outside sources. The Pennsylvania Grange News should be interesting to the individual Patron and helpful to the organization. That it may at all times be an exponent of the policies of the State Grange it must be under State Grange direction absolutely. To preclude misrepresentation by others it is prudent to have representation by ourselves. The advantages of such a press medium are many. Herein the Worthy Master of the

State Grange can regularly issue semi-private communications to all Subordinate and Pomona Granges, and answer many inquiries concerning troublesome questions of administration and practice that so frequently arise and bother the Worthy Masters of Subordinate Granges.

The Executive Committee of State Grange can in its department keep members advised upon Grange arrangements, business contracts, practices, etc. The Legislative Committee also has need of just such a channel in which to publish comment upon what it is doing to secure legislation in the interests of farmers, to expose bad bills that are before the Legislature at Harrisburg, and to enable all Granges to unite in bringing pressure to pass Grange measures.

The Worthy State Lecturer can also have space for regularly aiding and exchanging comments with Grange Lecturers in every county of the State. Grange programs, news items, reports of interesting meetings, helpful suggestions and kindly criticism may all be welcomed and published within the limits of the space, as the size of the magazine should be governed largely by what the subscriptions and advertising would support. Soon as The Grange News is thoroughly established it should support itself from these sources and be no expense, or very little at least, to the State Grange. Even if it should cost the State Grange three or four hundred dollars per year in no other way can our organization so surely, effectively and economically educate and develop its membership, popularize the Grange, extend its influence and increase its membership. While the paper itself is a good missionary the benefit in postage that the State Grange obtain through its franchise is not to be overlooked in offsetting the expense of issuing it. I am persuaded that the State Grange will do well to send it free to all addresses in the Register and to offer special inducements for clubs in Granges.

A submission to the Subordinate Granges of a system for a Patron's veto and direct initiative as to Grange legislation within the State is undoubtedly in the right direction. In the first place, the question of whether or not the system should be adopted should be referred to the membership, as should be done whenever an important change in the constitution is proposed, especially when the effect will be to change the power of the members.

If the members should desire a veto power it will surely prove of great value. Certainly only such measures should become established Grange policy as will stand discussion in the Grange press and meet with approval by a majority of the Subordinate Granges, should a vote be called for, each Master being subject to instructions by the Patrons, of course.

Scarcely ever will a veto be called for, for the system will be effective by merely existing. The potential power will effectively

check all hasty or ill-advised legislation, which is specially liable to occur in a single chamber body and where there is a large membership that is badly pressed for time. The system for the veto power will, in effect, operate as a second chamber, and of the very highest character.

THE WORLD'S FAIR.

The greatest fair of this or any other age has but recently closed its doors at St. Louis. Its impress upon the nation will, however, continue during many years to come. It has brought the producers and artisans of the countries of the world together and given the larger public full opportunity to know of the progress and of the skill and capacity now everywhere existing. The United States, with her island possessions, was naturally most in evidence, but Germany, France, Canada and many other foreign nations availed themselves liberally of the opportunity to place their wares on competitive exhibition. Pennsylvania was among the leading States in the matter of a financial contribution to the enterprise, having appropriated \$300,000 for a representation of her interests.

In making up the Commission it was unfortunate that there was no well-known, active representative of the organized farmers placed upon it. It is no doubt true that had such recognition been given, our agricultural and horticultural exhibits would not have become the subject of criticism and of ridicule.

As a delegate to the Farmers' National Congress, I visited the fair, and in company with Brother Barrett, W. O., of State Grange, and Brother Oster, W. Secretary of the Executive Committee, inspected our exhibits in comparison with others. Soon after returning I called upon Governor Pennypacker, telling him substantially that I considered the exhibit of the State, as a whole, as being very creditable; that the agricultural exhibit seemed to rest for its credit upon being educational; that it was very good as far as it went, but there should be more of it to fill up the vacant space. I suggested that it would be of interest to have a display of vegetables grown in our State and which were then (October) being harvested. The Governor at once addressed a communication to the Executive Commissioner, requesting that a collection and display be made along the lines suggested. This work was entered upon at once, but learning that in order to be passed upon by the judges at St. Louis, all goods would have to be in place by October 31, the effort had to be discontinued for lack of time and but few of these exhibits were sent.

This is mentioned in justice to Governor Pennypacker and evidences his desire to have agricultural represented in a manner satisfactory to its adherents.

The Grange feels, however, that the farmers of Pennsylvania are not having proper consideration. This World's Fair matter is an in-

stance of it. Of the \$300,000 appropriated, but \$15,000 was assigned by the Commission to Agriculture, and it is not possible that even that small amount could have been used upon the small display of exhibits.

The officers of the State Grange requested that one of our lady members be given a minor position at St. Louis, as one had at Chicago, but this was not honored.

Some months ago I asked to be given—as Master of the State Grange—an itemized statement of the expenditures made by the Commission on account of agriculture, but as yet it has not been received. It is true that farmers were asked to donate exhibits, but having no representation nor recognition, they took but little interest in the matter.

There should be the utmost confidence between the representative of the State and of this great interest upon all matters affecting rural welfare. Our people primarily are citizens; secondarily, they are farmers.

RURAL EDUCATION.

The subject of education generally and of agricultural education in particular is coming into public notice and favor more each year. Magazine articles with illustrations of farms, their buildings and appliances bring good money where presented by practical people. Skill in farming is upon us and is here to stay. I endorse the following:

“All forms of productive industry are passing through an evolution that results in constantly changing conditions, many of which are advantageous both to the producer and the consumer, but these changing conditions make it imperative for the worker to change his methods and practices to meet the changed conditions. Otherwise he soon finds himself at a disadvantage with his competitors, and the results obtained from his labor and capital are oftentimes resulting in disaster and hardship, bringing doubts and disappointments.

“There was never a time when the old adage, ‘Knowledge is Power,’ could be more truthfully applied than to the business of farming today. The opportunities for the acquisition of the necessary knowledge are increasing year by year as well as the number of those who realize the necessity for availing themselves of the requisite knowledge. The attendance during the past year at all our agricultural schools and colleges was much greater than in any previous year.

It is to the credit of these institutions that their methods of teaching are improving quite as rapidly as the desire for this form of education is increasing among the people. Just as we find the best farmers in every locality using pure bred stock, intensive methods of soil cultivation cover crops for their orchards, leguminous plants to gather nitrogen, and barnyard manure for its physical effect upon the soil, so we find in the best agricultural schools and colleges model creameries, where the composition of milk is studied, the best methods of handling it, and the manufacture of cheese and butter with the best mate-

rial and implements and in accord with the best known methods, stock selection, breeding and handling, is taught with the live stock, of model type, and so on along the entire line. Mental culture—brain cultivation—comes side by side with physical culture—the skill to do; the hand and head being trained to work in harmony together. This is the kind of education that pays, where the boy or girl not only masters the applied sciences, but the method of applying, not only the rule by which the problem is solved, but the skill to apply the rule and solve the problem."

Our rural schools should be improved materially. While school taxes are in some sections quite high, and our State appropriation to the public schools has been liberal, yet we fail to realize the benefit from them that we should. It becomes us to aim to remedy this condition and to provide that our children shall derive the maximum of benefit from their school life. To this end there ought to be established the high school in the township and arrangements made for transporting the children there dry shod, warm and comfortable. A fair education should be offered every child within access of the home daily. Every farm child at least ought to have some instruction in elementary agriculture.

In Missouri, I understand that each applicant to teach school must pass an examination showing that he is qualified to teach agriculture. We do not like to admit that State is in the lead of our own.

We are striding forward in Pennsylvania now, and at Pennsylvania State College we will soon have an equipment of which every farmer may feel proud. A building for agriculture is being placed upon the grounds of the Experiment Farm. The dairy wing of it is now completed and mechanically equipped—perhaps better than any to be found in any other State—at a cost of \$100,000. This sum was appropriated by the last Legislature, a part of a total sum of \$250,000 for the entire building, and it is expected that the remaining \$150,000 will be appropriated by the incoming Legislature. This will make the building and appliances possible. Two things more we must have—money enough to employ and pay the competent specialists, professors that are so badly needed—and then in addition to the four year courses of one or two years that will fix up a boy to be more useful on his father's, or his own farm, and will not lead him away from it. I am glad to be able to say to you that I know from personal knowledge that the trustees, president and faculty of the college are heart and soul with us in this work. "Agriculture, at the Pennsylvania State College, must take its place in the front rank right with the arts and sciences," they all say. Now is therefore the time to strike, and help the work along. I believe that it would be well for this session of the State Grange to make provision for the establishment of about four scholarships at State College. They should be known as State Grange

scholarships, should be awarded only to the sons and daughters of Grange families and should be stipulated that they are good for courses in agriculture or its subdivisions such as horticulture, dairying, biology, etc. Should this be favorably acted upon by this body the Executive Committee could be instructed to perfect details and conduct the negotiations and the college will very cordially respond to advances made by us in this direction.

I desire to suggest also to Subordinate Granges that there is a grand opportunity for you to carry on any line of farm operation experiments in connection with the College. Experiment in animal feeding for most economical production of milk, meat or frame. Experiments to test the relative merits of thoroughbred stock versus scrubs or to learn what particular breed is best adapted to you and your farm.

Experiments for egg production in winter and summer and to learn what variety of fowls pays best. Experiments in the growing of any kind of grain or in inoculating soil with bacteria to produce clover, alfalfa, etc., etc. There is scarcely a limit to the range of these that may be entered into. The Grange has the materials upon which to work and the college can supply the scientific knowledge for application upon the materials. Both the college and the Grange represent an institution well organized and permanent. Several experiments along the same or different lines may be going on at the same time. Records kept and reports of results may be made to the College and at the meetings of the Grange where their discussion would be of profit to the entire community. Having this scientific advice from the College free of all charge will be of great value to any Grange. "Ask, and ye shall receive."

A goodly number of Granges sent for the State Circulating Libraries during the year. The State Librarian when he presented the proposition at Wilkesbarre did not count on such a big demand, and they run out of books. More were bought however and libraries—which they named "Grange Libraries" were made up especially for Granges. These contained a large proportion of books on agriculture, nature study, etc.

The State Librarian, Harrisburg, Pa., will send full information upon them and how they may be had if a postal to that effect be sent him as above.

THE GROUT LAW.

The great importance of this law to our State, and the interest of the Grange in it, impels me to refer to it. An attempt to repeal it is threatened. By Grange influence more than any other it was passed. With the Granges of the Nation unitedly, aggressively working for its preservation, it cannot be repealed. The operation of this oleomargarine law enforced as it is by the Federal Government, simplifies the work of the State Dairy Commissioners throughout the country. Let

no uncertain action be taken expressive of our attitude upon the repeal on any modification of this law that will weaken its efficiency.

THE NATIONAL GRANGE.

The thirty-eighth annual session of this body was held in the far away western city of Portland, Oregon, and was more largely attended by visiting Patrons from nearby points than any other session of the National Grange held in recent years. The interest and enthusiasm of the Patrons of the northwest in the work of our Order knows no bounds, and while it was a long, long distance for many of the delegates to travel, yet as one realized how much the meeting held there was appreciated and contemplated the good that will result from it, the conclusion is reached that for the building up of the Order the end justifies the means. The government distance tables gives the mileage necessarily traveled by the delegates from this State for the round trip as 6,188, and two weeks are required for the journey. I return deeply impressed with the vastness of the United States of America and the greatness of our national resources. In my mind's eye there lingers the photograph of the broad plains of Minnesota; of the eight and ten horse teams on the gang plow or wide sweeping harrow preparing the seed beds in the great wheat fields of North Dakota. A night's sleep and we awaken to see the Bad Lands with their indescribably peculiar formation and apparent worthlessness lying on either side of us for miles and miles. The great herds of cattle, thousands of head, come into view, pasturing the year round on the Buffalo and other grass of Montana. With the coming of evening the scene changes and for a breath of fresh air we step off at Butte, said to be the richest mining center of precious metals in the world. We spin across the neck of Idaho and morning finds us welcoming the glorious rising of the sun as only seen from the mountains among the cedar and fir trees of the Evergreen State—Washington. We reach the valley and here are more wheat fields with tons upon tons of the threshed grain piled up, house high, in sacks, awaiting shipment. It is without cover of any kind, as no rain has fallen here for months.

Yonder a farmer is drawing out straw refuse and throwing it in the dry ruts of the public road to fill them up and to keep down the dust which elsewhere hangs in a cloud for a quarter or half a mile around and behind each passing team. Arriving at the Columbia river the entire train is run on a ferry boat and Washington gives away to Oregon. We land at Portland in the rain and it rained every day we were in that hustling city. The air was balmy and when the sun shone every factor of nature smiled. It seems odd but in the park geraniums, roses and other flowers were freely blooming at one's feet and a person had but to raise his eyes to see half a dozen mountains clad with snow and old Mt. Hood, sixty-five miles away, towering above them all—a

mighty guardian clothed in white. During the session, as your representative, I introduced resolutions as follows:

One favoring the establishment of Postal Savings Banks; one protesting against the manufacture or sale of cigarettes or cigarette paper; one for the protection of the "Grout Law" in its present satisfactory form, and one favoring the initiative and referendum movement.

These resolutions were referred to committees and it is gratifying to state that all except the last were reported favorably and passed unanimously. Some of the delegates did not feel prepared to vote upon the last one yet, and it was referred to the various State Granges for consideration and action.

The Executive Committee of the National Grange in its report recommended the raising of the sum of \$25,000 in the various Granges of the Nation to be used in building a monument for the founders of the Order. This was adopted by the body. I then presented a resolution setting forth that the National Grange declared its intention to abandon the building of a temple to Ceres and directing the Executive Committee of the National Grange to transfer the amount credited to each State on the temple fund to the monument fund, together with its accrued interest. This was unanimously passed, and disposes of that troublesome temple fund and gives Pennsylvania credit of considerably over \$700 on the monument fund—a larger start than any other State has.

The ringing words of Worthy Master Jones in his address and throughout the session were inspiring and as usual they were along right lines. The report of the Legislative Committee was of an encouraging nature and the Grange will continue along the same legislative lines as heretofore.

The Committee on Co-operation, of which your representative had the honor to be chairman, recommended that a Bureau of Information be established by each State Grange, that the address of its secretary in each State be printed publicly so that the different Bureaus in the United States may correspond with each other with a view to the buying of products needed in one section of the country or the selling of any surplus in a locality where it is wanted. Should this be generally acted upon it should be productive of good results. The work of the whole session will be profitable to the Order.

After the session closed your representatives took on private account a ride of thirteen hundred miles south to Los Angeles, California. At this point I was offered, Nov. 30th, a job in the hay field where they were bunching and hauling in alfalfa—the sixth cutting for this season. It suited me better, however, to pick ripe strawberries from the vine and to gather fallen oranges from under the over-laden trees. The residents there know nothing of frost or snow and the tourists

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were bathing in the Pacific and basking in the sun. But duty is calling, and I start for Pennsylvania, and passing for hundreds of miles in California, I am led to see that the greatest part of this famous State is barren mountain or a sandy desert. This latter condition extends practically across Nevada. Out on the sand among the sage brush is a new shack, another, and still another. Why are homestead claims being taken up here where there is not a spear of grass for an animal, nor a shrub to shade the sun's rays on the glistening sand? A few miles further and it is explained.

Uncle Sam has his boys (but they are principally from other countries) digging immense irrigation ditches to carry water from the distant mountain reservoir or stream to pour over this parched land. As an evidence of what water alone will do here in the desert. I remember "Lovelock," a thriving town where our train stopped and I alighted.

"What supports this town?" I enquired of a bystander.

"Water," he replied.

"How is that?" I enquired. "I did not know there were any Prohibitionists out here."

"Water grows alfalfa," he said, "and we feed it to stock. This winter I am feeding alfalfa and nothing else and fattening 16,000 head of cattle and 30,000 head of sheep."

Cattle, sheep, stacks of alfalfa and the good heavy sod were in evidence on every hand. Water was making an oasis of this spot—this island is the desert. Truly, Uncle Sam, in this mammoth irrigating enterprise, is dealing kindly by our brethren in the arid regions of the West.

The principal attraction in Utah is of course Salt Lake City, with its Mormon Tabernacle and \$3,000,000 Mormon Temple. The car stopped off here six hours and a guide showed us about the city with its wealth of shade trees and straight streets, 132 feet wide. We visited Brigham Young's grave. A granite slab weighing nine tons lies on its top and now keeps him straight, as I suppose other agencies did during life. The Tabernacle, 150x250 feet, oval in form both on the ground and as to its roof, is a remarkable structure. It is said to seat 10,000 and the roof is without interior support of any kind. Contains one of the best organs in the world, has most perfect acoustic properties, and here on the Sabbath afternoons Mormons assemble in large numbers, as about one-half of the 65,000 people of the city are of this faith. As to the Temple none but good Mormons are allowed within its precincts. Not having the password I had to content myself by admiring its beauty from without. Leaving Utah we crossed over the backbone of the continent at an elevation of over 10,000 feet as we pass through Colorado. Nebraska impressed me very favorably as an agricultural State, while Kansas and Missouri also contain good farm lands and plenty of dug-outs to dodge into when the cyclones come. And thus I found it

everywhere—advantages and disadvantages. But now Pennsylvania! What shall I say of thee, thou best beloved of them all?

An enterprising, educated and worthy people dwells within thy realm. The ships upon the great interior seas near at hand take our product to other States and bring back materials for our factories and mills. Our well watered valleys give bountifully of the products of nature in grains and meats, in dairy and vegetable, to the art of the skilled laborer and maid, the cultivator and shepherdess. The hills and mountains freely yield their treasures to light, to warm and to nurture teeming millions everywhere. The ships of the briny deep also touch thy sides and transport the product of farm and factory, of forest, mill, and mine to people of every clime, while a net-work of thousands of miles of railroad bind the sister States to thee in fond embrace. In every direction thy children can talk to friends elsewhere through magic telephones or receive and send messages in symbol over electric wires. Rich, also, in tradition and history, thou art the worthy parent of brave sons and fair daughters. Let us then serve our mother State. May it ever be said that the Grange in Pennsylvania stands for betterment in life, for equality in opportunities, and for fair dealings between man and man. Let us build our structure upon the principle of equity to all and malice toward none. And as rotten planks are discovered in the substructure let us neither hesitate nor falter, but standing shoulder to shoulder in our organization, let us unitedly tear them out and cast them aside as being detrimental to progress and injurious to the State. It takes courage sometimes to stand firm upon convictions of right, but occasions arise when to wince means to lose the battle. The path of progress toward betterment must be hewn out by hard blows by those who would travel it. The best interests of home and family, of religion and politics, of county and State, are saying today to the Pennsylvania State Grange, "Lead the way and we will be with you."

We, have, fellow Patrons, the grandest opportunity to do good to our fellow men and to the State that has ever been presented to a body of people. Are we qualified for this leadership? We have devoted members, talented workers, and broad-minded, open hearted, leaders, all over the State. Let us meet the demands of the times squarely and assume our full share of the responsibilities of living in the widest sense. The present policy of the State Grange is an aggressive one against monopoly. For the Grange to win in its fight means millions of dollars in money saved to the plain citizens and farmers of our State. It means preservation to them of that manhood and independence which is even beyond all price. With the aggressive non-partisan work of the Grange it is showing the light to people. The monopolist knows that power vested in the people means his enforced retirement. He will use every available person, and the most subtle agencies to defeat the successful carrying out of our plans and purposes.

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Since the beginning of our publication in the Pennsylvania Grange News of our system of interrogating candidates the idea has been taken up in the State Grange of Michigan and by many organizations throughout the United States. In taking a positive stand as we have to have trolley companies allowed to carry freight, for the establishment of a parcels post and for postal savings banks, for the equalization of taxation in our State by having counties and municipalities allowed to retain for local uses the approximate \$3,000,000 now sent from them to the State treasury; by pledging candidates for Congress on whether they favor legislation to permit the people the right to initiate legislation and to have the important measures of public policy and general interest referred to the people themselves for their approval or rejection, we have been leading in a great work. Our plan of interrogating candidates has been taking up all over the country at large in reference to the repeal of the "Grout Law." The "Pennsylvania Plan" is heralded all over the United States as the best and most effective one for protecting our interests in legislation.

The discipline, experience and safe conservatism of the Order in Pennsylvania is causing it to be respected, trusted and followed as never before in its history. Its positive, affirmative, aggressive methods are rallying farmers of Pennsylvania to its standard by the thousands for the preservation and advancement of their many interests.

We welcome most heartily to our Order all farmers of good character, and we trust that its beneficent influences will shine out further and brighter with the advent of coming years, until there shall be not only a good Grange, but also a Grange hall in every agricultural township of our good old State. Let the social, moral, educating influences of the Grange be preached from the mouth and by the living conduct of every member of our Order. Let the brothers everywhere live before the world its precepts and principles. Let the sisters manifest its virtues in kindness and charity in both private and public life and that larger public cannot fail to realize that our Order does stand in deed and in truth "for the development of a better manhood and a better womanhood." Then will be heard in the land the saying, "It is worthy. Let us join also."

CLOSING.

In conclusion I desire to express my hearty appreciation of all work done by Grange officers and members everywhere.

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." The work of the session is now before you. "May your labors be blest with a liberal harvest." Fraternally submitted,

W. F. HILL.

The address was received and referred to the Committee on Master's address.

The trio from Wyoming County Pomona Grange, Brothers J. W. Johnson, O. E. Reynolds and J. E. Wigans, were introduced and entertained the Grange with vocal music.

The Worthy Lecturer, A. M. Cornell, submitted his report.

Worthy Master, officers, members and visiting Patrons of the Thirty-second Annual Session of the Pennsylvania State Grange:

As a chosen official of this body, striving to serve in the capacity of Lecturer, it is fitting at this time to render an account of a portion of the duties discharged during the past twelve months. The general trend of the work has been largely the same as that of the past, speaking, working and writing to advance the Order along educational, financial, social, moral and influential lines. To this end, there has gone forward, through the mails, some five hundred personal letters and a continuous output of literature and Grange printed matter.

"Pennsylvania Grange Field" has appeared quarterly in the American Grange Bulletin, and frequent contributions have been made for the columns of Grange, agricultural and local publications, for which there is a general growing demand.

A careful account has been kept during the year from which the following is taken:

Grange meetings have been addressed in twenty-three counties: McKean, Columbia, Snyder, Cambria, Potter, Wyoming, Lackawanna, Monroe, Tioga, Elk, Blair, Northampton, Sullivan, Luzerne, Clearfield, Mercer, Crawford, Warren, Washington, Allegheny, Chester, Delaware and Bradford. Grange meetings were also addressed in New Jersey and Massachusetts during the picnic season. Nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five miles have been traveled, as follows: Seventy-seven walked; 411 by sleigh and carriage; 582 by electricity; 8,095 miles on 194 different trains. Seventy-five meetings attended with an estimated attendance of 16,661 persons, as follows: Forty-two public meetings with an average attendance of 332, the large summer field meetings of course helping to bring up this average. Thirty-three private meetings, with an average of 81 Patrons present. Visitations have been made not only at homes of Patrons, forming ties of fraternal fellowship, but at many farm homes of those who were solicited to become affiliated with the Order.

As to the results attained it is not the interest, here, to discuss, as no accurate conclusion could be derived from a work so largely educational in its nature. Whatever may be the cause or combination of events, that have led up to, and created such a far-reaching, prosperous condition of the Order, as is proven by official records at hand, and vindicated by interest and enthusiasm manifest in many ways, it cannot other than cause the heart of every lover of the Grange to swell with a sense of gladness and rejoicing.

The past and present valuable service, and accomplishments of the

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Order, are but a step toward the wonderful results for good that may and will be attained by the continued, earnest, consecrated, harmonious concert of effort in the future of the many thousand of liberty-loving, self-sacrificing Patrons now laboring in the Grange.

But it is not necessary to multiply words, active members generally realize that the present, surpasses by far the past, for the grand forward movement of the Order.

This is an age of co-operative, progressive, intelligent activity and the work of the Grange is destined toward that more perfect day when equality, justice and fraternal fellowship shall reign supreme, when the laborer will harvest from such seed as is sown. Truly it is a great work to leave the world better for having lived in it, the greatest heritage to leave to the succeeding generations.

This session completes four years of service by the incumbent in this office. Words are weak to express appreciation and gratitude for the thousand of kindnesses in many ways bestowed upon your servant during these years, by the many warm-hearted, true Patrons met.

The mantle of State Lecturer is here returned. other shoulders are more worthy and efficient to bear it. May a united sympathy, harmonious fellowship and cordial aid, surround and continue with my successor, during the great work of the future for "Our Order, Our Country and Mankind."

Fraternally submitted.

A. M. CORNELL,

Lecturer of Pennsylvania State Grange.

Report received and ordered to be printed in the Journal.

The Worthy Steward, H. M. Gooderham, presented his report.

As your Steward and servant, it affords me pleasure to report that as far as my work goes everything is in readiness for the proceedings of this the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting. So any work that you want done, that falls to the work of the Steward, come to me and I will do my best to accommodate you. As it is gratifying to me to do what I can for the success of this meeting and your welfare, so let us all try to make this one of the most successful gatherings in the history of the Order in this State.

Let us conduct it in a mild, fearless and non-partisan way, then we can go home rejoicing.

Today, with the Grange the leader, the farmer is watched with a great deal of interest by the business man of other occupations, and the financier in reckoning the condition of this country finds that the farmers crops most generally balance the ledger and the right side.

Taking the Grange in the United States today and we are more strongly entrenched than ever before, but we need to be, for every where we find trusts and corporations invading the interest of the man who tills the soil. As it looks now unless the farmer and dairyman rally to the support of the Grout bill, the Jersey cow from the east

will be supplanted by the western hog and the cotton seed mills of the south.

For the last few years we have enjoyed an era of prosperity. The farmer has made progress and our noble Order, especially in our own State, has kept pace. We have a great deal to do yet.

But while we are making our increase in membership, let us lay our plans to hold what we have captured.

Prosperity does not last forever. The farmer will not always get the prices for his crops he is getting today. The mines and the mills will not always move as they are now doing, and when all these things are on the wane is when we want to stand to the best of our ability to the support of our organization. Your officers cannot do it all themselves, every Patron in each Subordinate Grange in our State will have to lend a helping hand. We, as members of the Grange, must not forget its mission.

It is not merely an organization to help its members to "have a good time" every week, fortnight or month.

Part of its business is to make agriculture more profitable, to make farm life more attractive, and to influence young and old to increase their knowledge.

Its members should keep the truth before the farmers outside the Grange that the organization is for the benefit of agriculture in general, and of farmers and their families in particular.

It should not and does not expect to turn the world upside down, rather it should aim to keep farmers and their interests right side up.

Its purpose is to help farmers to get to the front and keep them there.

And as my position as Steward ends with this session, I want to thank all who tried to make my office a pleasure to me. It was entirely against my wish that I was elected two years ago, for that reason I know you will not do it again. If it is an honor let us pass it around; if it is a burden we should take our turn.

All of which I respectfully submit,

H. M. GOODERHAM.

Report received and ordered to be printed in the Journal.

The Worthy Treasurer, S. E. Nivin, reported as follows:

S. E. Nivin, Treasurer, in account with Pennsylvania State Grange.

Dr.

1903.		
Dec.	1, To Balance.....	\$11,490 31
"	11, Interest.....	200 00
1904.		
Jan.	2, Ailman, Secretary.....	100 00
Feb.	3, " ".....	1,200 00
Mar.	14, " ".....	500 00

PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE.

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Apr. 16,	"	"	888 62
May 21,	"	"	1,861 22
June 23,	"	"	316 70
July 14,	"	"	246 92
Aug. 20,	"	"	1,423 09
Sept. 21,	"	"	833 73
Oct. 27,	"	"	473 88
Nov. 16,	"	"	1,500 00
Nov. 29,	"	"	1,982 41
			<hr/>
			\$23,016 88

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1903.

Dec. 10,	Nickerson.....	\$3 00
"	Boston Regalia Co.....	71 25
"	Mang.....	6 00
"	Bird.....	2 00
"	Nickerson.....	1 00
"	Hill.....	47 45
"	Lilley.....	10 00
"	Dorsett.....	3 00
"	Clark.....	22 34
"	Chase.....	19 38
"	Patton.....	90 40
"	Gooderham.....	17 80
"	Rhone.....	12 05
"	Teagarden.....	22 45
"	Holiday.....	20 90
"	Gooderham.....	3 20
"	Fisher.....	15-80
"	Cornell.....	137 18
"	McEntire.....	7 00
"	Ebbs.....	21 34
"	Dornblaser.....	10 00
"	Woodside.....	17 00
"	Nivin.....	146 00
"	Pratt.....	19 10
"	Barrett.....	10 00
"	Ailman.....	10 00
"	Hill.....	10 00
"	Chandler.....	143 78
"	Brown.....	100 00
16,	Ailman.....	187 50
17,	Freeman.....	50 66
18,	Lilley.....	9 50

	Baver.....	11 00
21,	Fleisher.....	1 00
	Klein	2 00
	Benninger.....	10 00
	Tyndall	12 00
23,	Seamans.....	6 00
24,	Weamer	1 00
31,	Bisbing.....	1 00
1904.		
Jan. 7,	Morris	4 00
16,	Ailman	65 00
	Juniata Star.....	99 92
18,	Snyder.....	45 00
19,	Bryant	10 00
20,	Bird.....	4 25
Feb. 4,	Hunsinger.....	8 26
	Hill	10 00
13,	Thomas	69 42
15,	Howden.....	5 00
	Bisbing	1 00
16,	Baver	7 00
17,	Creasey	10 65
	Benninger.....	10 00
Mar. 5,	Chandler.....	16 62
8,	Stewart	2 00
10,	Klein.....	4 75
	Gearhart.....	18 43
12,	Dildine.....	2 00
18,	Freeman	58 10
21,	Hill.....	125 00
24,	Dildine.....	1 50
	White.....	10 80
	Hill.....	20 00
31,	Freeman	8 00
Apr. 6,	Murray.....	3 00
	Mang	6 65
	Pa. Farmer Co.....	50 40
8,	Dildine	13 74
21,	Juniata Star.....	23 20
22,	Dickey	14 25
	Weekly Review.....	8 75
	Oster.....	37 29
23,	Pomeroy	40 75
	Hill.....	195 00
26,	Green.....	12 34

May

June

July

Aug.

Sept.

Oct.

Nov.

		Cornell.....	148 33
	27,	Nat. Grange.....	693 80
	28,	Smail	2 00
May	3,	Freeman.....	13 76
	10,	Freeman.....	70 00
	11,	Reading Eagle.....	88 00
	18,	Inquirer Print Co.....	129 68
	21,	Wardell.....	3 25
		Ailman	187 50
		Dale	10 75
	23,	Train.....	4 25
June	8,	Juniata Globe.....	9 00
		Harrisburg Typewriter Co.....	7 65
July	9,	Hill	81 70
		Juniata Star	34 00
		Stearns & Co.....	44 03
	11,	Oster.....	44 18
	14,	Smail	6 25
	23,	Seeds.....	16 60
		Harrisburg Cycle Co.....	6 35
	25,	Weekly Review.....	7 15
Aug.	4,	Freeman.....	45 00
	11,	Blake	1 00
	16,	Wilson.....	100 00
	23,	Pomeroy	12 25
		Piollet	56 00
Sept.	7,	Patton	25 16
	14,	Nat. Grange.....	311 37
		Freeman	68 30
Oct.	4,	Ailman.....	493 17
	6,	Wilson	33 55
		Brunges.....	10 50
		Olmstead.....	7 90
	8,	Burchfield.....	26 44
		Straw.....	4 00
	11,	Martin	5 90
	14,	Griffiths Printing.....	3 75
	15,	Cornell.....	164 59
	27,	Nat. Grange.....	316 72
Nov.	4,	Hill	170 60
	5,	Pomeroy	4 25
	7,	Chandler.....	14 58
	9,	Burnett	1 00
	11,	Whitehead & Hoag.....	11 41
	12,	Lilley	11 00
	15,	Marsh.....	3 00

19, Stearns & W.....	2 28	
28, Pomeroy	34 67	
29, Ailman.....	385 45	
		\$9,924 72
1903, Dec. 1, Balance.....	\$11,490 31	
1904, Dec. 1, Receipts	11,526 57	
		\$23,016 88
Orders paid.....	\$6,245 22	
Orders, Mileage.....	3,679 50	
Balance.....	13,092 16	
		\$23,016 88

SURPLUS FUND.

1904, Dec. 6, From Oster, Secretary..... \$746 34

Respectfully submitted,

S. E. NIVIN,
Treasurer.

REPRESENTATIVES.

McClure	\$12 55	Knedd	\$3 65
McClure	12 55	Knedd	3 65
McEwen	12 25	Bissom	6 00
Crosly	11 45	Bissom	6 00
Ramaley	11 15	Ramsey	13 75
Craig	13 10	Eberhart	12 60
Pence	11 80	Campbell	13 00
Blyholder	12 20	Bricker	12 65
Blyholder	12 20	Stoner	13 30
Reiswick	9 00	Strittmatter	8 85
Miller	8 85	Kauffman	8 45
Boyer	8 10	Crum	8 45
Moses	9 35	Thomas	8 45
Dreibelbis	4 05	Thomas	8 45
Weaver	7 90	Spicher	9 05
Riggle	7 35	Tomlinson	8 55
Selwitz	7 70	Westrick	8 95
Gates	6 70	Noon	8 55
Fleck	6 90	Storm	8 00
Fleck	6 90	Griffiin	8 40
Henshey	7 20	Diskart	9 30
Drake	3 00	Rowland	9 05
Drake	3 00	Ryan	8 95
Stevens	2 90	Ryan	8 95
Haverly	2 55	Sanker	8 45
Hills	3 60	Dale	4 95

Hills
Moore
Moore
Wrig
Wrig
Statf
Statf
Fergu
Hugg
Huffn
Huffn
Holco
Holco
Mott
Mott
Cole
Morle
Redin
Snyde
Snyde
Amer
Amer
Donal
Burnh
Burnh
McCle
Ayre
Ayre
Buckl
Buckl
Betts
Hart
Hart
Wells
Wells
Read
Read
Ower
Ower
Ower
Ower
Thor
Thor
Dunl
Davi
Gear

Hills	3 60	Grove	5 20
Moore	6 05	Hoy	6 00
Moore	6 05	Boop	5 30
Wright	5 35	Schenck	5 30
Wright	5 35	Schenck	5 30
Statford	2 85	Robb	5 05
Statford	2 85	Robb	5 05
Ferguson	5 60	Ardry	6 25
Huggins	6 05	Ardry	6 25
Huffman	2 90	Tyson	4 90
Huffman	2 90	Duck	4 10
Holcombe	3 45	Duck	4 10
Holcombe	3 45	Keller	4 60
Mott	3 45	Davis	7 30
Mott	3 45	Fox	7 15
Cole	5 50	Baker	7 30
Morley	3 60	Baker	7 30
Redington	5 85	Scott	7 30
Snyder	2 00	Downing	6 80
Snyder	2 00	Downing	6 80
Amerman	3 45	Fisher	8 30
Amerman	3 45	North	7 15
Donahue	3 60	Way	6 60
Burnham	6 65	Morrison	11 95
Burnham	6 65	Morrison	11 95
McClelland	5 75	McEntire	11 60
Ayre	2 55	McEntire	11 60
Ayre	2 55	Allison	12 00
Buckham	7 30	Allison	12 00
Buckham	7 30	Henry	12 00
Betts	7 00	Henry	12 00
Hartman	4 55	McClain	11 60
Hartman	4 55	Myers	11 50
Wells	8 90	Myers	11 50
Wells	8 90	Meredith	9 50
Read	7 80	Howard	12 15
Read	7 80	Howard	12 15
Owens	7 80	Walker	13 60
Owens	7 80	Walker	13 60
Owens	8 20	Howard	12 00
Owens	8 20	Howard	12 00
Thorp	8 50	Osbourne	11 95
Thorp	8 50	Osbourne	11 95
Dunlap	8 90	Sexton	12 70
Davis	9 10	Sexton	12 70
Gearhart	8 00	Sweatman	11 95

Straw	8 85	Hurst	13 30	Beck
Harman	8 90	Hurst	13 30	Evans
Harman	8 90	Swap	13 30	Patters
Johnston	5 05	Swap	13 30	Weldy
Johnston	5 05	Arters	14 10	Lear
Herr	5 40	Arters	14 10	Frankli
Rishel	5 15	Gifford	12 00	Frankli
Baird	4 70	Gifford	12 00	Ross
Williams	4 70	Brooks	12 50	Ross
Williams	4 70	Brooks	12 50	Wallace
Brown	1 50	Newcomer	12 40	Wallace
Hess	2 75	Cooper	12 25	Hamble
Hess	2 75	Ramsey	13 00	Hamble
Karns	3 20	Freed	12 25	Snyder
Karns	3 20	Duff	13 55	Snyder
Deily	1 60	Rittenhouse	13 55	William
Patterson	1 90	Hill	7 05	William
Laubach	3 00	Hill	7 05	Coray
Laubach	3 00	Miller	6 25	Coray
Young	2 60	Miller	6 25	Gallowa
Young	2 60	Henderson	7 50	Gallowa
Marshall	15 70	Wilson	6 20	Sutliff
Bunce	12 45	Hudson	9 10	Sutliff
Bunce	12 45	Henderson	8 35	Sedam
Tucker	13 35	Stover	7 05	Sedam
Tucker	13 35	Stover	7 05	Piatt
Parker	14 70	Harman	6 40	McNett
Parker	14 70	Glasgow	6 45	McNett
Mang	13 70	Glasgow	6 45	Burr
Mang	13 70	Boyer	6 90	Burr
Lawrence	14 70	Boyer	6 90	Simpson
Lawrence	14 70	Chilcoat	6 75	June
Herrington	13 60	Chilcoat	6 75	June
Mossinger	13 60	Marshall	10 70	Wright
Hunes	13 35	Treese	10 35	Wright
Thomas	3 20	Hadden	9 45	Bray
Kast	5 00	Hadden	9 45	Bray
Kast	5 00	Johns	9 65	Burdick
Merion	7 70	Dougherty	9 10	Burdick
Merion	7 70	McGarey	9 55	Bond
Hoffman	7 25	Aaron	8 80	Martin
Palmer	6 50	Aaron	8 80	Martin
Darlington	7 10	Carberry	9 65	Wright
Darlington	7 10	Bull	6 75	Wright
Gregory	8 50	Boyer	6 55	Grute
Reuscher	8 50	Work	6 20	Grute

Beck	8 95	Work	6 20
Evans	5 95	Lyman	7 75
Patterson	5 20	Burt	6 55
Weldy	1 95	Burt	6 55
Lear	1 45	Bishop	7 00
Franklin	1 05	Bishop	7 00
Franklin	1 05	Wright	7 00
Ross	1 35	Wright	7 00
Ross	1 35	Wagner	7 00
Wallace	1 35	Wagner	7 00
Wallace	1 35	Hall	7 15
Hambleton	7 25	Hall	7 15
Hambleton	7 25	Snyder	13 45
Snyder	50	Snyder	13 45
Snyder	50	Walton	13 70
Williams	70	Walton	13 70
Williams	70	Campbell	16 75
Coray	75	Brunot	13 60
Coray	75	Bean	13 70
Galloway	75	Bean	13 70
Galloway	75	Sherick	13 00
Sutliff	70	Schlosser	13 45
Sutliff	70	Graham	13 45
Sedam	3 05	Sheldon	13 70
Sedam	3 05	Townsend	13 70
Piatt	3 05	Townsend	13 70
McNett	5 10	Hanna	14 80
McNett	5 10	Hanna	14 80
Burr	8 80	Smith	12 80
Burr	8 80	Smith	12 80
Simpson	9 15	St John	12 80
June	8 95	St John	12 80
June	8 95	Jones	12 55
Wright	9 00	Jones	12 55
Wright	9 00	Rushmore	14 70
Bray	9 00	Rushmore	14 70
Bray	9 00	Kaufman	3 70
Burdick	9 35	Hall	12 80
Burdick	9 35	Reeser	2 25
Bond	17 00	Hall	12 80
Martin	15 65	Reeser	2 25
Martin	15 65	Bird	2 25
Wright	15 00	Yonkin	2 25
Wright	15 00	Teomans	1 65
Grute	14 15	Shadduck	3 85
Grute	14 15	Shadduck	3 85

McCoy	4 90	Thomas	2 70
Danehower	6 50	Berthoff	2 40
Lowrie	1 90	Berthoff	2 40
Amerman	2 05	Foran	4 30
Bitler	3 05	Butterfield	2 40
Albright	2 60	Butterfield	2 40
Merrell	2 05	Mericle	1 65
Farmer	2 05	Perry	2 55
Benninger	3 10	Perry	2 55
Renner	4 15	Gunn	2 55
Renner	4 15	Gunn	2 55
Kutz	4 00	Shaughnessy	4 00
Moyer	5 10	Rockwell	1 75
Sypher	2 60	Neibell	1 75
Densceovich	3 30	Neibell	1 75
Johnson	7 05	France	2 00
Johnson	7 05	France	2 00
Tompkins	6 55	Carter	2 00
Lyman	7 75	Carter	2 15
Bailey	2 15	Steele	6 75
Bailey	2 15	Lee	6 10
Hay	1 80	Herrington	5 85
Hay	1 80	Herrington	5 85
Giles	1 70	Dewitt	6 90
Giles	1 70	Willard	6 20
Archer	2 40	Willard	6 20
Archer	2 40	Weeks	5 55
Bradford	2 55	Weeks	5 55
Payne	2 20	Stevens	5 55
Payne	2 20	Stevens	5 55
Baker	2 40	Thompson	6 20
Baker	2 40	Thompson	6 20
Williams	2 05	Wingert	2 70
Williams	2 05	Wingert	2 70
Bell	1 75	Richart	2 60
Furman	5 35	Berkheimer	2 70
Furman	5 35	Kerr	12 45
Messner	4 90	Perkins	12 30
Messner	4 90	Perkins	12 30
Scranton	6 50	Delamater	11 75
Shaw	7 75	Delamater	11 75
Shaw	7 75	Hoop	14 00
Norman	9 25	Walling	11 10
Rexford	6 80	Stewart	11 00
Rexford	6 80	Stewart	11 00
Beiver	6 35	Woodside	11 95

Beiver
 Carpen
 Carpen
 Hansco
 Desmor
 Desmor
 Valsing
 Goodal
 Ballard
 Grahana
 Phillips
 Phillips
 Smith
 Smith
 Dorsett
 Dorsett
 Curran
 Curran
 Scott
 Scott
 Moore
 Moore
 Kizer
 Bockus
 Bockus
 Cook
 Cook
 Stull
 Stull
 Vechte
 Vechte
 Allen
 Allen
 Hodgson
 Hodgson
 Benson
 Benson
 Dewey
 Dewey
 Steward
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Beiver	6 35	Peterson	11 35
Carpenter	8 75	Peterson	11 35
Carpenter	8 75	Arthur	11 70
Hanscom	7 90	Bagley	12 30
Desmond	12 10	Bagley	12 30
Desmond	12 10	Samuelson	11 95
Valsing	6 20	Sparks	11 90
Goodall	6 90	Mickelson	16 90
Ballard	5 85	Mickelson	16 90
Graham	15 60	Marker	11 00
Phillips	6 90	Martin	16 55
Phillips	6 90	Martin	16 55
Smith	5 70	Day	13 50
Smith	5 70	Moninger	13 50
Dorsett	6 20	Liun	12 25
Dorsett	6 20	Painter	17 70
Curran	8 75	Klein	1 90
Curran	8 75	Klein	1 90
Scott	7 05	Bunnell	2 55
Scott	7 05	Bunnell	2 55
Moore	6 85	Iloff	2 45
Moore	6 85	Blake	2 60
Kizer	6 85	Rude	2 60
Bockus	6 20	Miller	2 60
Bockus	6 20	Johnston	10 90
Cook	8 50	Johnston	10 90
Cook	8 50	Fretts	11 60
Stull	4 85	Clark	11 25
Stull	4 85	Gardner	1 65
Vechten	5 35	Gardner	1 65
Vechten	5 35	Clark	1 00
Allen	5 35	Clark	1 00
Allen	5 35	Reynolds	2 20
Hodgson	1 20	Reynolds	2 25
Hodgson	1 20	Decker	1 50
Benson	1 25	Walter	80
Benson	1 25	Walter	80
Dewey	1 75	Wagner	6 50
Dewey	1 75	Wagner	6 50
Stewart	7 95	Eroh	2 00

Report received and referred to the Finance Committee.

Worthy Secretary, J. T. Ailman, presented his report as follows:

Worthy Master and Fellow Patrons:

It is the duty of the Secretary to give facts and figures rather than suggestions and comments. It, however, gives me great pleasure to

say that the figures that I am about to give are the most encouraging that have been read before the State Grange in many years. Not since the earliest days of the Order when novelty and unreasonable expectations inspired has there been so great growth in a single year.

Six thousand two hundred and four new names have been added to our rolls. This does not include those reinstated. Many of the older organizations have increased their membership and a large number of new Granges have been planted. It is especially worthy of note that a number of old Granges that have barely held their own for a long time have waked up and made rapid strides forward. Those of us who have been in the work for years know that this means bringing the possibilities and blessings of a broader and better life to these thousands of hearts. These successes should incite us to all to renewed effort and should prompt the resolution that we will not rest until a Grange is within reach of every farmer's home. Can we do a better work for God and home and country?

There are now 540 Granges on the books of the State Grange, last year there were 501.

Of these 500 are paid up in full, 12 are in arrears for one quarter, 7 for two quarters, 9 for three quarters, 8 for four quarters, 3 for five quarters and 1 for six quarters. For the quarter ending December 31, 1903, 25,170 members were reported. Seven hundred and seventy-three were initiated, 174 reinstated, 461 dropped from the roll, making a net gain of 586 for the quarter.

For the quarter ending March 31, 1904, 26,278 members were reported. The initiations were 1,375; reinstatements, 268; dropped from the roll, 683; leaving a net gain of 960.

Twenty-eight thousand two hundred and fifty-four members were reported for the June quarter, with 1531 initiations, 288 reinstatements, and 403 dropped from the roll, showing a net gain of 1416.

For the quarter ending September 30, 29,668 members were reported. Initiations, were 1,044; reinstatements, 233; losses, 396. The net gain 881.

The total initiations for the year were 4,956; reinstatements, 963; charter members of new Granges, 1,056; charter members of reorganized, 292; making the total additions to the membership 7,267.

From this, however, must be deducted 1,943 members dropped from the roll, and 195 who went down with 10 Granges that became dormant during the year, making a total loss of 2,138, which deducted from the number added leaves a net gain of 5,129.

Last year our net gain was 3,550.

In 1901 dues were paid for the September quarter on 19,548 members. This year for the corresponding quarter dues were paid on 29,668.

Thirty-five new Granges have been organized. No. 1247, Potter

county, by John M. Seamans, with 27 charter members.

No. 1248, Potter county, by John M. Seaman, with 16 charter members.

No. 1249, Wyoming county, by O. E. Reynolds, with 31 charter members.

No. 1250, Wyoming county, by O. E. Reynolds, with 61 charter members.

No. 1251, Potter county, by A. M. Cornell and H. H. Hall, with 17 charter members.

No. 1252, Potter county, by H. H. Hall, with 24 charter members.

No. 1253, McKean county, by L. W. Howden, with 26 charter members.

No. 1254, Potter county, by H. H. Hall, with 27 charter members.

No. 1255, Clinton county, J. A. Herr, with 20 charter members.

No. 1256, Schuylkill county, by J. H. Dunkleberger, with 42 charter members.

No. 1257, Erie county, by J. W. Tyndall, with 16 charter members.

No. 1258, Schuylkill county, by J. H. Dunkleberger, with 54 charter members.

No. 1259, Jefferson county, by F. W. Deemer, with 31 charter members.

No. 1260, Luzerne county, by A. M. Anderson, with 32 charter members.

No. 1261, Wyoming county, by O. E. Reynolds, with 24 charter members.

No. 1262, Warren county, by Geo. A. Woodside, with 32 charter members.

No. 1263, Chester county, by John H. Hicks, with 100 charter members.

No. 1264, Jefferson county, by G. H. Smail, with 27 charter members.

No. 1265, Erie county, by J. W. Tyndall, with 23 charter members.

No. 1266, McKean county, by L. W. Howden, with 21 charter members.

No. 1267, Clinton county, by A. G. Bloom, with 23 charter members.

No. 1268, McKean county, by L. W. Howden, with 19 charter members.

No. 1269, Chester county, by John H. Hicks, with 32 charter members.

No. 1270, York county, by Philip S. Bowman, 20 charter members.

No. 1271, Fayette county, by W. F. Hill, with 30 charter members.

No. 1272, Centre county, by John S. Dale, with 28 charter members.

No. 1273, Clarion county, by Ed. M. McEntire, with 23 charter members.

No. 1274, Potter county, by H. H. Hall, with 16 charter members.

No. 1275, Blair county, by Frank M. Glasgow, with 16 charter members.

No. 1276, Allegheny county, by R. K. McEwen, with 13 charter members.

No. 1277, Clearfield county, by Harrison Straw, with 14 charter members.

No. 1278, Susquehanna county, by A. C. Barrett, with 18 charter members.

No. 1279, Delaware county, by Thos. B. Palmer, with 56 charter members.

No. 1280, Bradford county, by A. T. Lilley, with 81 charter members.

No. 1281, Potter county, by Mrs. Gertie Nickerson, with 16 charter members.

Fifteen dormant Granges have been reorganized as follows:

No. 977, Wayne county, by Theodore Klein, with 19 charter members.

No. 835, Westmoreland county, by themselves, with 20 charter members.

No. 56, Columbia county, by themselves, with 48 charter members.

No. 1131, Venango county, by R. L. Dickey, with 57 charter members.

No. 254, Centre county, by John S. Dale with 23 charter members.

No. 1180, Lackawana county, by James Wardell, with 13 charter members.

No. 779, Centre county, by John S. Dale, with 20 charter members.

No. 761, Centre county, by I. S. Frain, with 17 charter members.

No. 653, Jefferson county, by G. H. Smail, with 25 charter members.

No. 853, Forest county, by W. F. Hill, with 35 charter members.

No. 869, Lehigh county, by L. B. Geiger, with 21 charter members.

No. 704, Westmoreland county, by themselves, with 15 charter members.

No. 877, Somerset county, by H. J. Hoffman, with 14 charter members.

No. 820, Wyoming county, by themselves.

No. 549, Armstrong county, by S. S. Blyholder, with 40 charter members.

Ten Granges have been dropped from the roll for nonpayment of dues.

No. 1080, Clearfield, consolidated with No. 623.

RECEIPTS.

Excess car fare, from Brothers Duff, Freed and Rittenhouse, of Fayette county.....	\$	1	36
Excess care fare, J. P. Michelson and wife.....		11	18
Donation from Allegheny Grange, No. 1208, Warren county, towards the expenses of this meeting.....		1	50

Fees and

"

"

"

"

Supplies

To

Order

Mileage of

Boston R

H. L. Ma

J. E. Bir

Gertie N

W. F. Hi

A. T. Lil

E. B. Don

M. N. Cla

Wallace C

John T. E

H. M. Go

Florence

H. G. Tea

Mrs. V. E

H. M. Go

Mrs. Mary

A. M. Cor

Ed. M. M

Geo. L. E

Florence

Katharin

Geo. A. V

S. E. Niv

S. E. Niv

H. H. Pra

A. C. Bar

J. T. Ailn

W. F. Hil

I. Frank C

Harry E.

J. T. Ailn

Anna H.

Amos Fle

W. A. Ba

PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE.

37

Fees and dues from delinquent Granges, 1903.....	\$305 54
“ “ for quarter ending December 31, 1903.....	2199 19
“ “ “ “ “ March 31, 1904.....	2625 10
“ “ “ “ “ June 30, 1904.....	2725 39
“ “ “ “ “ September 30, 1904.....	2942 26
Supplies Sold.....	629 28
Total.....	\$11,440 80

EXPENDITURES.

Orders were drawn on the Treasurer, as follows:

Mileage orders for State meeting, Wilkesbarre.....	\$3,683 25
Boston Regalia Co., Sashes.....	71 25
H. L. Mang, Inspection.....	6 00
J. E. Bird, Inspection.....	2 00
Gertie Nickerson, Inspection.....	1 00
W. F. Hill, Lecture Work.....	47 45
A. T. Lilley, Inspection.....	10 00
E. B. Dorsett, Inspection.....	3 00
M. N. Clark, Committee on Agricultural Education.....	22 34
Wallace Chase, Gate Keeper, State Meeting.....	10 38
John T. Patton, Finance Committee.....	90 40
H. M. Gooderham, Steward, State Meeting.....	17 80
Florence Rhone, Flora, State Meeting.....	12 00
H. G. Teagarden, Chaplain, State Meeting.....	22 45
Mrs. V. B. Holiday, Ceres, State Meeting.....	20 90
H. M. Gooderham, additional expenses, State Meeting.....	3 20
Mrs. Mary Fisher, Pomona, State Meeting.....	15 80
A. M. Cornell, Lecture Work.....	137 18
Ed. M. McEntire, Inspection.....	7 00
Geo. L. Ebbs, Credentials Committee, State Meeting.....	21 34
Florence Rhone, One Sixth Degree Fee lost.....	1 00
Katharine Dornblaser, Organist, State Meeting.....	10 00
Geo. A. Woodside, Inspection.....	17 00
S. E. Nivin, Salary, Taxes, &c.....	131 00
S. E. Nivin, Expenses, State Meeting.....	15 00
H. H. Pratt, Assistant Steward, State Meeting.....	19 10
A. C. Barrett, Overseer, State Meeting.....	10 00
J. T. Ailman, Secretary State Meeting.....	10 00
W. F. Hill, Master State Meeting.....	10 00
I. Frank Chandler, Ex. Committee, State Meeting.....	143 78
Harry E. Brown, Use Opera House, State Meeting.....	100 00
J. T. Ailman, Quarter Salary.....	187 50
Anna H. Bisbing, Inspection.....	1 00
Amos Fleisher, Inspection.....	1 00
W. A. Bayer, Inspection.....	11 00

Theo. Klein, Inspection.....	2 00
C. A. Morris, Inspection.....	2 00
W. H. Weamer, Inspection.....	10 00
W. M. Benninger, Lecture Work.....	10 00
J. M. Seamans, Inspection	6 00
B. F. Dannehower, Inspection.....	1 00
J. W. Tyndall, Inspection.....	12 00
A. T. Lilley, Premium, reorganizing No. 111.....	9 50
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	50 66
Della Hunsinger, L. A. S., State Meeting.....	8 26
O. P. Bryant, Inspection.....	10 00
W. F. Hill, Printing 6,000 Copies Leg. Committee Report...	10 00
J. E. Bird, Premium, reorganizing No. 1081	4 25
N. D. Snyder, Degree Team, State Meeting.....	45 00
Juniata Star, Printing	99 92
J. T. Ailman, Type Writer.....	65 00
R. H. Thomas, Supplies.....	60 42
W. A. Bayer, Inspection.....	7 00
Anna H. Bisbing, Inspection.....	1 00
W. H. Benninger, Lecture Work.....	10 00
Harrison Straw, Inspection.....	1 00
L. W. Howden, Inspection.....	5 00
W. T. Creasy, Legislative Committee	10 65
A. H. Litchard, Inspection.....	3 00
C. H. Dildine.....	2 00
Theo. Klein, Premium, reorganizing 977.....	4 75
I. Frank Chandler, Ex. Com	16 62
Samuel Stewart, Inspection.....	2 00
Peter Gearhart, Deputy Work, Elk Co.....	18 43
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	58 10
Newell White, Supplies.....	10 80
W. F. Hill, One Quarter Salary.....	125 00
C. H. Dildine, Lecture Work.....	1 50
W. F. Hill, Postage	20 00
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	8 00
C. H. Dildine, Lecture Work.....	13 74
Penn. Farmer, Printing Register	50 40
H. L. Mang, Inspection.....	6 65
E. B. Dorsett, Inspection	4 00
Lazarus Murray, Inspection.....	3 00
Juniata Star, Printing.....	23 20
G. W. Oster, Ex. Committee.....	37 29
Weekly Review, Osterburg, Printing.....	8 75
R. L. Dickey, Premium, reorganizing No. 1131.....	14 25
C. E. Green, Lecture Work	12 34
A. M. Cornell, Lecture Work.....	148 33

W. F. H.
H. G. S.
A. Nev
Reading
C. M. F.
Eva S.
30, a
C. M. F.
C. M. F.
John S.
James
I. S. Fr
Inquire
J. T. A.
A. H. I.
Juniata
Harrish
Juniata
G. W. C.
Stearns
G. W. C.
W. F. H.
G. H. S.
Harrish
Weekly
R. S. Se
Oliver V
C. M. F.
Louis P.
A. Nev
John T.
W. F. H.
Eva S.
C. M. F.
H. W.
Oliver V
A. H. O.
S. R. Br
A. M. C.
J. T. Ai
W. F. B.
A. L. M.
Griffith
Eva S.
W. F. H.
D. W. H.

W. F. Hill, Salary, Postage, Lecture Work, &c	195 00
H. G. Smail, Inspection.....	2 00
A. Nevin Pomeroy, Printing.....	40 75
Reading Eagle, Printing	88 00
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	45 00
Eva S. McDowell, Nat. Grange Dues, Qrs. Ending Sept. 30, and Dec. 31, 1903.....	693 80
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	13 76
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	25 00
John S. Dale, Premium, reorganizing Nos. 254 and 779.....	10 75
James Wardell, Premium, reorganizing No. 1180	3 25
I. S. Frain, Premium, reorganizing No. 761.....	4 25
Inquirer Printing Co., Stationary	129 68
J. T. Ailman, Salary.....	187 50
A. H. Litchard, Inspection.....	1 00
Juniata Globe, Printing.....	9 00
Harrisburg Cycle and Typewriting Co., Stationery.....	7 65
Juniata Star, Printing.....	34 00
G. W. Oster, Ex. Committee.....	34 46
Stearns & Wildermuth, Prize Pictures.....	44 03
G. W. Oster, Lecture Work.....	9 72
W. F. Hill, Ex. Com., Postage and Lecture Work.....	81 70
G. H. Smail, Reorganizing No. 353	6 25
Harrisburg Cycle and Typewriting Co., Stationery	6 35
Weekly Review, Printing.....	7 15
R. S. Seeds, Lecture Work.....	16 60
Oliver Wilson, Lecture Work	100 00
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	45 00
Louis Piollet, Ex. Committee.....	56 00
A. Nevin Pomeroy, Printing.....	12 25
John T. Patton, Lecture Work (M. Whitehead).....	25 16
W. F. Hill, Lecture Work.....	118 17
Eva S. McDowell, National Grange Dues, Mar. qr.....	311 37
C. M. Freeman, Supplies.....	68 30
H. W. Wickersham, Printing.....	3 75
Oliver Wilson, Lecture Work.....	33 55
A. H. Olmstead, Lecture Work.....	7 90
S. R. Brunges, Legislative Committee	10 50
A. M. Cornell, Lecture Work.....	164 59
J. T. Ailman, two Qrs. Salary.....	375 00
W. F. Burchfield, Printing.....	26 44
A. L. Martin, Lecture Work	5 90
Griffith Printery, Printing.....	3 75
Eva S. McDowell, National Grange Dues, June Qr.....	316 72
W. F. Hill, One Qr. Salary.....	125 00
D. W. Burnett, Inspection.....	1 00

W. F. Hill, Lecture Work.....	45 60
I. Frank Chandler, Ex. Committee.....	14 58
A. Nevin Pomeroy, Cut for Grange News.....	4 25
C. N. Marsh, Inspection.....	3 00
Whitehead & Hoag Co., Supplies.....	11 41
A. T. Lilley, Inspection.....	11 00
Stearns & Wildemuth, Pictures.....	2 28
R. K. McEwen, Inspection.....	2 00
S. S. Blyholder, Lecture Work.....	9 55
A. Nevin Pomeroy, Printing.....	34 67
J. T. Ailman, Postage, Expressage and Office Supplies, 1904	385 45
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	\$9,935 72

Thus the receipts have exceeded the orders \$1,505.08.

NEWS ITEMS.

By your direction the publication of these items has been continued and a copy sent out each month. In order to know how they were being received by the various newspapers to which they were sent, early in the year a note was enclosed expressing the hope that the editor was finding a place in his paper for them, but requesting that if he could use them or any part of them, he should let us know as we had no desire to send them where they were not wanted. But one paper in the State asked to have them discontinued. Although no reply was asked for from those who wanted them quite a number wrote saying that they were using them and hoped to continue receiving them. A few new papers have been added to the list so that we are now sending them to 284 newspapers.

The measure of good that is thus being done cannot be determined, but there are such possibilities for good in it that the work should be continued and pushed.

In order to keep it before the membership as much as possible whenever there was opportunity to send it without extra postage—as in sending quarterly blanks, etc., a larger edition was printed and thus distributed.

I regret that the complaint made a year ago must be repeated. There is not sufficient interest taken by the members of the Order in sending in items. This work can only be made what it ought to be by your co-operation. Frequently accounts of meetings and special occasions are sent by members to the Grange papers but not a line to the Secretary's office. These items cannot be copied as they would no longer be news when thus sent at second hand. It is all right to report your special occasions to the Grange papers. When you are doing it send a copy or at least a few notes to the Secretary of the State Grange or whoever may have charge of this work another year. It is not necessary to wait for some special occasion so that you may report some

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happening. Send some of your best thoughts on Grange work, Grange achievements, Grange possibilities and they will be gladly received and used as far as space will allow.

Fraternally submitted,

J. T. AILMAN,
Secretary.

This work has cost the State Grange about \$80.00.

Approved December 14, 1904.

D. B. McWILLIAMS,
JNO. T. PATTON,
S. B. BROWN,
Finance Committee.

Report received and referred to Finance Committee.

Worthy Assistant Steward, Harry H. Pratt, and Worthy Gate Keeper, Wallace Chase, made verbal reports.

Worthy Ceres, Mrs. V. B. Holiday, presented her report, as follows:
Worthy Master, Sisters and Brothers:

Again it becomes my pleasant duty to report to this body as Ceres of the State Grange.

Ceres, the Goddess of Agriculture, the myth concerning her search for her daughter, symbolizes the growth of grain.

What a high idea to be given to her, whose ambition should be to study nature in all its forms; to learn from shrub and plant the wisdom of God.

God has implanted in every heart a field to be cultivated according to the individual mind. Seeds sown in early life, the result will be in proportion to the cultivation given. We know that for each sowing there is a reaping that will come sooner or later, and remind us of our violations of Nature's laws.

The same results will be seen in our fields of grain if we do not cultivate, the weeds will destroy our crops and the harvest be light.

Flowers, fruit and grain alike need our careful attention until the harvesters and gleaners go forth to gather golden grain.

During the intermission of the State Grange I have found plenty of work to do for the Order, and I fear much has been left undone.

I have visited several Granges and found them in flourishing condition. In June I visited Chautauqua County Pomona Grange, and was one of the speakers at the public meeting. I find our sister State, New York, very enthusiastic in Grange work.

Sisters and Brothers, this session of Pennsylvania State Grange closes the session of labor of your present officers. We have endeavored to be faithful in the discharge of every duty as our various offices demanded. And while we thank you for honors conferred upon us, and feel sure those who may succeed us in office will receive the same courtesy from you, yet we would advise you, to choose wisely, re-

membering that youth, or flowers, is the Flora of the Grange; the middle aged or fruit the Pomona and silver locks or golden grain the Ceres of the Grange.

Thanking the officers and members of the State Grange for every kindness and courtesy shown me, and for confidence reposed in me, I now surrender my office with all of its pleasant duties to my successor, and bid Pennsylvania State Grange God's speed.

Fraternally submitted,

MRS. V. B. HOLIDAY,
Ceres Pennsylvania State Grange.

Report received and ordered printed in Journal.

The report of Worthy Flora, Miss Florence Rhone, was next received.

Worthy Master:

Six times Flora's breath has touched the sod since the trust of which I now render an account was placed in my keeping.

Upon the recommendation of the Worthy Master and the confidence reposed in them by the Subordinate Grange, of Pennsylvania, I have received at Flora's Court more than a thousand sisters and brothers and placed in their trust her emblem of purity and beauty.

The Sixth Degree was conferred in full form for the first time in 1885, when the National Grange met in Boston, Massachusetts, and two thousand persons were initiated into its mysteries. Prior to that time the degree was informally communicated to the members of the National Grange.

The fee of one dollar for the degree was also established in 1885 by a resolution introduced by Pennsylvania's delegates; and that our membership generally might have an opportunity to be invested with the beautiful degree of Flora, our Past Master offered a resolution at the Philadelphia session of the National Grange in 1886 to grant authority and power to the State Granges to confer this degree, which was adopted by the National Grange and ratified by the State Granges and at Harrisburg, in 1887, the Sixth Degree was first conferred by the Pennsylvania State Grange; and since then, regularly, at the Annual State Grange meetings, and when the Master deemed it wise, at special meetings in different parts of the State, thousands of sisters and brothers have sought and gained admission to Flora's Court.

It should be a question of duty, as well as pleasure, to every member of our organization that attends the State Grange meetings to avail themselves of its highest privilege, that of becoming a Sixth Degree member of our Order.

I take this opportunity to sincerely thank the sisters and brothers who have given me their kind assistance each year, and I ask for my successor the same hearty support.

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" May kind heav'n the glad day hasten,
When in one fraternal band,
We may number, in our Order,
All who till this smiling land."

Respectfully submitted,

FLORENCE RHONE, Flora.

The report was received and ordered published in the Journal.

Worthy Pomona, Mrs. Mary Fisher, submitted her report.

As your Pomona for the past year, I beg to report that I have performed the duties incumbent upon me to the best of my ability, and I only regret that my limited time restricted me in the performance of that duty, and prevented me from paying, in a greater measure, the debt of gratitude I owe the State Grange. During my term of office, though contributing but little to the advancement of this organization, I am conscious of the great good it is doing for the agricultural interests of this State, and would impress upon the members the necessity of helping, in every way, the officers of the Grange in the great work that is now going on under the auspices of this Order, every one contribute a little, a suggestion or a thought, though insignificant or simple, may yield great results, for you all know that the discovery of the great law of gravitation was first suggested to Newton by the fall of an apple.

Another year is now drawing to a close, and in a few short days will become a memory, and will add another leaf to time's victorious wreath. The seeds which we have sown in the spring, the soil we have tilled, and the vines we have trained, warmed and ripened by the summer sun, have now been gathered and harvested and stored away to enhance our worldly riches—this we repeat, year after year, in the pursuit of occupation, while our lives, unconsciously, are carried out on the same principle. For the seeds we sow in the spring of our youth, be they words or actions, good or evil, will ripen and grow and expand in the summer of our manhood, womanhood and in our declining years, will be a Harvest of Contentment, or like the apple on the Dead Sea shore, "all ashes to the taste." So let us not, while performing our worldly duties, neglect the cultivation of our minds, the training of our intellects, and the preparation of our spiritual being, for our appearance before the Great Master—and let us not, in doing this, put off for tomorrow what we can do to-day; let us give our eternal welfare at least the same attention we would give our fields and orchards, and tend in season to our seasons' wants that we may redeem in autumn the promises of spring. For, though none of us are free from the cares and trials of life, though all our pleasures are tempered by losses, yet we here in this fruitful country have much to be thankful for that is denied to others.

Turn for an instant, to the other side of the globe, where two great

armies are staining Manchurian fields with the blood of the best manhood of their respective nations—where engines of war, devices of slaughter, and machines of destruction are employed in fighting for a barren piece of ground, not large enough to bury those slain in battling for it. When we compare these nations with our own, when we look upon those soldiers offering up their lives for a cause of which they are ignorant, suffering hardships, want and hunger, we can see many things to be thankful for, for we have here peace, prosperity and contentment, and the priceless jewel of Liberty born of an enlightened and educated nation. Let us, therefore, dear Patrons, appreciate the blessings that are ours, let us be thankful that the high standard of intelligence, the peace-loving and industrious disposition of citizens, is a guarantee that we will continue along the even tenor of our ways, remaining as we are now, a beacon to the less fortunate nations, and a hope that we may realize in the future our dream of Universal Peace. This, however, cannot be accomplished in a day, many obstacles and difficulties must be overcome, education must be disseminated, religion must be taught, superstition must be uprooted, and civilization must go on, dealing with the condition of the times as we do with the vines, planting, training and pruning, and as we will often sacrifice the weaker sprigs that the healthier ones may receive their strength and vigor, so perhaps is the Divine intention being carried out, even in the terrible scenes that are recorded from day to day, which have filled the world with horror, and has inspired, more than anything else could, a desire that I sincerely hope will soon become a demand, that differences of opinion shall be settled by peaceful means.

So, Patrons, though we may in the face of this conflict feel discouraged, yet I think that the world is tending towards peace and good will, and while we may feel impatient let us remember that Heaven was not gained in a single bound. We build the ladder by which we climb. From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies, and climb to its summit round by round.

Fraternally submitted,

MARY MILLAR FISHER, Pomona.

Report received and ordered published in the Journal.

On motion of Worthy Treasurer, S. E. Nivin, it was ordered that the railroad fare of delegates to this meeting by the shortest and most convenient route be paid out of the funds of the State Grange.

Sister Surface, wife of Dr. H. A. Surface, of the Department of Agriculture, entertained the Grange with a vocal solo.

Fear being entertained that the hall would not hold the audience this evening, on motion of Brother S. S. Blyholder, it was agreed to accept the offer of the Chamber of Commerce to use their hall for an overflow meeting.

It was moved by Brother I. Frank Chandler, and carried, that the following order of business be observed:

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Tuesday afternoon, reports of officers.

Tuesday evening, open session.

Wednesday morning, announcement of Committees, presentation of resolutions for reference without debate, and reports of officers.

Wednesday afternoon, reports of officers, reports of Committees and Degree Work.

Wednesday evening, conferring degrees.

Thursday morning, reports of committees.

Thursday afternoon, election of officers.

Thursday evening, unfinished business.

Friday morning, installation of officers and unfinished business.

Grange closed in full form.

TUESDAY EVENING.

Public meeting presided over by the President of the Board of Trade.

His Honor, Mayor William Hardwick, welcomed the Grange in the following address:

Worthy Master, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am delegated by the Local Committee to bid the members of the State Grange welcome to the city of Erie. We thank you for coming and bid you welcome, and hope to make you entirely at home among us.

We have a little empire up here in the northwest corner of the State. It stretches back over the ridge of hills into a rich and productive farming country dotted with thriving towns, and it strikes the shore of Lake Erie from the Ohio line to New York. We wish you could see it at its best, with its vineyards and orchards and gardens and splendid farms. It would be difficult to find anywhere a more beautiful country or piece of territory that is of greater value. Midway on this line of beauty lies the city of Erie, a gateway for the State of Pennsylvania to the great lakes, a city of nearly 60,000 people, and a workshop of many varied industries—second to no city of its size in the State in the extent of its manufactured products—and Pennsylvania is the great manufacturing State of the Union. But great as Pennsylvania is in its manufacturing interests, the products of which are carried to the ends of the civilized world, and wonderful as are her resources in lumber and oil and iron and coal, yet the leading interest of Pennsylvania is agriculture.

The members of this convention represent more capital invested in farms and stock and buildings, and more men and women of intelligence devoted to the various industries of the farm—agriculture, horticulture, dairy products, poultry and the like—than can be found in any other single pursuit wherein the people of our Commonwealth are engaged. We recognize the farm as the true basis of a very large

measure of the material prosperity enjoyed by our people, and we rejoice in the increased prosperity of all those who have been engaged in farm work during the past few years, and hope it will continue. We are all familiar with the effective work that is being done by the farmers of our Commonwealth in agitating for and securing good roads, in beautifying and making more attractive rural homes, in establishing libraries and schools of high grade, in securing pure food laws, and in promoting legislation in other directions for the common good of all the people. I could not begin to enumerate all that has been accomplished by your persistent and well directed effort, working always in the direction of the highest interests of all the people, and what has made the effort in this direction so successful has been intelligent organization in county and State of the various interests represented in your convention.

You are assembled in our city to consider these interests, to take note of the progress you have made, and by reports and discussions to advance the agricultural interests of the State.

We welcome you to our city, and trust that the addresses to which you will listen, the discourses and deliberations and interchange of opinion will all contribute to your profit and to the advancement of the interests you represent, and that you may carry away only the most pleasant impressions of your visit to the city of Erie.

Addresses were also delivered by his Honor, Judge Walling; Worhy Ceres, Mrs. V. B. Holiday; Worthy Master, W. F. Hill; Sister Clara T. Olmstead.

Sister Olmstead's address was as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Patrons, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with great pleasure that I appear before you to speak in behalf of the sisters of Northwestern Pennsylvania. Not because of my uperior ability to give you a brilliant address, for I am fully persuaded that very many of the constituency I here represent are far more capable to do this than I, but I believe there are but few who have been connected with the Grange as long, many years, consequently it seems fitting that it should be so. Then, in the name of the sister Patrons of the Northwest, we beg his honor, the Mayor, to accept our sincere thanks for the beautiful and kindly welcome accorded to us on this occasion, and we trust that we shall prove to him before the close of our stay in this delightful city, to which this State Grange has been so cordially welcomed, that his confidence in our Order has not been misplaced, but that the citizens here who have looked forward to our coming with something akin to curiosity and wonder, may hereafter think of the "Patrons of Husbandry" as an organization of men and women who are earnestly striving to make their occupation what our great Creator designed it to be, the most honorable.

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The Grange has for its object the advancement of the farmers and laborer as a class, the elevation to a higher manhood and womanhood of its own membership, and all with whom they come in contact, and being national, and we may say, international in its character, its field is wide and its opportunities innumerable.

The farmer and his wife, who have been members of the Grange for ten, twenty or thirty years are not the ignorant, uncouth, awkward, ill-mannered specimens of country citizenship which they are sometimes caricatured, but as the young man from the city remarked, with so much disgust, "You cannot tell a farmer from anybody else now-a-days."

The Grange has been the emancipator of the woman of the rural districts. It breaks the monotony of their lives, they attend the Grange (which was the first secret organization to open wide its doors to them in perfect equality,) leaving for a short time their cares and labors, which are always so numerous, enjoying a ride, or walk, in the fresh air, with the beauties of nature on every side, which is of itself a source of strength and pleasure. The session has always something of interest. There is no question of importance which may not be discussed and there are but few in which the farmer is not either directly or indirectly interested, and whatever concerns the home is of equal interest to the wife and mother. It has been a powerful factor in their lives in cultivating, and educating, and developing their latent abilities and we frequently hear the remark that "the Grange has made a different woman" of some of the sisters, and we are constrained to say that the "new woman" is here in the Grange and they have taken upon us so silently and so imperceptibly that we were not aware of their presence, and while they do not clamor so loudly for the right of franchise as do some others, yet when it does come, they will, in the majority of instances, vote intelligently.

The sisters show their appreciation of the privileges and advantages of the Grange by their devotion to its interest. Statistics show that while the number of male members exceeds that of the females, the attendance of females exceeds that of the males.

Now, to the Patrons, sisters and brothers, from the north, the east, and the south, we bid you a cordial welcome to the shores of this historical lake, and we would you might view it, and the surrounding scenery, when clothed with the beauty and verdure of the golden summer time. Welcome, thrice welcome, to this small corner of our grand old Commonwealth.

We have anticipated your long and wearsome journey over mountains and along rivers. Our thoughts have been pleasant as we remember many dear faces we were want to meet at State Grange. One of whose most delightful features is the meeting of old acquaintances and the forming of new. We know you have come with faith in our Order, in hope of a successful State meeting, with charity for all that

may not meet your approval, and with fidelity to our principles. We believe that no better Order exists. Many perplexing questions arise requiring careful thought and deliberation in the solving of them and the Grange always stands for right principles and justice to all, and in the years to come we shall see it an important element in the settling of many of the questions that are agitating the people of the whole nation, "The Peace tribunal of American differences."

As we look into your faces, bright with anticipation and strong with a purpose high and grand, we sincerely hope that this meeting, away up here in the corner, will be fraught with the most pleasant memories, may the utmost harmony prevail, in all its deliberations, and all differences of opposition be clothed with the beautiful mantle of charity, and may such legislation be here enacted as shall be for the greatest good to the greatest number.

And may each member return to their Subordinate Grange with an inspiration to higher aims and greater achievements in the year to come.

Press on! there's no such word as fail!
 Press nobly on! the goal is near;
 Ascend the mountains! breast the gale!
 Look upward, onward; never fear!
 Why shouldst thou faint? Heaven smiles above;
 Though storms and vapor intervene;
 That sun shines on; whose name is Love;
 Serenely o'er life's shadowed scene.

Therefore, press on! and reach the goal,
 And gain the prize, and wear the crown!
 Faint not! far to the steadfast soul
 Come wealth, and honor, and renown
 To thine own self be true; and keep
 Thy mind from sloth; thy heart from soil;
 Press on! and thou shalt surely reap
 A heavenly harvest for thy toil.

CLARA T. OLMSTEAD.

Most of these speakers also spoke at the large overflow meeting held in the hall of the Chamber of Commerce.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

Grange opened in full form with Worthy Master, W. F. Hill, in the chair.

A male quartett, composed of Brothers C. G. Cherry, G. L. Harrington, Edward Brown and B. E. Kinney, with Mrs. H. J. Curtis presiding at the organ—all members of Grange No. 1214, Erie county, entertained the Grange.

The following committees were appointed:

S. B. B.
 John A.
 Clifford
 J. C. W.
 Mrs. S.
 G. W. E.

N. D. S.
 Wm. B.
 Geo. W.
 Isaac H.
 Mrs. L.

A. W. F.
 T. A. F.
 Willard
 Mrs. W.
 Mrs. C.

A. H. C.
 David L.
 E. S. D.
 N. Bish
 Mrs. J.

Mrs. J.
 Wm. R.
 C. L. E.
 Jerry A.
 Mrs. J.

T. J. S.
 W. A.
 Rachel
 G. B. V.
 W. A.

Herman
 Mrs. C.

EDUCATION.

S. B. Bayle, 423, Erie.
John A. McSparran, 66, Lancaster.
Clifford Brinton, 1141, Delaware.
J. C. Walker, 274, Clinton.
Mrs. S. S. Blyholder, 537, Armstrong.
G. W. Patterson, 1022, Fayette.

GOOD OF THE ORDER.

N. D. Snyder, 178, Bradford.
Wm. B. Coates, 980, Chester.
Geo. W. Teeter, 512, Bradford.
Isaac Hughes, 1123, Cambria.
Mrs. L. C. Burroughs, 204, Bradford.

TRANSPORTATION.

A. W. Dale, 159, Centre.
T. A. Fiscus, 515, Armstrong.
Willard Dale, 109, Centre.
Mrs. Wm. McNaughton, 808, Clearfield.
Mrs. Chas. C. Hess, 1272, Centre.

CO-OPERATION.

A. H. Olmstead, 236, Warren.
David E. Chambers, 1263, Chester.
E. S. Davis, 563, Clarion.
N. Bishline, 46, Columbia.
Mrs. J. E. Williams, 812, Luzerne.

POMONA GRANGES.

Mrs. J. D. Baker, 74, Susquehanna.
Wm. Roseburg, 960, Beaver.
C. L. King, 1104, Bedford.
Jerry A. Eberhart, 244, Butler.
Mrs. J. W. Griffin, 1117, Cambria.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

T. J. Seavey, 800, Crawford.
W. A. Bayer, 1115, Cambria.
Rachel Hicks, 63, Chester.
G. B. Wachob, 964, Clearfield.
W. A. Hostetler, 776, Juniata.

RESOLUTIONS.

Herman Gregory, 1155, Elk.
Mrs. Clara Cole, 988, Crawford.

R. M. Tingley, 924 Susquehanna.
 Mrs. Cora Copestick, 1033, Tioga.
 Hon. R. Karns, 88 Columbia.

AGRICULTURE.

Geo. R. North, 1179, Chester.
 H. H. Henshey, 664, Blair.
 Harry S. Johnson, 1206, Bucks.
 Mrs. M. F. Tingley, 418, Susquehanna.
 F. E. Flaugh, 164, Crawford.

GRIEVANCES.

E. D. Stewart, 1025, Warren.
 H. H. Hall, 1204, Potter.
 W. J. Everett, 912, Tioga.
 Mrs. Nora Shallenberger, 538, Mercer.
 A. H. Litchard, 1150, Montour.

SALARIES.

E. J. Stover, 974, Huntingdon.
 M. W. Reeser, 365, Sullivan.
 Mrs. Geo. C. Buckman, 684, Bucks.
 J. A. Herr, 274, Clinton.
 Mrs. H. E. Owens, 1240, Clearfield.

LEGISLATION.

J. H. Dunkleberger, 1242, Schuylkill.
 Eugene Bently, 1205, Warren.
 C. H. DeWitt, 84, Tioga.

DORMANT GRANGES.

Theo. Klein, 898, Wayne.
 J. M. Suter, 607, Bedford.
 J. C. Reed, 314, Washington.
 J. W. Ruth, 1011, Westmoreland.
 Mrs. J. W. Johnson, 1249, Wyoming.
 Mrs. W. S. Newcomer, 890, York.

JUVENILE GRANGES.

Mrs. Stanley C. Moore, 83, Bradford.
 Mrs. N. D. Snyder, 178, Bradford.
 C. E. Green, 628, Elk.
 C. B. Fassett, 1153, Wyoming.

The roll of counties was then called for the presentation of resolutions for reference to committees without debate.

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Resolutions were presented on the following subjects and referred to the committees indicated:

1. Parcels Post—Legislative.
2. Initiative and Referendum—Legislative.
3. Taxation—Legislative.
4. Treating—Good of the Order.
5. Grout Bill—Legislative.
6. Initiative and Referendum—Legislative.
7. Parcels Post and Postal Savings Bank—Legislative.
8. Grout Bill—Legislative.
9. Thanks to Senator Penrose and North American—Legislative.
10. Appointments in Agricultural Department—Agriculture.
11. Legislative Council—Good of the Order.
12. Constitutional Amendment—Constitution and By-Laws.
13. Constitutional Amendment—Constitution and By-Laws.
14. Appropriation to Normal Schools—Legislative.
15. Amendment—Constitution and By-Laws.
16. Appropriation for Normal Schools—Education.
17. Protection for Quail—Legislative.
18. Chas. Kerner—Grievances.
19. Grout Bill—Legislative.
20. Automobiles—Legislative.
21. Trolleys to Carry Freight—Legislative.
22. Initiative and Referendum—Legislative.
23. Appropriation for Experiment Station—Legislative.
24. License Taxes—Legislative.
25. Treating—Legislative.
26. Local Option—Legislative.
27. Fire Insurance—Good of the Order.
28. Five Per Cent. Rebate on Taxes—Legislative.
29. Tax Equalization—Legislative.
30. Publishing Laws—Legislative.
31. Assisting Weak Granges—Good of the Order.
32. Thanks to Legislative Committee—Good of the Order.
33. Wide Wagon Tires—Legislative.
34. Fines for Allowing Weeds to Grow—Legislative.
35. Contamination of Streams—Legislative.
36. Increase Powers for Interstate Commerce Commission—Legislative.

The following message from Hon. Aaron Jones, Worthy Master of the National Grange, was read:

SOUTH BEND, IND., Dec. 12, 1904.

To Worthy Master, Pennsylvania State Grange:

Greetings and good wishes to Pennsylvania State Grange. May the work done be to the best interest of the Order, and may you all have a

pleasant and successful meeting and may each and all enjoy prosperity personally.

Yours fraternally,

MR. AND MRS. AARON JONES.

By a unanimous vote the Worthy Secretary was ordered to convey to Worthy Master and Sister Jones the thanks and good wishes of the State Grange.

Dr. B. H. Warren, Dairy and Food Commissioner, was introduced and addressed the State Grange.

The following resolutions were introduced by Brother Frank P. Willits, of Delaware county, who moved their adoption. Motion carried by a unanimous vote:

RESOLUTION NO. A.

WHEREAS, The dairy interests of Pennsylvania and the Nation have been greatly aided by the Grout bill, which provides a tax of 10 cents per pound on all colored oleomargarine sold in the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is asserted on reliable authority that the oleo combine and other kindred interests which are antagonistic to the farmers and dairymen are making determined efforts to secure the repeal of said Grout bill, or so amend it as to reduce the tax and thereby cripple the great dairy interests of this country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Worthy Master and one other member of the State Grange, together with the Dairy and Food Commissioner of Pennsylvania, be appointed as a special committee on behalf of the State Grange of Pennsylvania, to appear before the committees of the Senate and House at Washington, D. C., to protest against the proposed repeal of the Grout bill, or any change in the same which will reduce the tax of 10 cents per pound; also,

Resolved, That we earnestly request the Pure Butter Protective Association, of Pennsylvania, the State Dairy Union, of Pennsylvania, and the Stock Breeders' Association, of Pennsylvania, to select representatives to join the members of the special committee of the State Grange in its protest to be made at the National capitol as above indicated.

Resolved, That the Worthy Secretary shall send at as early a date as possible a copy of this preamble and resolution to each of the following named organizations:

Pure Butter Protective Association.

State Dairy Union and Stock Breeders' Association.

On motion of Brother S. M. McHenry, of Indiana county, it was ordered that the traveling expenses of the committee be paid out of State Grange Treasury.

A special order for 3 o'clock this afternoon was made for the exemption of the First and Second Degrees by the degree team of

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Kiser Hill Mead, No. 1177, Crawford county.

The Executive Committee submitted their report.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Fellow Patrons:

Another year has passed since last we met, and today we are again assembled to devise ways and means to aid in advancing the cause of our Order and thereby lift up, elevate and promote the agricultural interests of our State and nation.

During the year your committee has endeavored to keep in mind the welfare of the Order in all matters and things that have been presented to us for consideration and action.

HARRISBURG MEETING.

At the call of the Worthy Master we met at Harrisburg, January 7th and 8th last, to lay plans for a vigorous campaign during the year. Quite a number of matters of more or less importance were considered and acted upon at that time.

It was agreed that we offer as a prize a photograph of the State Grange officers as taken in a group at Wilkesbarre to every Grange in the State that would add five or more members to its rolls during the first quarter of the year, and we are pleased to note that one hundred and nineteen Granges won this prize.

We also offered an additional prize of a handsome banner to the five Granges in the State that would add the largest number of members to their roll during the year ending September 30, 1904, and whose reports were received by the State Secretary before November 1st. This caused a friendly rivalry and competition among many of the Granges that entered the contest and strove to win one of these beautiful prizes. The following Granges are the winners of the prize banners, and they will be formerly presented to the representatives of the respective Granges during the week in open session of the State Grange, to wit:

Eldred Grange, No. 1237, McKean county, gained 82.

Sparta Grange, No. 110, Crawford county, gained 71.

Towanda Valley Grange, No. 204, Bradford county, gained 62.

Central Grange, No. 1216, Potter county, gained 62.

Athens Grange, No. 304, Crawford county, gained 59.

We believe that the offering of these prizes has stimulated many Granges to greater activity than they otherwise would have exerted, in the hope of winning a prize and that it has consequently done the Order much good in the State.

BUREAU OF EXCHANGE.

The matter of the Bureau of Exchange was considered at considerable length, and it was finally decided that the work properly belonged to the Executive Committee, and the matter was placed in the hands

of the Secretary of the Committee who will present a report during the week.

GRANGE PAMPHLET.

By direction of your committee the State Secretary prepared the little pamphlet setting forth and explaining the objects, principles and purposes of the Order, giving cost of membership, etc., and had an edition of ten thousand copies printed, which have been sent out along with correspondence and otherwise distributed broadcast over the State. The little book met with universal approval, and repeated requests were made for them in quantities for distribution by many wide-awake Granges, and we believe that they have accomplished great good and have supplied a long felt want and need for literature of that kind, and we recommend that another addition of said pamphlet be published.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

We are highly gratified to know that our financial condition is excellent, and that we have on hand the largest cash balance that we have had for many years.

The gain is a healthy one, and shows that during the year we have made a net gain of \$1,600 over that of a year ago, exclusive of the business houses rebates.

SURPLUS FUND.

In accordance with the action of this body a year ago the rebates received from business houses have been set aside and held as a separate fund to be known as a surplus fund, and will be invested by the Treasurer and the Executive Committee at the earliest practicable date. The amount to start with is a creditable sum as will be seen by the following receipts for

REBATES FROM BUSINESS HOUSES:

J. A. Deitzler & Co.....	\$98 72
Lester Shoe Co.....	3 78
Chas. W. Ford & Co.....	1 20
Henry Phillips Seed and Implement Co.....	17 17
C. H. Dildine.....	1 58
Weinstock, Lubin & Co.....	10 00
Baltimore Pulverizing Co.....	15 00
The Hooven & Allison Co.....	121 50
W. P. Rupert & Sons.....	1 21
Patterson & Evans.....	9 73
O. W. Ingersoll.....	20 40
Jno. T. Bailey & Co.....	3 04
Thornton Barnes.....	286 63
L. Z. Replogle & Co.....	2 02
Garver Bros. Co.....	20 50

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Garitee & Sons.....	12 00
Demorest Mfg. Co.....	1 19
Whitehead & Hoag Co.....	20 45
Danforth Chemical Co.....	29
Whitney Noyes Seed Co.....	7 47
B. F. Foster.....	40 20
G. H. Calvin.....	71
Farm Journal.....	1 75
Heman Glass.....	9 18
Geo. W. Oster.....	2 40
Derrick Oil Co.....	14 26
Scientific Fertilizer Co.....	23 96
Total.....	<u>\$746 34</u>

OUR BUSINESS HOUSES.

The foregoing list of rebates received shows a handsome gain over the receipts from this source for the past several years.

This increase is due to the healthy increase in membership, and the fact that our members have patronized our business more liberally during the past year than they have for several years past.

This is as it should be, and we bespeak for our houses under contract the same and even a more liberal patronage in the future. If our business system is to be maintained it must be upheld and supported by our membership more generally than heretofore.

GRANGE PAPERS.

We again urge upon Patrons the importance and necessity of patronizing the Grange Press more liberally.

One or more Grange papers should go into every Grange family and home regularly and be read by all Patrons, so that all may keep posted on the doings of the Order throughout the State and nation.

STATE GRANGE PRINTING.

As usual we have asked for bids for printing of the Grange Register and Journal of Proceedings, and the miscellaneous printing required by the State Grange, and in all cases the contract has been awarded to the lowest bidder, thus saving a snug sum in the item of printing annually.

CLASSIFIED EXPENDITURES.

The following amounts have been expended during the year for the several departments of Grange work, to wit:

Mileage Orders (503) Session of 1903.....	\$3,679 50
Other Expenses, State Meeting, 1903.....	299 88
Inspection.....	145 00

Printing.....	582 21
Salaries.....	1,225 00
Lecture Work	1,024 44
Executive Committee.....	312 45
Finance Committee.....	90 40
Legislative Committee.....	21 15
National Grange Dues	1,321 89
Supplies.....	405 45
Postage, Expressage and Other Miscellaneous Expenses.....	817 35
Total.....	<u>\$9,924 72</u>

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Balance in hands of Treasurer, Dec. 1, 1903.....	\$11,490 31
Received from Fees and Dues.....	11,526 57
Total.....	<u>\$23,016 88</u>
Paid Out as per Vouchers.....	<u>\$9,924 72</u>

Balance in hands of Treasurer, Dec. 1, 1904..... \$13,092 16

These figures show a net gain of \$1,601.85 over last year's balance, and it is pleasing to know that the State Grange is on a good, sound financial basis, and that peace, harmony, prosperity and good will prevails throughout our ranks everywhere.

Let us cherish the hope that the year 1905 will be even a more prosperous one for our Order than the past year, and we trust thall all will labor together to accomplish this end.

Faternally submitted,

LOUIS PIOLLET.

I. FRANK CHANDLER.

GEORGE W. OSTER.

Report received and a special order for its consideration was made for 2:15 o'clock today.

The Worthy Master appointed the following committees on Master's address:

D. W. Burnett, 337, Mercer.

W. K. Douglass, 1135, Cambria.

Recess declared until 2 P. M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Grange resumed business at 2 P. M.

Additional resolutions were introduced for reference without debate.

No. 40, Payment of Picnic Speakers—Good of the Order.

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No. 41, Absence of Subordinate Grange Officers—Good of the Order.

The hour of 2:15 having arrived, the consideration of the Executive Committee's report was taken up.

On motion, it was ordered to be considered seriatim.

The several items were adopted as read.

The adoption of the report, as a whole, was agreed to.

Worthy Lady Assistant Steward, Mrs. Della Hunsinger, presented her report.

Worthy Master, Sisters and Brothers:

During the year 1904, which has nearly passed, the Grange fields have been so thoroughly gleaned by our higher officials and by our earnest working Patrons, that I have had little opportunity to perform much work pertaining to my office.

I have done little active work, yet my thoughts have been given to the work of the Order. During the past year our Grange, No. 365, of which I am a member, had the honor of having the beautiful degree of Flora conferred on a class of sixty-three, by our Worthy State Master, Lecturer, Secretary and Sister Anna Bisbing, who presided at the Court of Flora.

I think it would be a help to our cause if more meetings of this kind could be held in different parts of the State.

Never before have we seen so much zeal manifested in all the departments of our work, never has there been such thorough organization and such deep interest in the prosperity of our Order as in this year of its existence.

I hope and trust that our cause may prosper until all who are engaged in agricultural pursuits are within our gates.

As Lady Assistant Steward of this Pennsylvania State Grange, it has been my duty, as well as pleasure, to attend the State meetings promptly and regularly. I have endeavored to be faithful to the best of my ability. Thanking you for the honor and trusting that my successor may fill the office with more ability.

Respectfully submitted,

DELLA HUNSINGER.

Report received and ordered printed in the Journal.

The Worthy Overseer, Hon. A. C. Barrett, submitted his report.

Worthy Master and Members of Pennsylvania State Grange:

Again it becomes my duty and pleasure to submit my annual report. It gives me great pleasure to be able to report that the condition of the Order is very encouraging, and our success should inspire us with new zeal and energy and an unquenchable thirst and desire for greater victories. We were not satisfied with the addition of five thousands members to our ranks in the year 1903, but augmented the strength of the Order in Pennsylvania in the year 1904 with seven

thousand new members; and now, brothers and sisters, let us gird on the Grange armor and martial our forces for greater conquests, and we can in the ensuing year of 1905 add ten thousand new recruits to the army of Patrons of Husbandry in our grand old Keystone State, but while I earnestly desire to see every representative farmer in the Nation a member of the Grange, to make it possible to co-operate as a unit, there are problems confront us of as much importance, as increase in membership. I have repeatedly advocated co-operation in marketing the products of the farm. I consider it the key to success. The farmer can never compete with the other industries of the world until he devises some system whereby he can fix the price on his productions. I am glad to note that Brother Jones, Master of our National Grange, in his annual address, said, "Grapple with the distribution problem, and says in the matter of the distribution and sale of the products of the farm we confront the most difficult problem connected with the successful management of the farm. The members of the Grange must courageously grapple with this problem. Conditions will never become better until the farmers devise better and more economic methods than now in use. The principles involved must be kept before the farmers of the United States until they are successfully applied. Then, and not till then, will agriculture take its rightful position and wield the influence that it is justly entitled to in the councils of the Nation, and with the industrial activities of the country." In my report to the State Grange in 1897 I outlined the increasing tendency toward the centralizing of capital and its inevitable results. In the past seven years there has been a marked increase in the accumulations of the money Kings. I well remember the time that a millionaire was a wonder; now a million dollars among the money magnates is only genteel pauperism. In my report of 1898 I outlined a system of produce exchanges through which the farmer could fix the price and control the products of the farm. I believe it possible through the co-operative efforts of the farmer organized, to accomplish this end. The Grange has surmounted many obstacles, it has outridden the storms of ridicule and prejudice, and is now sailing in comparatively smooth water, with bright prospects ahead, great victories have been won, but still greater opportunities are before us. The farmer should more fully realize his importance in the world; that his is the basic industry, and that all prosperity is buttressed upon agriculture, all other are coincident with the great industry that feeds the world. The whole world depends upon the bread basket, the farmer is the man of destiny. The land with the most farmers is the strongest and the richest. He is our true King and Ruler. In conclusion, I would serve notice that Susquehanna county is doing business at the old stand, while we have organized only one Grange in the past year, we have large and substantial additions to our membership, and the twenty-eight Subordinate Granges at our December Pomona reported a mem-

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bership of nearly two thousand three hundred, and I expect to organize two or three more in the near future. And now, brothers and sisters, let us plan the Grange campaign for the ensuing year, and throw out the life line to every struggling farmer, and land him safely within the gates. It isn't what we preach that inspires those who know us, but what we do, what we practice.

Fraternally submitted,

A. C. BARRETT, Overseer.

Report recieved and ordered to be spread upon the minutes.

The First and Second degrees were presented in a manner that reflected great credit on the team.

Brother F. A. Derthick, Worthy Master of Ohio State Grange, was introduced and entertained the State Grange in a pleasing and instructive address.

Brother Derthick was followed by Brother E. B. Norris, Worthy Master of New York State Grange, in an equally pleasing and appropriate manner.

Recess until 8 o'clock P. M.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The evening was devoted to degree work. Opened in full form in Sixth degree by Worthy Master, W. F. Hill.

During the intermission the following sisters and brothers were obligated in the Fifth degree:

Name.	Number.	P. O.	County.
Abner C. Shakely,	1234	Parker's Landing,	Armstrong.
Kie E. Brown,	531	Sulpher Springs,	Bedford.
G. W. Aurandt,	1275	Yellow Springs,	Blair.
John O'Sullivan,	1228	Towanda,	Bradford.
Lyman Sherbine,	1119	Wilmore,	Cambria.
John W. Orr,	223	Walker,	Centre.
David E. Chambers,	1263	East Lynn,	Chester.
D. R. Elliott,	1235	West Freedom,	Clarion.
Wm. McNaughton,	808	DuBois,	Clearfield.
Jennie McNaughton,	808	DuBois,	Clearfield.
W. H. H. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clinton.
Ella M. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clinton.
Mrs. Zoe Ford,	880	Conneautville,	Crawford.
Maggie E. Greenfield,	502	Conneautville,	Crawford.
Daniel Sherick,	956	Meadville,	Crawford.
F. M. Hazen,	910	Venango,	Crawford.
Grace Hurst,	297	Albion,	Erie.
E. May Bayle,	423	Fairview,	Erie.
Rufus W. Swift,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.

Alice T. Swift,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.
Mrs. W. E. Lawrence,	1097	Erie, R. F. D. No. 3,	Erie.
J. H. Rittenhouse,	1169	Smock,	Fayette.
W. S. Huyatt,	375	Alexandria,	Huntingdon.
Rhoda Freese,	573	Arcadia,	Indiana.
Franklin W. Deemer,	1259	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
Edward R. Syphrit,	854	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
Lizzie Hostetler,	776	Walnut,	Juniata.
Gertrude Beisecker,	251	Bald Mount,	Lackawana.
Mrs. Emma Williams,	812	Alderson R. F. D. No. 1,	Luzerne.
Wm. T. Lynch,	1253	Turtle Point,	McKean.
John T. Bond,	393	Sandy Lake R. F. D. No. 24,	Mercer.
Aaron S. Worden,	1183	Ulysses,	Potter.
Mary Tauscher,	1246	Roulett,	Potter.
P. H. Merrick,	876	Knoxville,	Tioga.
Frank Donaldson,	1151	Tidioute,	Warren.
Frankie Flatt,	1205	Corydon,	Warren.
Ida Hale,	870	Ackley,	Warren.
Christena Morgan,	1042	Scandia,	Warren.
L. M. Hazeltine,	1025	Warren,	Warren.
J. W. Ruth,	1011	Scottsdale,	Westmoreland.
Mary Bowman,	915	Vandergrift,	Westmoreland.
Frank W. Gay,	1188	Meshoppen,	Wyoming.
E. L. Bacon,	1261	Nichelson,	Wyoming.
Gertrude Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.
Lewis D. Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.

The Court presented an unusually fine appearance, new robes having been procured since last State Grange meeting. The Sixth degree was conferred in full form on the following sisters and brothers.

1. J. H. McElheny,	1276	Finleyville, Wash. Co., Allegheny.
2. Lawrence N. Fife,	1186	Venitia, Wash. Co., Allegheny.
3. Mary Bowman,	915	Vandergrift, Armstrong.
4. L. H. Fleming,	872	Tidal, Armstrong.
5. Abner C. Shakely,	1234	Parker's Landing, Armstrong.
6. Geo. Z. Replogle,	1104	Woodbury, Bedford.
7. Kie E. Brown,	521	Sulphur Springs, Bedford.
8. D. D. Coleman,	889	Altoona, Blair.
9. G. W. Aurandt,	1275	Yellow Springs, Blair.
10. John O'Sullivan,	1228	Towanda R. F. D. No. 2, Bradford.
11. Russel Heverly,	1229	Wolverton, Bradford.
12. Jas. P. Campbell,	111	Athens, Bradford.
13. Jno. Coney,	182	Troy, Bradford.
14. A. H. Benjamin,	205	New Albany, Bradford.
15. Harry S. Johnson,	1206	Quakertown, Bucks.
16. A. Melvina Johnson,	1206	Quakertown, Bucks.

17. Lib.
18. Mr.
19. Ly.
20. J.
21. Ch.
22. Ka.
23. Mr.
24. W.
25. Sa.
26. Wi.
27. Da.
28. Ez.
29. Wr.
30. J. J.
31. Al.
32. Ph.
33. Ed.
34. Ma.
35. W.
36. D.
37. Mir.
38. Jan.
39. W.
40. Ell.
41. M.
42. A.
43. C.
44. H.
45. A.
46. Mrs.
47. H.
48. C. F.
49. Mrs.
50. W.
51. Jer.
52. Isa.
53. Mrs.
54. E.
55. Na.
56. Ma.
57. F. J.
58. A.
59. Car.
60. J. F.
61. Ma.
62. E. J.

17. Lina Christie,	570	West Sunbury,	Butler.
18. Mrs. W. A. Baver,	1115	Bradley Junction,	Cambria.
19. Lyman Sherbine,	1119	Wilmore,	Cambria.
20. J. W. Orr,	223	Walker,	Centre.
21. Chas. C. Hess,	1272	Philipsburg,	Centre.
22. Kate Hess,	1272	Philipsburg,	Centre.
23. Mrs. H. A. Surface,	157	State College,	Centre.
24. W. K. Corl,	157	State College,	Centre.
25. Sadie Dale,	109	State College,	Centre.
26. Willard Dale,	109	State College,	Centre.
27. David E. Chambers,	1263	Unionville,	Chester.
28. Ezra Thomas,	121	White Horse,	Chester.
29. Wm. B. Coates,	980	Cochranville,	Chester.
30. J. Lewis Baldwin,	1220	East Dowingtown,	Chester.
31. Alfred F. Satterthwait,	19	Fairville,	Chester.
32. Philena C. Darlington,	1231	Chadd's Ford Junc.,	Chester.
33. Edward Darlington,	1231	Chadd's Ford Junc.,	Chester.
34. Mayme Ring Little,	60	West Chester,	Chester.
35. W. Hunter Little,	60	West Chester,	Chester.
36. D. R. Elliott,	1235	West Freedom,	Clarion.
37. Minnie Krotzer,	624	Piollett,	Clarion.
38. James McDowell,	735	Sligo,	Clarion.
39. W. H. H. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clarion.
40. Ella M. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clarion.
41. M. A. Rishel,	334	Clintondale,	Clarion.
42. A. T. Baird,	1189	Island,	Clarion.
43. C. W. Shoemaker,	1267	Lock Haven,	Clarion.
44. H. W. Shaffer,	108	Millville,	Columbia.
45. A. E. Parker,	52	Jerseytown,	Columbia.
46. Mrs. H. G. Supplee,	322	Bloomsburg,	Columbia.
47. H. G. Supplee,	322	Bloomsburg,	Columbia.
48. C. P. Carr,	1145	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
49. Mrs. Anna Carr,	1145	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
50. Wm. M. McNaughton,	808	Dubois,	Clearfield.
51. Jennie McNaughton,	808	DuBois,	Clearfield.
52. Isaiah Gates,	1129	Coalport,	Clearfield.
53. Mrs. Maggie W. Moore,	584	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
54. E. W. Mooie,	584	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
55. Nathaniel Beishline,	46	Still Water,	Clearfield.
56. Martha A. Beishline,	46	Still Water,	Clearfield.
57. F. M. Hazen,	910	Venango,	Crawford.
58. A. J. Rushmore,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.
59. Carrie Rushmore,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.
60. J. F. Seavy,	800	Saegertown,	Crawford.
61. Margaret Seavy,	800	Seagertown,	Crawford.
62. E. E. Brown,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.

Alice T. Swift,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.
Mrs. W. E. Lawrence,	1097	Erie, R. F. D. No. 3,	Erie.
J. H. Rittenhouse,	1169	Smock,	Fayette.
W. S. Huyatt,	375	Alexandria,	Huntingdon.
Rhoda Freese,	573	Arcadia,	Indiana.
Franklin W. Deemer,	1259	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
Edward R. Syphrit,	854	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
Lizzie Hostetler,	776	Walnut,	Juniata.
Gertrude Beisecker,	251	Bald Mount,	Lackawana.
Mrs. Emma Williams,	812	Alderson R. F. D. No. 1,	Luzerne.
Wm. T. Lynch,	1253	Turtle Point,	McKean.
John T. Bond,	393	Sandy Lake R. F. D. No. 24,	Mercer.
Aaron S. Worden,	1183	Ulysses,	Potter.
Mary Tauscher,	1246	Roulett,	Potter.
P. H. Merrick,	876	Knoxville,	Tioga.
Frank Donaldson,	1151	Tidioute,	Warren.
Frankie Flatt,	1205	Corydon,	Warren.
Ida Hale,	870	Ackley,	Warren.
Christena Morgan,	1042	Scandia,	Warren.
L. M. Hazeltine,	1025	Warren,	Warren.
J. W. Ruth,	1011	Scottdale,	Westmoreland.
Mary Bowman,	915	Vandergrift,	Westmoreland.
Frank W. Gay,	1188	Meshoppen,	Wyoming.
E. L. Bacon,	1261	Nichelson,	Wyoming.
Gertrude Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.
Lewis D. Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.

The Court presented an unusually fine appearance, new robes having been procured since last State Grange meeting. The Sixth degree was conferred in full form on the following sisters and brothers.

1. J. H. McElheny,	1276	Finleyville, Wash. Co.,	Allegheny.
2. Lawrence N. Fife,	1186	Venitia, Wash. Co.,	Allegheny.
3. Mary Bowman,	915	Vandergrift,	Armstrong.
4. L. H. Fleming,	872	Tidal,	Armstrong.
5. Abner C. Shakely,	1234	Parker's Landing,	Armstrong.
6. Geo. Z. Replogle,	1104	Woodbury,	Bedford.
7. Kie E. Brown,	521	Sulphur Springs,	Bedford.
8. D. D. Coleman,	889	Altoona,	Blair.
9. G. W. Aurandt,	1275	Yellow Springs,	Blair.
10. John O'Sullivan,	1228	Towanda R. F. D. No. 2,	Bradford.
11. Russel Heverly,	1229	Wolverton,	Bradford.
12. Jas. P. Campbell,	111	Athens,	Bradford.
13. Jno. Coney,	182	Troy,	Bradford.
14. A. H. Benjamin,	205	New Albany,	Bradford.
15. Harry S. Johnson,	1206	Quakertown,	Bucks.
16. A. Melvina Johnson,	1206	Quakertown,	Bucks.

17. Li
18. M
19. Ly
20. J.
21. Ch
22. Ka
23. M
24. W
25. Sa
26. W
27. Da
28. Ez
29. W
30. J.
31. Al
32. Ph
33. Ed
34. Ma
35. W.
36. D.
37. Min
38. Jan
39. W.
40. Ell
41. M.
42. A.
43. C.
44. H.
45. A.
46. Mrs
47. H.
48. C. P
49. Mrs
50. Wr
51. Jen
52. Isai
53. Mrs
54. E. v
55. Nat
56. Mar
57. F. M
58. A. J
59. Car
60. J. F
61. Mar
62. E. P

17. Lina Christie,	570	West Sunbury,	Butler.
18. Mrs. W. A. Bayer,	1115	Bradley Junction,	Cambria.
19. Lyman Sherbine,	1119	Wilmore,	Cambria.
20. J. W. Orr,	223	Walker,	Centre.
21. Chas. C. Hess,	1272	Philipsburg,	Centre.
22. Kate Hess,	1272	Philipsburg,	Centre.
23. Mrs. H. A. Surface,	157	State College,	Centre.
24. W. K. Corl,	157	State College,	Centre.
25. Sadie Dale,	109	State College,	Centre.
26. Willard Dale,	109	State College,	Centre.
27. David E. Chambers,	1263	Unionville,	Chester.
28. Ezra Thomas,	121	White Horse,	Chester.
29. Wm. B. Coates,	980	Cochranville,	Chester.
30. J. Lewis Baldwin,	1220	East Dowingtown,	Chester.
31. Alfred F. Satterthwait,	19	Fairville,	Chester.
32. Philena C. Darlington,	1231	Chadd's Ford Junc.,	Chester.
33. Edward Darlington,	1231	Chadd's Ford Junc.,	Chester.
34. Mayme Ring Little,	60	West Chester,	Chester.
35. W. Hunter Little,	60	West Chester,	Chester.
36. D. R. Elliott,	1235	West Freedom,	Clarion.
37. Minnie Krotzer,	624	Piollett,	Clarion.
38. James McDowell,	735	Sligo,	Clarion.
39. W. H. H. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clarion.
40. Ella M. Welch,	303	Mill Hall,	Clarion.
41. M. A. Rishel,	334	Clintondale,	Clarion.
42. A. T. Baird,	1189	Island,	Clarion.
43. C. W. Shoemaker,	1267	Lock Haven,	Clarion.
44. H. W. Shaffer,	108	Millville,	Columbia.
45. A. E. Parker,	52	Jerseytown,	Columbia.
46. Mrs. H. G. Supplee,	322	Bloomsburg,	Columbia.
47. H. G. Supplee,	322	Bloomsburg,	Columbia.
48. C. P. Carr,	1145	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
49. Mrs. Anna Carr,	1145	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
50. Wm. M. McNaughton,	808	Dubois,	Clearfield.
51. Jennie McNaughton,	808	DuBois,	Clearfield.
52. Isaiah Gates,	1129	Coalport,	Clearfield.
53. Mrs. Maggie W. Moore,	584	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
54. E. W. Moore,	584	Clearfield,	Clearfield.
55. Nathaniel Beishline,	46	Still Water,	Clearfield.
56. Martha A. Beishline,	46	Still Water,	Clearfield.
57. F. M. Hazen,	910	Venango,	Crawford.
58. A. J. Rushmore,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.
59. Carrie Rushmore,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.
60. J. F. Seavy,	800	Saegertown,	Crawford.
61. Margaret Seavy,	800	Seagertown,	Crawford.
62. E. E. Brown,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.

63. Mrs. E. E. Brown,	694	Linesville,	Crawford.	109.
64. Mrs. A. B. Greenfield,	880	Conneautville,	Crawford.	110.
65. A. B. Grenfield,	880	Conneautville,	Crawford.	111.
66. Wm. E. Wright,	1177	Meadville,	Crawford.	112.
67. B. A. Anderson,	168	Cambridge Springs,	Crawford.	113.
68. Mrs. Velma Anderson,	168	Cambridge Springs,	Crawford.	114.
69. Anson George,	1034	Saegertown,	Crawford.	115.
70. Georgia George,	1034	Saegertown,	Crawford.	116.
71. Burton Wykoff,	1111	Cambridge Springs,	Crawford.	117.
72. Maggie Greenfield,	502	Conneautville,	Crawford.	118.
73. Mrs. S. A. Maryott,	190	Guy's Mills,	Crawford.	119.
74. Mrs. Zoe Ford,	880	Conneautville,	Crawford.	120.
75. Herb Colins,	880	Conneautville,	Crawford.	121.
76. Samuel McNamara,	1177	Meadville,	Crawford.	122.
77. Clara Cole,	988	Meadville,	Crawford.	123.
78. W. R. Beedy,	168	Miller's Station,	Crawford.	124.
79. Nellie Beedy,	168	Miller's Station,	Crawford.	125.
80. C. E. Cropp,	988	Meadville,	Crawford.	126.
81. Gertrude Cropp,	988	Meadville,	Crawford.	127.
82. Daniel Sherrick,	936	Meadville,	Crawford.	128.
83. J. Horace Broomall,	1141	Cheyney,	Delaware.	129.
84. M. Clifford Brinton,	1141	Swarthmore,	Delaware.	130.
85. J. Howard Mendenhall,	1173	Gradyville,	Delaware.	131.
86. Annie B. Mendenhall,	1173	Gradyville,	Delaware.	132.
87. F. H. Walker,	385	Harbor Creek	Erie.	133.
88. Lee Perkins,	55	Corry R. F. D. No. 6,	Erie.	134.
89. Velma West,	875	Corry R. F. D. No. 4,	Erie.	135.
90. Edson E. Jæffords,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	136.
91. P. L. Gardner,	1174	Weedville,	Elk.	137.
92. Mrs. J. W. Tyndell,	89	Union City,	Erie.	136.
93. Samuel B. Bayle,	423	Fairview,	Erie.	137.
94. E. May Bayle,	423	Fairview,	Erie.	138.
95. Archie Bilings,	226	Greenfield,	Erie.	139.
96. Alice Y. Walker,	385	Harbor Creek,	Erie.	140.
97. J. J. Marts,	106	Corry,	Erie.	141.
98. Nellie Marts,	106	Corry,	Erie.	142.
99. Ida Parker,	106	Wattsburg,	Erie.	143.
100. C. P. Reeder,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	144.
101. Harvey Sexton,	958	Union City,	Erie.	145.
102. Rufus W. Swift,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	146.
103. Alice Swift,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	147.
104. D. H. Walker,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	148.
105. Mary E. Walker,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	149.
106. Mrs. Helen Y. Jones,	226	Greenfield,	Erie.	150.
107. Creta Billings,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	151.
108. Jennie Billings,	947	Edinboro,	Erie.	152.

109. E. O. Allen,	423	Waterford,	Erie.
110. E. Mary McLean,	89	Union City,	Erie.
111. Geo. Youngs,	1265	North East,	Erie.
112. Mrs. Geo. Youngs,	1265	North East,	Erie.
113. D. D. Turner,	147	Waterford,	Erie.
114. Lou Turner,	147	Waterford,	Erie.
115. E. E. Austin,	147	Wattsburg,	Erie.
116. Nellie Austin,	147	Wattsburg,	Erie.
117. H. H. Rose,	147	Wattsburg,	Erie.
118. Anna Rose,	147	Wattsburg,	Erie.
119. Bessie Taber,	1265	North East,	Erie.
120. G. E. Smith,	1265	North East,	Erie.
121. Mrs. G. E. Smith,	1265	North East,	Erie.
122. L. H. Youngs,	1268	North East,	Erie.
123. J. E. Peters,	1265	North East,	Erie.
124. W. E. Lawrence,	1079	Erie R.F.D. No. 3,	Erie.
125. Mrs. W. E. Lawrence,	1079	Erie, "	Erie.
126. M. D. Newton,	1265	North East,	Erie.
127. Mrs. M. D. Newton,	1265	North East,	Erie.
128. J. H. Rittenhouse,	1169	Smock,	Fayette.
129. Jackson L. Grove,	119	Shirleysburg,	Huntingdon.
130. B. F. Grove,	914	Entriiken,	Huntingdon.
131. H. S. Huyatt,	375	Alexandria,	Huntingdon.
132. C. H. Drake,	933	Saltillo,	Huntingdon,
133. Rhoda Freese,	573	Arcadia,	Indiana.
134. Franklin W. Deemer,	1259	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
135. J. K. Womeldorf,	1264	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
136. Jennie E. Womeldorf,	1264	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
137. Edward R. Syphrit,	854	Reynoldsville,	Jefferson.
136. Lizzie Hostetler,	776	Walnut,	Juniata.
137. J. Holmes Book,	781	Mexico,	Juniata.
138. Mrs. M. J. Weldy,	889	Jubilee,	Lackawana.
139. E. H. Whitney,	1200	Dalton,	Lackawana.
140. J. W. Tiffany,	1199	Fleetwood,	Lackawana.
141. Gertruder Biesecker,	251	Bald Mount,	Lackawana.
142. J. E. Williams,	812	Alderson,	Luzerne.
143. Emma Williams,	812	Alderson,	Luzerne.
144. Jas. Taylor,	1236	Turtle Point,	McKean.
145. Mrs. Jas. Taylor,	1236	Turtle Point,	McKean.
146. M. J. Welch,	1237	Eldred,	McKean.
147. Mrs. M. J. Welch,	1237	Eldred,	McKean.
148. A. E. Hackett,	1238	Smethport,	McKean.
149. Mrs. A. E. Hackett,	1238	Smethport,	McKean.
150. W. T. Lynch,	1253	Turtle Point.	McKean.
151. H. L. Plumer,	1212	Eldred,	McKean.
152. Ida Plumer,	1212	Eldred,	McKean.

153. W. P. Beckwith,	1190	Smethport,	McKean.
154. Martha Beckwith,	1190	Smethport,	McKean.
155. John T. Bond,	393	Sandy Lake, R. F. D. No. 24,	Mercer.
156. M. E. Mowrer,	34	Strawberry Ridge,	Montour.
157. E. M. Mowrer,	34	Strawberry Ridge,	Montour.
158. Amos Fleisher,	1069	Newport,	Perry.
159. Wm. E. Raffensberger,	626	New Bloomfield,	Perry.
160. Etta Lyman,	1216	Coudersport,	Potter.
161. May Tauscher,	1246	Roulett,	Potter.
162. Wm. L. Lyman,	1216	Coudersport,	Potter.
163. A. S. Worden,	1183	Ulysses,	Potter.
164. H. G. Collins,	1183	Ulysses,	Potter.
165. Minnie Collins,	1183	Ulysses,	Potter.
166. Jay R. Hopkins,	1207	Gold,	Potter.
167. H. S. Bartoo,	1149	Mills,	Potter.
168. Clara J. Bartoo,	1194	Mills,	Potter.
169. Mrs. E. M. Tingley,	418	Harford,	Susquehanna.
170. E. M. Tingley,	418	Harford,	Susquehanna.
171. Mrs. Thos. Copestick,	1033	Wellsboro,	Tioga.
172. Thos. Copestick,	1033	Wellsboro,	Tioga.
173. John M. Seamans,	1088	Westfield,	Tioga.
174. Frances Seamans,	1088	Westfield,	Tioga.
175. P. H. Merrick,	876	Knoxville,	Tioga.
176. Geo. F. Curtis,	705	Middleburg Centre,	Tioga.
177. E. R. Mulford,	1009	Wellsboro,	Tioga.
178. Elizabeth Wingert,	434	Lewisburg,	Union.
179. L. M. Cartright,	467	Grand Valley,	Warren.
180. Frankie Flatt,	1205	Corydon,	Warren.
181. Lydia Bentley,	1205	Corydon,	Warren.
182. Ida Hale,	870	Ackley,	Warren.
183. Asa Morgan,	1042	Scandia,	Warren.
184. Christena Morgan,	1042	Scandia,	Warren.
185. Ralph E. Green,	1208	Cornplanter,	Warren.
186. Harry D. Stoneburg,	1090	Tidioute,	Warren.
187. Frank Donaldson,	1151	Tidioute,	Warren.
188. L. M. Hazeltine,	1025	Warren,	Warren.
189. Mac Olney,	1025	Warren,	Warren.
190. Nellie Brown,	1144	McGraw,	Warren.
191. T. G. Seavy,	1208	Kinzua,	Warren.
192. B. D. Mowris,	1068	Warren,	Warren.
193. Henry Frantz,	1025	Warren,	Warren.
194. John Siggins,	1151	Tidioute,	Warren.
195. D. F. Vinton,	846	Warren,	Warren.
196. Mrs. Geo. A. Woodside,	847	Sugar Grove,	Warren.
197. J. H. Cheeseman,	1164	Venitia,	Washington.
198. J. W. Ruth,	1011	Scottdale,	Westmoreland.

199. P. H. Bell,	931	Nicholson,	Wyoming.
200. Emma E. Wood,	1249	Laceyville,	Wyoming.
201. Gertrude Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.
202. Frank W. Gay,	1188	Meshoppen,	Wyoming.
203. Mrs. G. A. Benson,	209	Tunkhannock,	Wyoming.
204. G. A. Benson,	209	Tunkhannock,	Wyoming.
205. Leon S. Jennings,	165	Mill City,	Wyoming.
206. Mrs. L. S. Jennings,	165	Mill City,	Wyoming.
207. Lewis D. Armstrong,	1245	Factoryville,	Wyoming.
208. E. L. Bacon,	1261	Nicholson,	Wyoming.
209. Allina B. Bacon,	1261	Nicholson,	Wyoming.
210. H. R. Freeman,	321	West Nicholson,	Wyoming.
211. Mrs. H. R. Freeman,	321	West Nicholson,	Wyoming.
212. Ira D. Keller,	810	Hanover,	York.
213. W. S. Newcomer,	1260	Glen Rock,	York.
214. Amanda E. Newcomer,	1270	Glen Rock,	York.

Grange closed in the Sixth degree and opened in the Third. This degree was conferred in full form by the degree team.

Closed in the Third and opened in the Fourth. This degree was also conferred in full form. At the conclusion of this work the symbolism of the unwritten work was explained by the Hon. Mortimer Whitehead, Worthy Past Lecturer of the National Grange, in his usual clear and impressive manner.

Grange closed.

THURSDAY MORNING.

Grange opened in full form at 9 a. m. by Worthy Master Hill.

Brother E. J. Durnell, of Chester county, introduced a resolution for immediate action.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Agriculture, the Dairy and Food Commissioner and other officials whose duty it is to enforce the Dairy and Pure Food Laws of Pennsylvania, have, in the faithful performance of their sworn duty, been constantly and loyally sustained by Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker and the Senior Senator, Hon. Boies Penrose; and,

WHEREAS, We learn with great pleasure that Hon. Philander C. Knox, the junior member of the United States Senate from Pennsylvania, has unequivocally announced his intention to oppose any and all efforts to repeal or modify the Grout Bill; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Pennsylvania State Grange, in regular meeting assembled at Erie, Pa., December 15, 1904, do most heartily thank and commend Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker and United States Senators Penrose and Knox, for their efficient and po-

tential aid in securing an honest and vigorous enforcement of the Dairy and Food Laws which has resulted in great benefit to all classes of citizens of our Commonwealth.

Resolved, That copies of this preamble and these resolutions be mailed by our Worthy Secretary to Samuel W. Pennypacker, Harrisburg, Pa., and to Hon. Boies Penrose and Philander C. Knox, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dr. H. A. Surface was introduced and gave a short but pleasing address.

The Legislative Committee, through its Secretary, Brother W. T. Creasy, submitted its report as follows:

Worthy Master and Members of the Pennsylvania State Grange:

Your Committee on Legislation beg leave to report that it has held several meetings during the year at which legislation was considered as outlined by the State Grange at its last annual session, together with each new matter as was thought to be for the best interests of the Order.

In line with the instructions of the State Grange, questions were prepared and sent out to the Legislative Committees of Pomona and Subordinate Granges, to interrogate all candidates for the State Assembly and Congress. They were as follows:

Favoring Legislation to allow trolley companies to carry freight.

Favoring a tax of one mill on corporate and personal property for road purposes and to distribute the same according to the public road mileage.

Favoring laws whereby all licenses, taxes, personal property taxes, and taxes on County and municipal loans, be retained by the Counties in which said taxes are collected.

Favoring Legislation for the initiative and referendum.

Favoring a parcels post; postal savings banks and a law which will enable American citizens to buy American products as cheap at home as they are sold abroad.

We are highly gratified to know of the efficient manner in which many of the Committees did their work and of the excellent results accomplished thus far. While the State Legislative Committee can outline and direct the work, the ultimate success of our efforts depends on the concerted action of the Pomona and Subordinate Granges, not only in having efficient Committees on Legislation, but in discussing the various measures and reforms advocated by the Order. These Committees, in conjunction with the State Legislative Committee, should be able at all times to inform the members of the Order of the progress of the measures advocated, and what work their public officials have and are doing in fulfilling their pledges. The farmer should not only ask for their rights, but demand them and insist upon them.

BY UNITED ACTION WE WILL WIN OUT.

Your Committee worked hard for the passage of the Grout bill and since its passage it has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Oleo Combine, after being unable to defeat the provisions of the law by trying to give their counterfeit article the color of butter, made preparations to repeal the law. Finding the sentiment too strong for a repeal of the ten cents a pound tax on colored oleomargarine, the Oleo Combine in conjunction with the Beef Trust are now trying to reduce the tax from ten cents to four cents per pound.

Your Committee sent warning to the Subordinate Granges and with one accord they are protesting against any change in the present law known as the Grout bill. We cannot make ourselves believe that Congress will undertake to make any change in the present law. It would cripple the dairy interests throughout the country and in our State, it would strike down one of, if not *the* leading farm industry. It would add more abandoned farms to the lists, and still further decrease our agricultural population and the value of our farms.

TAXATION.

One of the foremost questions confronting the farmers and other real estate owners is the equalization of taxation. The Grange has made a constant, steadfast effort to protect the farmer against extortion in taxation. It succeeded in having the school appropriation increased, three-fourths of the personal property tax returned to the counties and the liquor licenses, thus making an annual saving to the tax payers of the State of over \$12,000,000.00. Corporate and personal property is increasing at a rapid rate, while farm property in Pennsylvania, according to the last census, has decreased nearly \$24,000,000.00, and our farm population in the agricultural sections of the State in the same time has decreased about one hundred thousand. New burdens are placed on our people at every session of the Legislature. Hence it must follow that the inequalities of taxation are increasing. To show these inequalities and a partial remedy, we quote from our report submitted one year ago at our Wilkes-Barre meeting, as follows:

"In our report submitted one year ago, we quoted at length from the current State reports, showing the appraised value of real estate to be \$2,776,829,685, upon which taxes were paid to the amount of \$44,434,937.83, making an average tax rate of 16 mills. While it is argued by some that real estate is not rated at its full value for tax purposes, it will be found that farm land and small homes are assessed at more nearly their full value than are many real estate properties in towns and cities. This same inequality exists to a greater extent in the assessed valuation compared with the actual value of large corporations subject to local taxation, among which we name coal lands and manufacturing properties. Many of these are not assessed at over 4 per cent. of their real value.

"Our report of last year further states that the aggregate, established, appraised value of corporate and personal property is \$4,725,460,277.68, upon which taxes are paid to the amount of \$14,061,474.08, making the average tax rate on these forms of property to be 3 mills.

Therefore, we reiterate that the State must either assume a larger proportion of the local burdens or relinquish a large number of subjects for local taxation, as it is unfair to exact an average of but three mills on personal and corporate property while real estate is required to pay 16 mills. In support of this position your Committee had bills introduced at the last session of the Legislature, providing that the mercantile licenses, and retail liquor license, and the one-fourth part of the personal property tax now paid to the State be retained by the counties. All these bills were pigeon-holed in the Committee. There are other license taxes which should be retained by the counties. This would result in lowering county taxes and the condition of the State Treasury warrants us in taking this position, for according to the report, there was on December 1, a balance of over fifteen millions of dollars in the State Treasury. Under present laws this surplus is of no relief to the local taxpayer, while it breeds extravagance and corruption in State affairs. A large sum of this money is license taxes, as shown by the Auditor General's report of 1902, which gives the amount of these taxes as follows:

Retail mercantile license,	\$632,303 05
Wholesale mercantile license,	240,114 93
Retail liquor license,	625,958 72
Wholesale liquor license,	513,365 29
Brewers' license,	270,121 15
Distillers' license,	41,174 93
Bottlers' license,	160,296 27
Billiard license,	54,459 66
Brokers' license,	30,606 40
Auctioneers' license,	16,602 17
Peddlers' license,	5,317 30
Theatre license,	22,617 25
Eating house license,	28,413 25

Or a total license tax of.....	\$2,646,350 37
Add to this ¼ of the personal property tax now retained by the State,	\$882,344 25
Tax on county loans,	154,720 64
Tax on municipal loans,	106,245 05

Total, \$3,789,660 31

This amount the State can well afford to leave in the counties and municipalities. We can see no reason why the merchant, who uses

the schools, roads, etc., the same as the farmer, pays his tax to the State, while the farmer pays his to the local authorities. The same is true of the license taxes. The personal property tax is mostly raised from judgments and mortgages held on real estate which is already overtaxed. Therefore, in our opinion, real estate should have the advantage of whatever tax reductions it yields in retaining all of the personal property tax by the counties. The tax on county and municipal loans is a tax on a debt incurred for public improvements and should be paid and retained by the counties or municipalities."

The Auditor General's report of 1903 does not vary much from the above figures. There are still a few of the Tabulated Statements of 1902 of the State expenditures with a detailed summary of the estimated appraised values of real estate, personal and corporate property taxes paid, and average mill rate of each subject of taxation, in the hands of the Secretary of this Committee,—they can be had by writing for them. We earnestly hope that the Granges and all other farm organizations take up this matter of taxation and discuss it. Demand and insist on more equitable tax laws.

GOOD ROADS.

The State Grange, a number of years ago, placed itself in favor of good roads. This Committee has done everything possible to carry out the plan of securing better public highways. We reiterate what we said in our report of last year's session:

"All the people have equal rights to the public roads and we can not understand why the farmers should alone have been compelled to build and maintain them. Good roads are also of equal importance to all interests, therefore, no class of property should refuse to assist in paying for them. When in support of this position your Legislative Committee asked the Legislature to tax personal and corporate property, including manufacturing corporations, the small sum of one mill for road purposes, the Legislature failed to pass it. Such a tax would yield at least two and one-half millions of dollars annually. Under our present system of taxation we still contend that this is the right way to raise money from these interests for road purposes. It must be kept in mind that good roads cost money and lots of it."

We believe that the money so raised or money appropriated should be divided among the different townships according to their respective road mileage for permanent road improvements. All our past road legislation has added additional taxation. The Road Law of 1903 is a failure in nearly all the counties of the State. Several of the most wealthy sections seem to be the only exceptions. If this law is to be of any use it must have some radical amendments. There are possibly twelve thousand miles of main traveled roads. "There is no just reason why poor townships should be taxed to improve and repair these main roads when they are used for inter-county and State commerce."

While the act of 1903 makes an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars annually for 1903 and 1904, it increases local taxation on real estate and the loss of local control. It cannot be claimed that the appropriation of \$500,000.00 annually represents money collected from corporations, for the reason that the State collects taxes from the counties which by right belongs to the counties and should never be paid into the State Treasury.

We are opposed to the repeal of the law known as the Bridge Act of 1895, whereby the State rebuilds bridges over public streams which have been swept away by floods. This law is very beneficial, especially to the poorer counties of the State. We favor National aid for public road improvement, provided it is not coupled with additional taxation on the farms. We believe that money so spent is of more benefit to the people of this nation than to waste it on far off possessions, or in building a big navy. We are in favor of peace and believe that disputes between nations should be settled by arbitration.

SCHOOL APPROPRIATION.

We favor an increased public school appropriation, at least the \$11,000,000.00 should be kept for the public schools, with no deductions therefrom except for township high schools. The amount appropriated at the last session of the Legislature to these schools was \$100,000.00. We are in favor of increasing this to \$200,000.00 if that amount is necessary to carry out the provisions of the act creating township high schools.

TROLLEY LEGISLATION.

We demand that trolley roads shall have the right to carry freight. This privilege is granted to them in all States except Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

FREIGHT DISCRIMINATION.

We demand that our Legislature enact a law prohibiting freight discriminations, whether done directly or by indirect means. Excessive freight rates and discrimination in rates has robbed the Pennsylvania farmer of millions of dollars. We favor the granting of increased powers to the Inter-state Commerce Commission.

We endorse the action of the National Grange in favor of a parcels post, telephone and telegraph in mail service, Postal Savings bank, the further extension of Free Rural Mail Delivery, and the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

The Trusts are still further advancing prices, and we insist that the National Government enforce the Anti-trust laws, and if there is not sufficient law to protect the people, amend the law or pass new ones.

The United States Treasury Department makes some very interesting and instructive comparisons of the growth of Agriculture. They

show that in thirty years the increased agricultural production was 92.1 per cent., while the export of the same products in the same time increased 131.8 per cent. United States statistics show, in 1850 farmers owned 55.59 per cent. of the entire wealth of this nation. In 1900 the farmers only owned 21.7 per cent. of the wealth of the nation. This shows that the farmers are losing their relative position. What are some of the causes?

Hon. Aaron Jones, Master of the National Grange, said in his report at the Rochester meeting in November, 1903, that: "While competition existed in this country, prices were normal, but merging of competing interests into great combines or trusts, destroyed competition and arbitrary prices took the place of competitive prices. Corporations fixed the prices of what they bought and sold. Foreign competition was shut out to the extent of the wall of protection, and the manufacturer was enabled to fix a higher price in America, and make a lower price for the same article in foreign lands, thus using the laws of the United States to impose exactions on American citizens higher than on the foreigner, thus giving the foreign agriculturist, who is in competition with the American farmer an additional advantage.

"I said one year ago in my annual address, when that condition prevail, 'Any law in force which enables manufacturers to sell—and they do sell—in foreign countries any manufactured article at a less price than they sell to American citizens, said law or laws should at once be revised, amended, or repealed, and all such practices made impossible.' I again repeat it, and assert that if those who have the power to correct these abuses to American citizenship do not correct them, the people should and will correct them."

He further said:—"The American farmer meets the products of all lands and countries in the open market of the world—is in competition with the cheap lands, labor, transportation and taxes of South America, Australia, Russia, and all other countries, and if the burden of paying higher taxes, discriminating and excessive transportation charges, higher prices for machinery and all the necessary supplies with which he cultivates his lands are imposed on him, the burden becomes unendurable, and humiliation and loss of that sturdy manhood on which the liberties and glory of this republic rest are undermined and destroyed."

Relative to the initiative and referendum, the Grange cannot afford to take a backward step when we consider that this is no new thing except, perhaps, the name. Many questions in the past have been referred to the people for their approval or disapproval. The Constitution gives us a right to petition Congress and the Legislature in favor or against measures. The initiative and referendum is only a more extended use of privileges we now possess and its adoption is sure to come. It seems to be a wise method to overthrow the work of corrupt officials and give the people a chance to enact laws to their interests.

The Committee extends its thanks to the newspapers that have so ably championed the measures in which the farmers are vitally interested.

(Signed)

WILLIAM T. CREASY, Secretary.
E. B. DORSETT.

Report adopted as read.

On the several resolutions referred to them, the Legislative Committee report as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the State Grange are due to the members of Congress from this State for what they have done in favor of the Grout law in the past, and we ask that they oppose any change in the present law.

Reported favorably by the Committee and adopted by the State Grange.

No. 2. *Resolved*: That the thanks of this Grange are hereby tendered to the Philadelphia North American for its bold and untiring efforts in behalf of the farmers and dairymen in defending the Grout Law. Reported favorably and adopted.

No. 3. Resolutions offered by Mt. Chestnut Grange, No. 133, of Butler county, demanding tax equalization.

Adopted.

No. 4. Resolutions asking for the repeal of the 5 per cent. rebate on taxes paid within a certain time, and for the publication in two newspapers of each county of all laws passed by the Legislature, were reported unfavorably.

No. 5. Demanding that State forest lands should be taxed. Reported unfavorably, but the Committee believe that the State should at least keep the roads in repair that run through such lands.

No. 6. Granting increased powers to the Inter-state Commerce Commission. Presented by Worthy Master W. F. Hill.

Reported favorably, with the supplement, that the Worthy Master be directed to petition the Subordinate Granges of the State to take action on this subject and send the result of such action to our Congressmen.

Adopted.

No. 7. WHEREAS, The investigations of the State Experiment Stations have been of incalculable value to the agriculture of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The present appropriation by the United States to these stations is insufficient to enable them to adequately perform the varied work demanded by their constituencies, while the appropriations by the several States are largely consumed in providing the necessary land, buildings and equipment, therefore,

Resolved, That the Pennsylvania State Grange hereby heartily endorses the bill (H. R. No. 8678) introduced in Congress by the Hon.

H. C. Adams, of Wisconsin, and now pending, to increase the national appropriation to these institutions, and requests the Senators and Representatives from this State to use every effort to secure its passage during the coming session of Congress.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to Mr. Adams and to each Senator and Representative from Pennsylvania.

Adopted.

No. 8. Resolution demanding that mechanics and laborers be assessed in proportion to the owners of real estate.

Covered by existing laws.

No. 9. WHEREAS, The use of electricity has multiplied the opportunities and conveniences of passenger travel throughout the country, enabling those especially who wish to go a short distance to do so at moderate expenditure of time and money.

AND WHEREAS, The trolley roads are reaching out into rural districts, thereby bringing convenient transportation close to many farmers in this Commonwealth, who otherwise were at a considerable distance from a shipping point.

AND WHEREAS, Convenient transportation is sought for by every sort of business enterprise. Therefore, be it

Resolved, By this State Grange, in annual meeting assembled, that we earnestly desire the passage of a bill granting to the electric railroads the right to carry any and all kinds of freight, and that we urge our Legislative Committee to use every honorable means to have such a bill passed at the next meeting of Legislature.

Offered by John A. McSparren, of Lancaster county.

Reported favorably and adopted.

No. 10. Resolution demanding the protection of quail for three years.

Reported favorably. Adopted.

No. 11. Asking for a sanitary survey of the waters of the State.

In the opinion of the Committee this should be referred to the State Board of Health.

No. 12. WHEREAS, The orchards in the State of Pennsylvania are being devastated to the extent of hundred of thousands of dollars by the destructive insect known as the San Jose scale.

Be it Resolved, That we, the members of the Pennsylvania State Grange hereby endorse the action taken by the State Board of Agriculture and the State Horticultural Association, asking our State Legislature to appropriate to the Department of Agriculture, for the use of the State Zoologist, a sufficient sum of money for the suppression of this serious pest, and to enact such legislation as may be best to preserve our orchards from its ravages.

No. 13. *Resolved*, Whereas, a certain class of taxpayers not owning property, evade the payment of taxes,

Resolved, That a law be enacted to imprison at hard labor until tax is paid.

Resolved, That it is advisable to enact laws to compel all convicts in this Commonwealth under fifteen year sentence to work on highways, shoveling snow and otherwise, to improve highways under supervision of County Commissioners or Township Supervisors.

Committee report that these cases are covered in large measure by existing laws.

No. 14. *Resolved*, That the Legislative Committee of the Pennsylvania State Grange be asked to have a bill prepared and brought before the State Legislature, punishing by fine or imprisonment, or both, any person for allowing the weed known as yellow top or wild mustard to ripen on their premises.

Reported adversely.

No. 15. *Resolved*, That we, the members of Potter County Pomona Grange, No. 54, here assembled, believe that the treating habit is one of the worst features of the license system, we request the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania to pass a law prohibiting any form of treating at the bar.

Reported favorably. Adopted.

No. 16. *Resolved*, That the Legislative Committee be instructed by the State Grange to formulate a Ballot Reform Bill. Said bill to absolutely do away with the party circle and also with helpers in the voting booth except in cases of physical disability, and such other changes as the Committee may see fit to embody in the bill, and that legislative candidates be interrogated in regard to same.

Presented by E. G. Rogers, Master of Elkland Grange, No. 976.

Passed unanimously by Elkland Grange.

In lieu of this the Committee recommend the adoption of the following recommendation in a former report :

The change that this Committee recommends is that we have a regular Australian ballot, that is, a ballot with the names of all candidates printed in groups under the heads of the different offices to be filled, instructing voters to mark one or mark two as the case may be. These tickets should be printed by the Commissioners as at present and sent to election officers.

Under the requirements of the Constitution blank spaces must be left on each ticket in order not to restrict the choice of the voter.

In addition to furnishing tickets to the election officers as at present, any voter should be allowed to secure these tickets, say four or five days before the election. This would give every person a chance to fix his ticket at home.

At the polls the election officers would hand the voter a ticket if he desired it. But the one thing that the officers must give to the voter and

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to no one else would be an official envelope. The voter would then go into the booth, close the curtain and put his ticket into the envelope and seal it, and under no conditions should any help be allowed the voter. He then would place his ballot in the box. The booth, of course, must be retained. Other proper safe-guards in the nature of penalties, etc., should be a part of this ballot law.

This method would do away with buying votes; it would allow people to make their tickets as they thought best, and in short, would combine all the good features of the old and new laws of voting.

Then place the primary election laws under the general election laws and have personal registration in our cities.

Adopted.

No. 17. At a regular meeting of Cherry-tree Grange, No. 284, P. of H. of Venango county, Pa., held Saturday, December 10, 1904, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this Grange is opposed to the adoption of a "Wide Tire Law" at this time, owing to the expense, and in a majority of cases, burdensome expense, it will throw on the farmer, and to the fact that they draw so much harder with a heavy load, than the narrow tire, and are more difficult to keep on the road.

Resolved, That we hereby instruct our delegate to State Grange to urge action by that body against the enactment of any such law.

C. A. BRADLEY, Master.

Attest:

W. E. THOMPSON, Secretary Pro. Tem.

There is a law now allowing a rebate on taxes for the use of wide tires. Committee.

No. 18. At a meeting of Concord Grange, No. 570, P. of H., of Pa. It was resolved that

WHEREAS, We feel assured that should a law be passed legalizing Parcel Post, that people in the country would be greatly benefited by having small parcels delivered to them very much cheaper than by express companies or by freight. Therefore,

Resolved, That we instruct our Congressmen to use his influence and work for the establishment of a Parcel Post, also of a Postal Savings bank, both of which will save residents in the rural districts both time and money, and be advantageous to us in many ways.

Concord Grange Hall, November 29, 1904.

Reported favorably. Adopted.

No. 19. We, the members of Lackawanna County Pommona, No. 45, assembled with Daleville Grange, No. 1029, deeply regret the pledging of the Pennsylvania State Grange to the *Peoples Sovereignty League*, and being desirous of keeping out of politics, we here

Resolve, To petition the next State meeting of State Grange to with-

draw their support from the said League.

G. W. BUSICKER,
A. F. HOBBS,
G. W. WELDY,
Committee.

Reported adversely. Report adopted.

Several resolutions were presented favoring the Initiative and Referendum, the substance of which is embodied in the general report of the Committee.

Quite a number of resolutions also were introduced opposing any change in the Grout Law.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. HILL,
W. T. CREASY,
STANLEY R. BRUNGES,
E. B. DORSETT,
HENRY BUCKLEY, JR.,
J. H. DUNKELBERGER,
EUGENE BENTLEY.
C. H. DEWITT,
RUSSELL KARNS,
JASON SEXTON,
J. J. THOMAS.

On motion, 10,000 copies of the Legislative Committee were ordered to be printed.

Past Master Leonard Rhone was introduced and addressed the Grange.

Hon. Frank Porter, Past Overseer of the State Grange, was introduced and made a brief address.

On motion, the sympathies of the State Grange were extended to Sister Rhone, wife of Worthy Past Master Rhone, in her illness, and the Secretary was directed to forward the same.

The following resolution was introduced by Bro. S. M. McHenry, of Indiana county, and adopted:

WHEREAS, Governor Pennypacker has recognized the Order of Patrons of Husbandry in Pennsylvania by selecting from its membership eminently qualified persons for appointment in the various offices of the Department of Agricultural; and

WHEREAS, All these various officers have rendered efficient and faithful service in behalf of the agricultural population of our State, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Pennsylvania State Grange, do, in annual meeting here assembled, hereby express our appreciation of these services, and our hope that such recognition will be given our Order, and such service will continue to be rendered in the future. Be it further

Resolved, That we congratulate Hon. Secretary N. B. Critchfield for his masterly generalship in overseeing the work of the Department, and upon his special work with fertilizers, concentrated feeding stuffs and State Nursery Inspection. Be it further

Resolved, That we express especial appreciation for the very excellent educational work of Hon. A. L. Martin, Deputy Secretary and Director of Farmers' Institutes; and we also urge continued and liberal appropriations for the maintenance of the Farmers' Institutes in our State. Be it further

Resolved, That we recognize and approve the services of Dr. B. H. Warren, Dairy and Food Commissioner, and urge the continued enforcement of laws against adulteration of all kinds of foods, especially of dairy products. Be it further

Resolved, That we especially commend the very efficient services, the timely aid, and the practical instruction that have been given us by Professor H. A. Surface, Economic Zoologist; and we recommend a continuation of his timely and practical publications known as the Monthly and Quarterly Bulletins, and recommend that the Legislature raise the legal limit for these valued publications in order that a greater number of persons may receive the benefit of their valuable contents. We further desire to see a reorganization of the office of the Zoologist for the purpose of increasing its force and enlarging its scope of usefulness and properly continuing this new field of work which Professor Surface has so well begun. Be it further

Resolved, That we commend the good work of our State Veterinarian, Dr. Leonard Pearson, and urge a continuation of his researches on *tuberculosis* and other efforts in our behalf. And for his able address before the State Grange at this meeting.

The following resolution was introduced by Hon. Jason Sexton, of Montgomery county, and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, There now being waged one of the most fearful wars in the world's history between the nations of Japan and Russia. And

WHEREAS, One of the cardinal principles of the "Order of Patrons of Husbandry is peace and good will to all men." Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Pennsylvania State Grange in Convention assembled, do reaffirm the principles of our order and pledge ourselves to the support of any and all just measures of arbitration, that have for their object the settlement of all differences between nations without resorting to the untold sacrifice of human life, and the destruction of property, as is now being done in the great war of the Far East, or any war that may follow.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States by the Secretary, under the seal of this Grange.

The Committee on Master's address, reported as follows :

We, your Committee on Master's address, beg leave to report that we have examined the same and that we most heartily approve of the recommendations contained therein, and recommend that a copy be sent to every Subordinate Grange in the State.

Respectfully submitted,

D. W. BURNETT,
W. K. DOUGLAS.

Report adopted.

The prize banners offered by the Executive Committee to the five Granges making the largest gain in membership during the year, were now presented by the Chairman, Hon. Louis Piolett, to the representatives of the following Granges :

Eldred Grange, No. 1237, McKean county. Gain, 82.

Sparta Grange, No. 110, Crawford county. Gain, 71.

Towanda Valley Grange, No. 204, Bradford county. Gain, 62.

Central Grange, No. 1216, Potter county. Gain, 62.

Athens Grange, No. 304, Crawford county. Gain, 57.

An appropriate response was made by each representative.

Bro. M. N. Clark, of Westmoreland county, then presented the report of the Standing Committee on Agricultural Education :

In view of the fundamental importance of practical and scientific education to the material welfare and progress of the agricultural classes and through them to that of the entire Commonwealth, the Pennsylvania State Grange recognizes with pleasure the advances that have been made in this respect during the past few years, and is especially gratified by the demonstration of public opinion on this subject afforded by the unanimous passage in the last Legislature of a bill appropriating \$100,000 to begin the construction of an agricultural building at the Pennsylvania State College. It commends the State College for the re-establishment of the short course in agriculture and for the good work done in the creamery course, and the correspondence courses, as well as in the four-years' course. It urges that these courses, adapted to the practical needs of farmers' boys and girls, be extended and strengthened, and also that the work of the Experiment Station in the investigation of the problems confronting the farmer, be enlarged to cover as many of the leading branches of agriculture as possible.

For the accomplishment of these ends, the State Grange declares itself in favor of the following appropriations by the next Legislature, and instructs its Legislative Committee to endeavor to secure them :

1. The appropriation of the \$150,000 virtually pledged by the last Legislature for the completion of the Agricultural Building.

2. An adequate appropriation for the maintenance of the various agricultural courses, so that the just demands of the farmers of the

State may be met and the equipment already provided fully utilized.

3. An appropriation for the work of investigation in agriculture sufficient to enable the Experiment Station to carry on its work upon a scale and in a manner worthy of the importance of agriculture and of the rank of Pennsylvania among the States of the Union.

The State Grange also instructs the Worthy Master to appoint a committee of five to continue the representation of the Grange in the Allied Agricultural Organizations, and to co-operate with representatives of other agricultural organizations in promoting the interests of agricultural education and research in the Commonwealth.

M. N. CLARK,

A. M. CORNELL,

Committee.

Report adopted as read.

The Committee on Pomona Granges, reported as follows:

COMMITTEE ON POMONA GRANGES.

Worthy Master, Sisters and Brothers:

Your Committee on Pomona Granges would respectfully submit the following report:

As your Committee have no resolutions to consider, we would act upon the general purposes of the Pomona Grange.

We believe that it is the duty and purpose of the Pomona Grange to assist, in any way possible, the Subordinate Granges of their respective counties, and that each Subordinate Grange strive to secure members in their jurisdiction, or elsewhere, to take the degree of Pomona, and to assist and act in harmony with the Pomona in advancing the grand interests of our fraternal order.

And we would recommend that all representatives to the State Grange should become members of Pomona Grange before appearing at the annual State meeting.

We would also recommend that each Pomona Grange have a Legislative Committee to confer with the State Grange Legislative Committee, to assist in the work in whatever way may be deemed helpful by State Grange Legislative Committee in securing the legislation desired by our noble order.

Also, we would recommend that Pomona Granges exchange programs where it is practical so to do, thus bringing greater interest in their work, especially in the public session given by most Granges.

We also recommend that more interest be shown in the lecture work, bringing more live Grange work before the members and public generally.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. J. D. BAKER,
WILLIAM ROSEBURY,
C. L. KING,
JERRY A. EBERHART,
MRS. J. W. GRIFFIN.

Report adopted as read.

Bro. D. B. McWilliams, Chairman, presented the report of the Finance Committee, as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE.

ERIE, PA., December 15, 1904.

We, your Finance Committee, having examined the account of J. T. Ailman, Worthy Secretary, find the accounts correct, showing:

Amount receipts from all sources,	\$11,440 80
And amount paid to Treasurer, per receipts,.....	11,326 57

Leaving balance in hand Worthy Secretary,.....	\$114 23
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We have further examined the account of S. E. Nivin, Worthy Treasurer, and find same correct:

Showing balance for year 1903,	\$11,490 31
Amount interest accrued,	200 00
Amount received from J. T. Ailman, Worthy Secretary,....	11,326 57

Total,	\$23,016 88
Amount paid out on orders from Worthy Secretary,.....	9,924 72

Balance in hand of Worthy Treasurer,	\$13,092 16
Together with amount in Sinking Fund,	\$746 34

D. B. McWILLIAMS,
JNO. T. PATTON,
S. B. BROWN,
Finance Committee.

Report adopted as read.

Bro. G. W. Oster, the Bureau of Exchange, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUREAU OF EXCHANGE.

Fellow Patrons:

At the session of the State Grange held at Williamsport, in 1898, a resolution was adopted creating what was to be known as a Bureau of Information or Center of Communication, the object of which was, in brief, to afford a medium of exchange between the producer and consumer of our surplus products, live stock, etc.

Bro. S. B. Day was placed in charge of the matter and held the position until a year ago, when the State Grange changed the name to that of a Bureau of Exchange, and directed that a bulletin be issued at least quarterly and a copy mailed to the Secretary of each Subordinate Grange in the State for the use of the Grange.

When the Executive Committee met at Harrisburg in January last, they directed me—much against my will and pleasure—to have charge of the matter because they were of the opinion that the work properly belonged to the Executive Committee and should be under its charge.

The fourth issue of the Bulletin has just been issued. In spite of the fact that no charge was made to persons for placing a card or adver-

tisement in the Bulletin, yet it has not been patronized as it should have been. I am almost led to think, or believe, that all of our entire membership have just enough of everything and not a bit too much, or none to sell. Nor do they need or want to buy anything. If this is the case we are an unusually fortunate and happy lot of people. If such is not the case, why don't Patrons patronize its columns, and help make it what it should be—a grand success—and a benefit to the organization? The Michigan State Grange also conducts a similar Bulletin of Exchange, and issues it monthly. The Michigan Patrons, however, liberally patronize its columns. Their Bulletin contains four pages, and the November issue contained 332 cards or advertisements. While our last issue, just published, only contained about one-twelfth of that number.

There is no doubt that this feature could be made a valuable adjunct to our order if only our membership generally would do their part in helping make it such. But in view of the fact that our Patrons failed to do so after repeated invitations and requests to do so, I am of the opinion that it had better be discontinued unless some means can be devised whereby we may secure the co-operation of our members, as the expense of issuing it will hardly justify us to continue its publication. Several people who have placed cards in the Bulletin have written me that their ad. did them quite a great deal of good and were highly pleased with the results obtained. But I have no knowledge, or no means of knowing just how much good has been accomplished, as a very large majority of the advertisers have never written me or reported their experience along this line. The following is the cost of conducting the same during the year, to-wit:

Two days compiling and mailing Bulletins, answering correspondence, etc.,	\$3 00
Printing 650 copies Bulletin No. 1, March,	2 75
Printing 1500 copies Bulletin No. 2, June,	5 00
Printing 800 copies Bulletin No. 3, September,	1 75
Printing 2050 copies Bulletin No. 4, December,	4 00
Postage,	1 20

Total cost of the four issues, \$17 70

I wish to state, by way of explanation, that these Bulletins were sent to the State Secretary who mailed them out to the Granges along with the quarterly blanks and other matter without costing the State Grange any extra postage for the mailing. In conclusion I suggest and request that the State Grange consider the matter and determine for itself whether or not we shall continue to issue the Exchange Bulletin, and if so, on what basis it shall be done.

Fraternally submitted,

GEO. W. OSTER,
Committee in charge.

Report adopted.

Recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The special hour for the election of a full corps of officers having arrived, the following committees of tellers were appointed:

Master—Mrs. D. A. Coleman, 889, Blair; Martin L. Frey, 1191, Northampton; I. A. Wilson, 844, Crawford.

Overseer: E. W. Babcock, 407, Warren; J. H. Wingert, 434, Union; Mrs. L. S. Jennings, 165, Wyoming.

Steward: L. H. Darling, 846, Warren; Lazarus Murray, 1160, Lycoming; Chas. A. Morris, 503, Jefferson.

Lecturer: G. M. Olmstead, 1157, Susquehanna; Truman S. Vaughn, 1250, Wyoming; Mrs. J. H. Wingert, 434, Union.

Lady Assistant Steward: M. W. Reeser, 365, Sullivan; Mrs. J. H. Hicks, 63, Chester; Isaac Hughes, 1123, Cambria.

Assistant Steward: N. L. Hanscom, 1113, Tioga; W. D. Minkler, 1227, Susquehanna; Mrs. McNaughton, 808, Clearfield.

Chaplain: Mrs. E. M. Tingley, 418, Susquehanna; H. L. Bicker, 1105, Butler; Wallace Burdick, 1248, Potter.

Treasurer: H. P. Lonkin, 1224, Sullivan; D. G. Moyer, 1148, Northumberland; Agnes Kast, 362, Cumberland.

Secretary: H. H. Hall, 1204, Potter; J. Holmes Book, 781, Juniata; L. C. Burroughs, 204, Bradford.

Gate Keeper: T. H. Burdick, 1238 McKean; Mary Bishop, 1195, Potter; Nathan Bishline, 46, Columbia.

Ceres: Mr. R. Hamon, 291, Luzerne; Fred. A. Prusac, 263, Crawford; Mrs. John A. McSparran, 66, Lancaster; J. V. Kaltembaugh, 608, Mercer.

Pomona: M. J. Welsh, 1237, McKean; M. L. Rishel, 158, Centre; Mrs. W. A. Hostetter, 776, Juniata.

Flora: J. H. Rittenhouse, 1169, Fayette; A. B. Greenfield, 880 Crawford; Ada Shaw, 925, Tioga.

Executive Committee: J. H. Litchard, 65, Montour; S. P. Williams, 1020, Lackawanna; May Tauscher, 1248, Potter.

Finance Committee: B. T. Dannehower, 768, Montgomery; T. G. Jones, 110, Crawford; J. C. Walker, 274, Clinton.

The election resulted in the choice of the following officers:

Master—W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Franklin county.

Overseer—Hon. A. C. Barrett, New Milford, Susquehanna county.

Lecturer—A. M. Cornell, Columbia X Roads, Bradford county.

Steward—Theodore Klein, Lake Ariel, Wayne county.

Assistant Steward—Harry H. Pratt, Goshenville, Chester county.

Chaplain—Rev. J. W. Johnson, Skinners' Eddy, Wyoming county.

Treasurer—Hon. S. E. Nivin, Landenberg, Chester county.

Secretary—J. T. Ailman, Thompsontown, Juniata county.

Gate Keeper—Wallace Chase, Fall Brook, Tioga county.

Ceres—Mrs. Velma West, Corry, R. F. D. No. 4, Erie county.

Pomona—Mrs. Mary M. Fisher, Elkview, Chester county.

Flora—Mrs. Carrie Dale, State College, Centre county.

L. A. S.—Mrs. Frances Arters, Mill Village, Erie county.

Executive Committee—Chas. H. Dildine, Rohrsburg, Columbia county.

Finance Committee—D. B. McWilliams, Burnham, Mifflin county.

The Committee on Salaries reported as follows:

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON SALARIES.

To the Officers and Members of the Pennsylvania State Grange:

Your Committee on Salaries beg leave to report as follows:

We have considered the condition of the order in our State, its healthy and steady growth, and the increasing duties of our various offices, and have deemed it wise to recommend salaries as follows:

For Master, \$650.00 per annum.

For Secretary, \$900.00 per annum.

For Treasurer, \$125.00 per annum.

For Executive Committee, \$2.00 per diem for time actually employed.

For Finance Committee, \$2.00 per diem for time actually employed.

For Lecturer, \$3.50 per diem for time actually employed in duties when absent from home.

We further recommend that the actual and necessary expenses of the Master and Lecturer, Executive Committee and Finance Committee to be paid.

Other officers expenses to be paid to State Grange meeting, the expenses of Master and Lecturer to be paid from the Lecture fund.

Fraternally submitted,

E. J. STOVER.

M. W. REESER.

JOEL HEER.

CLARA W. BUCKMAN.

Report adopted as read.

The following resolution was presented:

Resolved, That the State Grange of Pennsylvania recommend the passage of a law at the coming session of the Pennsylvania Legislature prohibiting trespassing upon farm lands upon the posting of suitable notices by the owner thereof, and providing a reasonable penalty for such trespassing; and further

Resolved, That we will use our best efforts to secure the passage of the same.

Presented by A. L. Swap, Master, Cherry Hill Grange, No. 1214.

The resolution was laid on the table.

The Committee on Co-operation reported:

REPORT OF CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE.

Worthy Master and Patrons:

Another year has passed since we came together in the capacity of a

State Grange. In reviewing the past year's work much could be said as to the weakness of too many of our order in realizing and understanding the true meaning of organization and co-operation. It seems strange that it is so, when we have every day before us the working and strength of hundred of organizations—manufacturers, commercial, produce and grain combines, under so many different heads. These stand solidly together, and compel us to take the prices they offer either in selling or buying.

Labor Unions that control the price of labor, stand together as one even to the sacrifice of thousands of dollars and to the enduring of great suffering of their families. Their strength, as shown in strikes, is a wonder to the world. Co-operation is a subject which seems to be coming to the front more and more every year. The more it is put in practice the more we shall realize the truth of divine writ (that no man liveth to himself alone) for our lives seem to be dependent upon co-operation in some form or another. Our electric and steam railways are a system of co-operation, by means of which we are able to travel from one place to another and even across the continent, but the system which governs steam and electricity must be strictly adhered to, or they would be useless.

It is the same with co-operation. We ought to form some plan whereby we can concentrate our efforts and work with the same harmony as do the different parts of the steam engine, then we will come to realize some of the benefits of co-operation.

The great trouble with many people seems to be that they are not willing to work together to accomplish the desired results, although knowing that in unity there is strength. We think it might be carried into effect in caring for our farms, each neighborhood coming together and selecting the one best adapted to buy, another take the selling, and so doing, there would be but one in the market to buy from and the dealers would soon learn that they could not put the prices on our products.

We may be cold and selfish, but at last we all long for companionship and the fellowship of one another. We are children a little larger grown, working as an agricultural class, setting in motion all other wheels of industry.

Then why not co-operate and have a closer relationship with our brothers and sisters of the order? Honest and industrious men and women are becoming tired of the mad rush for wealth and power. By co-operation we give life a grander and fuller expression; it unfolds and develops a higher moral tendency as standard of all that elevates our kind.

To be enslaved by a life of isolation and selfish greed starves the heart and soul and all the higher aspirations of our being fade away and die. Mutual help is the help we all need. It does not exclude or

banish self-help, but serves to strengthen it and make it more effective.

Let us quote what Worthy Master Jones, of the National Grange, says:

"The question is, shall farmers longer depend upon *others*, petitioning Legislature and Congress to enact laws and waiting the delays and uncertainty of courts enforcing them, to protect their rights." Or shall farmers get together, and in a lawful, orderly, and business way, guard and protect their rights as other great interests are guarded and protected, and secure just and equitable prices for their products, and labor and at the same time give the consuming public the products of the farm at fair prices. One great reason why many become dissatisfied with agricultural life is because they do not know how to purchase or sell to advantage, and that is where co-operation can help them out.

A brother has told how he and several others worked together in disposing of their wheat and so saved several hundred dollars more than they could had they sold it separately.

Another illustration is that of the Patrons' Fire Insurance. Before it was started we were paying 3 per cent. for three years, and now in the Patrons' insurance it is \$2.40 on the average of ten years on a thousand. We heard a brother say that we must not look for financial benefits from the Grange, but we believe that, for if we try to aid others it will certainly return to us four-fold.

We meet a great many who were once members of the Grange, but have taken dimits simply because there seemed to be nothing but the social side to their Grange. Some would say they were of no consequence if they for that reason left, but we believe if those Granges had practiced co-operation and thus had the intellectual, and financial sides in their Granges, as well as the social side, those people would have remained and helped to bring in others and so strengthened the order, not only in their own town, but also in the State. We think we should strive to make the Grange so pleasant and profitable no one will wish to leave it, it will seem so much like going away from home.

We might carry the subject of co-operation still further, for it seems to be inexhaustable.

There is one thing the Grange ought to learn, and that is to co-operate in every way they can to benefit each other and by so doing the Grange will be strengthened and ties of brotherhood will be more closely knit together and we will then realize more fully the benefits of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry.

One reason why we urge co-operation is that many of us think we can get along, and do as we like, but there comes a time when the glad handshake or a few kind words are a great comfort to us. It is then we realize, if at no other time, that we need the help of others, and if we have co-operated when in health in every way we can, then when

we lay down our work in the Grange and in life, our faces in the Grange will be missed, and if we have faithfully done our work others will try and emulate our virtues, and thus the Grange and the world will be benefited by our lives.

Brother and Sister Patrons, let us strive to co-operate as Patrons, that we may be blessed by the effort and not only ourselves, but our friends and neighbors and the world, and be made the better on account of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry having been instituted.

A. H. OLMSTEAD, Chairman,
DAVID E. CHAMBERS,
E. S. DAVIS,
N. BISHLOVE.
MRS. J. E. WILLIAMS.

Report adopted as read.

The report of the Committee on Agriculture was presented, and adopted.

Since God placed man on the earth, agriculture has existed, therefore ours is the oldest, and we believe, the most honorable calling and occupation to which man is heir.

Surrounded as we are by all the God-given blessings that nature can bestow upon us, we have halted, and for a few days laid aside our duties, and thus assembled ourselves together for the purpose of advancing this noble calling. We hope and trust our meeting will not be in vain.

Representing as we do the largest industrial body in the world, we think our counsel in *large measure* should be sought and taken in all the affairs pertaining to National, State and local Legislation. Furthermore, we believe the Department of State pertaining to our calling should be filled with officials from our number and in hearty sympathy with us.

Your Committee, therefore, beg leave to report that they have favorably considered the following resolution, and unanimously recommend its adoption:

Resolved, By Centre County Pomona Grange, that we respectfully petition the Pennsylvania State Grange to take such action as may be necessary to secure to the agricultural class the appointments to the clerical positions in the National and State Agricultural Departments, which common courtesy should accord to them, as they rightfully belong to the farming class.

D. M. CAMPBELL, Secretary.
GEORGE R. NORTH, Chairman.
HARRY S. JOHNSON,
CHARLES HERRINGTON.

The following report was presented by the Committee on Grievances, and adopted.

Worthy Master and Members of the State Grange:

We, your Committee on Grievances, sustain the action of the State Master in confirming the expulsion of C. H. Kemer from Silver Valley Grange, No. 1178, of Elk county, Pa.

But Worthy Master, our investigation brings to light this fact, that both parties to this case have flagrantly, heedlessly and needlessly violated the Constitution and By-Laws, and while your Committee personally believe that the penalty was extreme, and has worked an injustice to C. H. Kemer, in the fact that only half the guilty parties suffer, yet, officially, we heartily sustain your action in order to firmly establish the precedent that he who admits the violation of the Constitution and By-Laws shall not come to the State Grange with a grievance, expecting that the plea "this was done for the good of the Order" will avail.

Respectfully submitted,

E. D. STEWART.

HORACE H. HALL, Secretary.

ALFRED H. LITCHARD.

MRS. NORA SHOLLENBERGER.

W. J. EVERITT.

The following report was presented by the Committee on Dormant Granges, and adopted as read.

Worthy Master:

Your Committee beg leave to submit the following report:

The definition of the word dormant is "sleeping, private."

We could not but think that there may be a worse condition in life to be in than that. The man, woman, or Grange that has had a chance to be alone long enough to have the time to arrange for future action and to have a good sleep, might be in better condition to work than ever before.

And why should man think that a dormant condition was such a bad state to have passed through?

Is man wiser than God? "The buried seed wakes to life in darkness and then sends up its germ,—seeking heaven's sunlight;" and why should not these dormant Granges do likewise? A great many people upon the death of a dear friend will send a five-dollar wreath to lay upon that friend's casket, that while life lasted could not afford to send that friend books costing five dollars, books that would have set the warm life-blood flowing, that would have stirred the brain to brighter thought, that would have filled the heart to overflowing with thoughts of love, kindness and fraternity.

Oh, ye misers! Who help by your Grange vote, to pull the string to the Grange purse so tight that not one cent escapes for the bright lecture, or the beautiful song. You are the ones who are to blame for many and many a dormant Grange.

Oh, you brothers and sisters, bound hand and foot with narrow and rigid ideas in regard to pleasures in the Grange for the young, it will do us all good to once more read the "good book" and see what pleasures were indulged in, in the good old Biblical days. Upon your narrow minds and narrow shoulders part of the blame rests also.

There is not in the United States a Patron who has been recommended by others, loyal and true, to become a member of our Order, who has any business to give the lie to that recommendation of their friends by declining to pay their dues; and when after exercising patience and charity in sufficient measure they will not pay, it is for the good of our Order that our rules are to weed out these dead-heads, or dead-beats, that are such burdens to weak and dormant Granges. We do not advocate the paying out of large sums of money to start these sleeping Granges into active life again.

We simply recommend the co-operative efforts of the sisters. The mountain never was made too steep, the river too wide, or the burden too heavy, but what she could solve the problem, for the sisters are the captains of industry.

And somehow it seems as if the officers and members of the State Grange had failed in their duty somewhere; or else the delegates present here to-day would carry back to their home Grange so much enthusiasm, so many wide-a-wake ideas, that the spirit of work will be aroused in the hearts of all those Patrons of our Subordinate Granges back in the hill towns and down in the valleys of the State of Pennsylvania. Or does the fault belong to you, Patrons, who are sent here as delegates? Do you do your whole duty? Do you have good, stirring reports? Or just a few mumbled words in regard to these State meetings that you are privileged to attend.

In past years we find excellent reports in regard to the best way in dealing with this question of dormant Granges. And every previous chairman recommends the "helping hand," and so do we. But not until the cause of this trouble is located, and the Patrons to blame have been whipped into traces, do we believe in the "helping-hand business." We haven't a particle of sympathy for the dormant Grange flat upon its back in the mud of laziness, waving its hands feebly for help. Get upon your feet—and there is not a Patron in the State but will scrape the mud of laziness off from your back; help yourself and others will help you. Bring more life, more fun, more love for one another to your meetings, and Granges will not become dormant.

Respectfully submitted,

THEODORE KLEIN, Chairman.

The Committee on Education submitted their report.

We have had brought to our attention many times since the opening of this State Grange the necessity of a strong, fundamental education

for the farmer boys and girls and it is only necessary for your Committee to state this truth as undisputed and axiomatic.

But your Committee desire to state their unchanging belief in the public school system, and recommend that the Subordinate Granges be encouraged to use every effort for the establishment of a public school system in their several communities that shall be graded in every department and be comprehensive enough to give to every boy and girl in the State free of personal cost an education equal to that given in those townships where they have a Township High School.

In support of this system stands the great principle that true education consists in the development not only of the mind, but also of the body and the soul, and during those formative years of a child's life there is no place better, or as well adapted to a proper all around development, as a farm, presided over by those who are willing to give the thousand little helps that are the outcome of parental love, and who will throw around the child the safeguards that love and home would dictate. And therefore we emphatically endorse the Township High School, or the Academy, that may be doing equal work therewith.

As to the question of consolidation of public schools we hold that it is a question that must of necessity be left to the discretion of the several townships. In some townships complete centralization would be the best system. In others partial centralization has been found by actual experience to be a better method for them, and in others still no centralization has been found to fit their need; but the great need that should be brought to the attention of this State Grange is that of earnest study by our members of the several methods that have been found good and never rest until the one best adapted to the need had been put in operation.

We further recommend the adoption of nature studies and agriculture in our public and high schools.

Your Committee on Education desire to express their belief in the principle that the up-to-date farmer must be a student of his business. And there is provided for the use of all certain excellent helps to this end.

We mention first the Bulletins of our Experimental Stations. They bring right into our homes the results of the latest experiments in a condensed form. They can be had for the asking and should be in every home.

Another help that must be developed and used, is the correspondence courses in connection with the State College. No doubt these courses will be developed as time goes on until they meet every reasonable need of our people along that line, and we are heartily glad to know that so many as 3,000 have availed themselves of this privilege.

The following resolutions were referred to your Committee:

Resolved, That we are opposed to any deductions being made from the public school appropriation.

On this we report favorably.

WHEREAS, Certain School Districts in the Commonwealth cannot raise School Tax enough under the new "Teachers' Salary" Law to have seven months' school in each year; therefore, be it

Resolved, That where any district cannot raise the sufficient tax by levying thirteen mills on the dollar, then the State shall appropriate an additional amount sufficient to pay for a seven months' term of school.

Your Committee beg leave to report on the above resolution, that we consider it impracticable of application.

In closing our report we wish to express one thought that should be impressed upon every one within reach of the influence of this State Grange, and it is that education relative to the farmer has two decided functions. It should be directed toward the making of a practical, up-to-date farmer. But even more than this it should make an up-to-date citizen. Capable of exercising sovereign judgment on any and every policy of government. And to this end the ambition should be held up before every boy and girl in our great State to obtain the best possible education in every line classical and technical.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. BAYLE.

JOHN A. McSPARRAN,

M. CLIFFORD BRINTON.

GEORGE W. PATTERSON,

ANNA D. BLYHOLDER.

J. C. WALKER.

Report adopted.

Grange closed in regular form.

FRIDAY MORNING.

Grange opened in full form with Worthy Master Hill in the chair.

The Committee on Good of the Order presented their report.

Your Committee on Good of the Order would respectfully submit the following report:

At the close of so prosperous a year in our Order, and when peace and prosperity are moving hand in hand, it seems to be a difficult task to find any special need. Yet a satisfied state is a dangerous state, and by diligent search we are able to see opportunities for improvement.

Among these is the ritualistic work, which, if memorized, give a better impression in our Degree work, as charges coming from an individual are more impressive and interesting than when read from a book. We, therefore, recommend that in every Subordinate Grange

either the regular officers or a special Degree Team memorize the work.

Wherever practicable, we urge that a Juvenile Grange be organized, as it educates the children and lays the foundation for noble Patrons in the future.

[As every Patrons knows education is one of the highest and noblest objects of our Order, we therefore recommend that the Educational Committee of this State Grange investigate the feasibility of establishing two or more scholarships at State College, as recommended by our Worthy State Master.]

Action on this item postponed for one year.

The following resolutions were presented to your Committee for consideration:

No. 27, That we ask^d Pennsylvania State Grange to use its influence to cause all Fire Insurance Companies doing business as Grange Fire Insurance Companies to incorporate in their laws, rules and regulations, a clause to cancel and make void all insurance policies held by persons when they become unaffiliated with the Order of Patrons of Husbandry.

We think this is a good suggestion. But as we understand the State Grange has no control over these companies.

No. 31. *Resolved*, That Pennsylvania State Grange provide more and better means than now exists for assisting weak Granges in the State.

We recommend that whenever the Secretary sees by the quarterly reports that a Grange is weakening, that he notify the sister Granges in that locality, and ask that they send some of their most influential members to visit and encourage such Granges.

No. 40. WHEREAS, The Executive Committee has asked the Picnic Association to help pay the expenses of speakers sent out by the State Grange; therefore,

Resolved, That Center Road Grange, 502, believes that the State Grange should pay the expenses of these speakers.

We think the present system of dividing expenses between Picnic Associations and State Grange is just and fair and recommend its continuation.

Fraternally submitted,

N. D. SNYDER.

WILLIAM B. COATES.

MRS. S. C. BURROUGHS.

Report received and adopted seriatim.

The report was amended as follows:

Action on the recommendation in the matter of Grange scholarships in the State College was postponed for one year.

The report was adopted as amended.

The Committee on Constitution and By-Laws reported:

We, the undersigned Committee, do hereby pass upon and adopt the following resolutions:

The petition from Progress Grange, No. 96, relating to amend Article 2 of the State Constitution, Section 5, is not recommended.

Petition from Grange No. 109, to amend Article 3, Section 2 and 3 of the Constitution of the State Grange is not recommended.

Petition from Progress Grange, No. 96, to amend Article 7, Section 6 of the Constitution of State Grange, is not recommended.

Report of Union Grange, No. 802, asking, That we respectively ask the State Grange to amend the balloting laws to read, "That where three or more black balls are cast, and it is requested by two-thirds of those present, the application shall be referred back to the Investigating Committee and the parties doing the black-balling shall report their reasons to this Committee before the next regular meeting, and this Committee shall report at the next meeting and tell reasons, but not give names of those that reported and then it shall be decided by a majority vote of those present if they be rejected or declared elected; and if no report is made to this Committee they shall be declared elected."

Reported favorably.

Respectfully submitted,

J. F. SEAVY, 800, Crawford.

RACHEL HICKS, 63, Chester.

W. A. HOSTETLER, 776, Juniata.

W. A. BAVER, 1115, Cambria.

G. B. WACHOB, 964, Clearfield.

Report adopted as read, except that the recommendation of Union Grange, No. 802, was ruled out on the ground that the State Grange has no power to make the proposed amendment.

The Committee on Juvenile Granges reported as follows:

Worthy Master, Brothers and Sisters:

Having no resolutions to consider, the Committee submit the following:

We appreciate the need among the children on the farm of some place and means of social development other than that to be found in the public school or Sunday-school. Our Grange has come to the rescue and provided for the children just such a place in the Juvenile Grange. All children from the ages of eight to fourteen are eligible to membership. They are under the charge of a competent sister, appointed by the mother Grange, whose duty it is to see that their sessions are properly conducted according to parliamentary rules, and to their decorum during intermissions.

We have found by experience that these Juvenile Granges will also increase the attendance of the Subordinate Granges; many parents

being compelled to remain at home with their little ones. Under the new order, the child accompanies its parent and is placed in the Juvenile Grange during the session of the Subordinate.

The Juvenile Grange bears the same relation to the Grange as the Sunday-school to the church.

What more ennobling work could our Order accomplish than to grasp the opportunity offered and place the educating, refining influence around these children during these seven years which they are eligible to membership and at an age when their habits and character for life is being formed.

We, therefore, heartily recommend to all Subordinate Granges, where practicable, the early organization of such Granges.

Fraternally submitted,

MRS. S. C. MOORE, Chairman.

C. E. GREEN.

MRS. N. D. SNYDER.

Report adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

First. We tender a hearty vote of thanks to the people of Erie for the manner in which they welcomed the Pennsylvania State Grange through their officials.

Second. We also extend our thanks to the Chamber of Commerce for the liberal provision of halls and funds made for the success of this meeting.

Third. Our thanks are no less due to the press of the city of Erie for advertising the meeting and for the full reports they have made of the sessions.

Fourth. We especially appreciate the untiring efforts of the local Committee in making all necessary arrangements and caring for the delegates.

Fifth. We note also with much pleasure, the varied and excellent music furnished on this occasion.

Sixth. Our thanks are likewise due, and are hereby tendered to the Degree Team, of Shaw's Landing Grange, for the very efficient manner in which they exemplified the work of the four Subordinate Degrees.

We proffer a vote of thanks to Brother Mortimer Whitehead, Worthy Past Lecturer of the National Grange, for the excellent manner in which he installed the officers of this State Grange.

HERMAN GREGORY,

CLARA COLE,

RUSSEL KARNs,

Committee.

The Committee on Credentials submitted its report:

ARMSTRONG.

537 Anna D. Blyholder, . . . 7 25

537 S. S. Blyholder, 7 25

872 L. H. Flemming, . . . 6.15

487	Henry Pence,	6	95	174	Ida Soper,	11	30
549	J. T. Ditty,	7	17	336	R. U. Fitzwater,	11	30
1234	A. C. Shakely,	6	00	336	Mrs. R. U. Fitzwater,	11	30
915	Sister E. A. Crosby,	8	00	754	C. L. Crandall,	11	65
515	T. A. Fisens,	6	90	754	Flora Crandall,	11	65
ALLEGHENY.							
897	J. M. Shoup,	6	90	354	Jos. Statford,	9	50
897	Sister J. M. Shoup,	6	90	354	Cynthia Statford,	9	50
1186	Lawrence Fife,	6	10	205	A. H. Benjamin,	12	55
1276	J. H. McElheny,	6	75	257	G. G. Ayers,	11	65
904	Joseph Leitch,	5	35	155	F. P. Varmoy,	11	25
BEAVER.							
960	Wm. Roseburg,	6	10	155	Emma Varmoy,	11	25
BEDFORD.							
619	C. W. Koontz,	14	80	153	R. A. Palmer,	11	25
1104	C. L. King,	13	20	153	Jennie Palmer,	11	25
737	Geo. W. Oster,	15	30	204	L. C. Burroughs,	13	50
737	Emma E. Oster,	15	30	204	Mrs. L. C. Burroughs,	13	50
531	Kie E. Brown,	14	55	272	F L. Rockwell,	13	50
BERKS.							
29	C. S. Dreibeldes,	19	55	272	Mrs. A. W. Rockwell,	13	50
BLAIR.							
791	Martin Gates,	14	50	BUCKS.			
664	H. S. Hershey,	11	30	998	H. D. Knecht,	14	10
484	W. W. Stryker,	11	10	998	Lizzie Knecht,	14	10
1137	Wm. S. Leighty,	13	55	1206	Harry S. Johnson,	15	00
1275	Geo. Aurandt,	14	50	1206	Melvina Johnson,	15	00
1154	A. W. Selwitz,	13	55	684	Geo. C. Brickman,	15	30
889	D. D. Coleman,	11	65	684	Clara W. Brickman,	15	30
BRADFORD.							
83	Stanley C. Moore,	11	70	507	Jas. M. Slack,	14	70
83	Jennie S. Moore,	11	70	507	Caroline Slack,	14	70
1228	John O. Sullivan,	9	15	BUTLER.			
178	N. D. Snyder,	10	35	1105	H. L. Bicker,	5	30
178	Leila Snyder,	10	35	908	John Leisie,	5	45
1161	F. W. West,	8	80	570	Linn Christie,	5	00
214	A. W. Wood,	8	60	133	Jacob Albert,	4	60
1229	Russell Heverly,	9	85	370	S. R. McCall,	4	60
173	R. S. Lane,	9	00	370	Mrs. S. R. McCall,	4	60
11	James P. Campbell,	8	60	244	Jerry A. Eberhart,	4	80
58	N. H. Drake,	9	40	CAMBRIA.			
58	Alice A. Drake,	9	40	1118	H. J. Ivory,	11	80
182	John Coney,	11	70	1135	W. K. Douglass,	12	10
Pomona 23	Myrt Ferguson,			1116	Wm. Sauker,	12	20
174	Willis E. Soper,	11	30	1125	Peter Lieb,	13	15
				1117	J. W. Griffin,	12	06
				1117	Margaret Griffin,	12	06
				1128	S. A. Ryan,	12	80
				1126	E. C. Farabaugh,	11	40
				1126	Sister E. C. Farabaugh,	11	40
				1115	W. A. Bayer,	11	40

1115	Sister W. A. Bayer,...	11	40	60	W. Hunter Little,....	17	15
1129	Isaiah Gates,	8	35	1179	Geo. R. North,.....	16	10
1165	F. J. Lumadue,.....	13	00	1179	Mrs. Geo. R. North,..	16	10
1124	F. J. Hertizog,.....	11	05	91	Edwin R. Morrison,..	19	70
1168	G. M. Derthrich,	13	00	91	Betha A. Morrison,..	19	17
1122	Ellsworth Rowland,..	12	95	67	Oscar Hooper,	16	40
1123	I. J. Hughes,.....	13	70	67	Alice Hooper,	16	40
1119	Lyman Sherfine,.....	13	70	CLARION.			
1125	J. J. Thomas,.....	14	00	560	E. D. Davis,.....	7	15
1125	Mrs. J. J. Thomas,..	14	00	680	C. G. Cyphert,	7	15
CARBON.				625	I. F. Krotzer,.....	6	70
1032	Fred Brenckman,....	15	00	625	Minnie E. Krotzer,...	6	70
CENTER.				654	S. W. George,.....	6	85
96	David Keller,	10	70	735	Jas. McDowell,.....	7	50
159	A. W. Dale,.....	1	40	1101	K. L. McClain,.....	6	50
1272	Chas. C. Hess,.....	8	00	1235	D. R. Elliott,	5	25
1272	Kate Hess,	8	00	CLEARFIELD.			
157	Wm. K. Coil,.....	10	70	534	Wm. T. Thorp,.....	7	05
254	C. E. Musser,.....	10	40	534	Vinnie J. Thorp,....	7	05
254	Nora B. Musser,....	10	40	1241	H. J. Diem,.....	7	05
158	M. L. Rishel,.....	10	95	1241	Katurah Diem,.....	7	05
109	Willard Dale,.....	10	35	1146	Harrison Straw,....	6	75
109	Sadie Dale,.....	10	35	1146	Emeline Straw,.....	6	75
757	J. A. Hoy,.....	10	45	802	G. W. Dressler,.....	5	90
757	Mary E. Hoy,.....	10	45	964	G. B. Wachob,.....	5	90
1192	Daniel Robb,.....	9	40	964	Laura Wachob,.....	5	90
1192	Mrs. Daniel Robb,...	9	40	1240	Harry E. Owens,....	6	40
223	J. W. Orr,.....	9	60	1240	Lucinda Owens,	6	40
217	H. E. Duck,.....	11	20	1201	L. W. Roland,.....	12	65
217	Sister H. E. Duck,...	11	20	808	Wm. M. McNaughton,	5	90
1051	J. A. Meyer,.....	11	20	80	Jennie McNaughton,..	5	90
1051	Sister J. A. Meyer,...	11	20	533	Jas. Spackman,.....	7	75
290	R. D. Ardry,.....	11	40	533	Mrs. Jas. Spackman,	7	75
290	Alie Ardry,.....	10	40	1145	C. P. Carr,	6	75
CHESTER.				1145	Mrs. C. P. Carr,.....	6	75
141	S. E. Niven,			584	E. W. Moore,.....	7	75
980	W. B. Coates,.....	16	05	584	M. W. Moore,.....	7	75
1269	Rebecca Wood,.....	16	30	CLINTON.			
1269	Ellis P. Wood,.....	16	30	378	Theda Peters,	9	45
63	John H. Hicks,.....	16	10	378	Geo. Peters,	9	45
63	Rachel L. Hicks,....	16	10	334	M. A. Rishel,	9	25
121	Ezra Thomas,.....	15	00	1189	A. T. Baird,	8	95
1220	J. Lewis Baldwin,...	15	50	1267	Chas. W. Shoemaker,	8	95
19	Alf. F. Satterthwait, .	15	05	303	W. H. Welsh,	8	95
1263	David E. Chambers,..	15	00	303	Ella Welsh,	8	95

1255	R. N. McKayne,.....	9	15	895	Rabie P. Marshall,...	1	70
274	J. C. Walker,	8	95	844	J. A. Wilson,	2	50
274	Sister J. C. Walker,..	8	95	304	Lafayette Creacroft,..	2	15
	COLUMBIA.			304	Anna Creacroft,	2	15
108	H. W. Shaffer,	12	00	871	S. E. Cooper,	1	40
322	H. G. Supplee,	13	95	871	Eva Cooper,	1	40
322	N. Supplee,	13	95	1177	A. Messerall,	1	00
52	A. E. Parker,	11	95	1177	Nora Messerall,	1	00
88	Russel Karns,	13	85	344	G. B. Hanna,	2	90
88	Mira Karns,	13	85	344	Florance Hanna,	2	90
45	N. Beisline,	13	55	1233	Wm. Dickey,	3	00
45	M. A. Beisline,	13	55	164	Chas. Herrington, ...	1	40
	CRAWFORD.			1181	Joseph Brunot,	1	00
694	Henry A. Hall,	1	30	1181	Adel Brunot,	1	00
694	Emma Hall,	1	30	910	F. M. Hazen,		90
1111	O. B. Jones,		75	1102	Jno. N. Scott,	2	15
190	Benjamin Ross,	1	00	1102	Vinnie Scott,	2	15
190	Ester Ross,	1	00	838	Mark Coxon,	1	40
988	Albert Cole,	1	00	263	Fred A. Prusia,		95
988	Clara Cole,	1	00		CUMBERLAND.		
880	A. B. Greenfield,	1	40	16	R. H. Thomas,	13	95
880	Mrs. A. B. Greenfield, I	40		362	M. I. Kast,	13	95
936	C. Fulbon,	1	00	362	Agnes I. Kast,	13	95
936	Maggie Fulbon,	1	00		DELAWARE.		
764	A. M. Crooks,	1	40	1173	J. H. Mendenhall,....	15	20
556	N. P. Wood,	2	15	1173	Aimee Mendenhall, ..	15	20
556	Mrs. N. P. Wood, ...	2	15	1141	M. Clifford Brinton,..	14	90
1034	A. B. Wilson,	1	25	851	Lewis P. Cox,	15	00
1034	Celestia O. Wilson,..	1	25	851	Hannah Cox,	15	00
816	Roswell Gordon,	1	40	1279	Owen B. Powell,	14	30
816	Mrs. Roswell Gordon, I	40		1231	Edward Darlington,..	14	45
901	Wm. J. Graham,	1	00	1231	Lena C. Darlington,..	14	45
110	F. G. Jones,	2	00		ELK.		
110	Mrs. F. G. Jones,	2	00	1155	Herman Gregory,	5	10
135	E. C. Utley,	1	65	1174	P. L. Gardner,	5	80
135	Alice Utley,	1	65	628	C. E. Green,	5	80
958	C. N. Shreve,	1	05	628	Mrs. C. E. Green, ..	5	80
958	Mina Shreve,	1	05	1178	Louis P. Kerner,	5	15
502	Harry V. Greenfield,. I	75		1230	P. S. Ruescher,	5	15
502	Maggie E. Greenfield, I	75			ERIE.		
1112	E. A. Gates,	1	20	1214	A. L. Swap,	1	00
168	Miles B. Dean,		75	89	J. F. Baker,	1	05
168	Annie Dean,		75	89	Sister J. F. Baker, ...	1	05
800	J. F. Seavy,	1	00	1257	Mrs. Geo. Eagley, ...		90
800	Mrs. J. F. Seavy,....	1	00	1257	Bro. Geo. Eagley,		90

1079	Bro. T. G. Gray,	70	935	Mary Stever,	12 50
1079	Minnie I. Gray,	70	1134	W. H. Wilson,	12 50
955	George Taylor,	60	951	Cora Orner,	11 60
55	Lee Perkins,	2 00	951	Wm. Orner,	11 60
106	G. H. Howard,	1 05	1211	Harry Hartssock,	11 60
106	Sister G. H. Howard, ..	1 05	119	Jackson L. Grove, ...	16 35
131	R. B. Arters,	1 25	375	W. S. Hewitt,	11 90
131	Sister R. B. Arters, ..	1 25	1196	R. W. Hudson,	16 35
385	F. H. Walker,	30	INDIANA.		
385	Alice Y. Walker,	30	313	S. M. McHenry,	9 60
147	H. H. Rose,	No milage	176	R. A. Harbinson,	8 40
147	Sister H. H. Rose, " "		176	M. M. Harbinson,	8 40
226	D. A. Young,	" "	573	G. W. Treese,	9 00
226	Mary Young,	1 50	573	Rhoda B. Treese,	9 00
1265	Geo. Young,	50	JEFFERSON.		
1265	Sister Geo. Young, ..	50	854	E. R. Syphirt,	6 05
997	Thos. Hearst,	1 00	1259	F. W. Deemer,	6 05
997	Sister Hearst,	1 00	1264	Jennie E. Womeldorf, ..	6 05
947	Archie Billings,	75	1264	J. K. Womeldorf,	6 05
947	Creta Billings,	50	503	Chas. A. Morris,	7 50
423	E. I. Allen,	1 05	503	Agnes Morris,	7 50
423	Mrs. E. I. Allen,	1 05	691	C. A. Mayes,	7 65
FAYETTE.			691	Sister C. A. Mayes, ..	7 65
1008	L. D. Ramsey,	8 00	JUNIATA.		
1109	C. K. Brooks,	8 80	774	Daniel Keemer,	14 95
419	R. T. Hutchinson,	8 80	1094	Jacob Shearer,	15 35
1052	W. H. Cooper,	7 75	773	W. N. Sterritt,	13 85
1144	J. S. Rittenhouse, ...	8 15	781	J. Holmes Brook,	18 30
785	Daniel F. Hostetter, ..	11 30	776	W. A. Hostetter,	13 85
1091	Chas. L. Swartz,	11 30	776	Sister W. A. Hostetter, ..	13 85
1169	J. H. Rittenhouse,	12 20	786	Jos. Hostetter,	13 95
1022	Geo. W. Patterson,	10 80	786	Levenia Hostetter,	13 95
1103	Annie L. Moser,	11 30	772	W. L. McClure,	14 45
FOREST.			772	Katie McClure,	14 45
853	W. H. Cropp,	4 00	LACKAWANNA.		
HUNTINGDON.			1200	S. A. Whitney,	11 75
330	John H. Wilson,	11 90	1200	Edith H. Whitney,	11 75
974	E. J. Stover,	11 25	1199	J. W. Tiffany,	11 75
974	Annie E. Stover,	11 25	251	Geo. W. Beisecker,	12 05
914	B. F. Grove,	12 50	251	Gertrude Beisecker, ..	12 05
933	C. H. Drake,	17 05	899	G. W. Weldy,	12 35
1210	N. K. Wright,	12 50	899	M. J. Weldy,	12 35
1210	Mary E. Wright,	12 50	1029	S. P. Williams,	12 35
1226	W. L. Mosser,	11 90	1029	Anna M. Williams, ...	12 35
935	O. M. Stever,	12 50	LANCASTER.		

66	J. A. McSparren,	15	85	393	John T. Bond,	3	40
66	Bittie McSparren,	15	85	337	D. W. Burnett,	2	20
LEHIGH.				MONTGOMERY.			
869	L. B. Geiger,	14	00	760	B. F. Danehower,	14	65
LYCOMING.				MONTAUR.			
1160	Lazarus Murray,	10	45	1184	J. A. Merrell,	12	25
27	W. M. Bull,	10	40	1150	Alfred H. Litchard, ..	11	20
454	J. W. McIlwain,	11	25	1150	Eldora Litchard,	11	20
454	Nancy McIlwain,	11	25	65	J. H. Litchard,	11	15
1	F. Porter,	10	55	65	Laura Litchard,	11	15
1244	Samuel Sidony,	10	55	34	E. M. Mowrer,	11	45
1244	Sister Sidony,	10	55	34	Sister E. M. Mowrer, ..	11	45
LUZERNE.				941	E. D. Schnure,	11	00
812	J. E. Williams,	16	40	NORTHAMPTON.			
812	Mrs. J. E. Williams, ..	16	40	829	Wm. M. Benninger, ..	14	00
819	A. A. Snyder,	16	40	1100	E. F. Smith,	13	40
819	Esther Snyder,	16	40	1100	Martha Smith,	13	40
291	M. R. Harmon,	11	95	1191	Geo. A. Depue,	13	80
668	W. J. Heisler,	11	85	993	A. F. Renner,	14	50
668	Sister Heisler,	11	85	993	Melissa Renner,	14	50
398	J. B. Sutliff,	11	95	NORTHUMBERLAND.			
398	Eveline Sutliff,	11	95	865	W. J. Pickering,	12	25
567	E. E. Harris,	12	35	865	Mary Pickering,	12	25
1212	Henry T. Plummer, ..	5	45	1145	D. B. Moyer,	11	95
1212	Ida Plummer,	5	45	68	Thos. Ellis,	10	40
1190	W. P. Beckwith,	5	95	249	W. G. Sypher,	11	00
1190	Mrs. W. P. Beckwith, ..	5	95	249	Sister W. G. Sypher, ..	11	00
1253	W. T. Lynch,	6	00	PERRY.			
1236	Vinnie Taylor,	5	70	626	Wm. E. Raffensperger, ..	14	60
1238	A. E. Hackett,	5	70	1069	Amos Fleisher,	14	80
1238	Delia Hackett,	5	70	POTTER.			
1236	Jas. Taylor,	5	70	1248	Annie Burdic,	7	20
1237	M. J. Welsh,	6	25	1248	Walace Burdic,	7	20
1237	Mrs. M. J. Welsh,	6	25	1193	Carl Bertah,	8	55
1182	J. C. Goding,	6	45	1193	Kate Bertah,	8	55
1182	Sister J. C. Goding, ...	6	45	1247	H. L. Pearsall,	7	15
MERCER.				1099	V. W. Johnston,	8	75
538	G. B. Shollenberger, ..	3	00	1099	Hester Johnston,	8	75
538	Nora Shollenberger, ..	3	00	1149	George Deiseroth, ...	10	60
608	J. V. Kaltenbaugh, ..	3	05	1183	A. S. Worden,	9	20
608	C. M. Kaltenbaugh, ...	3	05	1183	Mary Worden,	9	20
658	J. N. McIntire,	3	05	1194	Henry S. Bartoo,	9	20
658	S. E. McIntire,	3	05	1194	Clara Bartoo,	9	20
595	Geo. B. Grute,	1	70	1207	Jay Hopkins,	9	20
595	Susan Grute,	1	70	1251	I. H. Dingman,	10	85

1216	Wm. L. Lyman,	11	15	952	F. L. Tanner,	11	75
1216	Etta Lyman,	11	15	342	U. B. Rice,	10	55
1246	Willis Tauscher,	10	65	342	Mrs. U. B. Rice,	10	55
1246	May Tauscher,	10	65	868	A. C. Whitney,	11	75
1204	H. H. Hall,	10	05	868	Edith Whitney,	11	75
	SOMERSET.			1157	G. M. Olmstead,	11	00
878	Alex. Coleman,	10	70	1157	Carrie E. Olmstead,	11	00
	SCHUYLKILL.			806	W. H. Roberts,	11	00
1256	John Shoener,	14	50	806	Ella H. Roberts,	11	00
1258	A. J. Hummell,	16	75	1167	G. L. Pickett,	11	00
1242	J. H. Dunkleberger,	16	75	1167	Flora M. Pickett,	11	00
	SULLIVAN.				TIOGA.		
365	M. W. Reeser,	10	00	1092	E. W. Messner,	11	05
365	Angie Reeser,	10	00	1092	Mrs. E. W. Messner,	11	05
1224	H. P. Yonkin,	10	00	1047	Joseph Parker,	10	00
1224	Mrs. H. P. Yonkin,	10	00	1047	Katherine Parker,	10	00
976	E. G. Rogers,	11	30	1056	O. B. Brion,	10	00
1081	Torrence Bender,	11	10	293	C. C. Landon,	11	05
1081	Agnes Bender,	11	10	293	Mary Landon,	11	05
	SUSQUEHANNA.			784	J. A. Wilcox,	11	30
940	Fred H. Brant,	12	55	784	Ella Wilcox,	11	30
940	Bertha Brant,	12	55	841	C. L. Beiver,	9	25
101	B. A. Shupp,	10	00	841	Emma Beiver,	9	25
339	E. M. Griffis,	13	30	925	C. M. Shaw,	9	20
339	Mrs. E. M. Griffis,	13	30	925	Ada Shaw,	9	20
927	F. L. Possinger,	10	00	1017	L. H. Smith,	9	20
927	Ida J. Possinger,	10	00	918	Mrs. J. C. Rexford,	9	20
1188	F. W. Gay,	10	00	918	J. C. Rexford,	9	20
1188	Nora Gay,	10	00	1033	Thomas Copestick,	9	20
1217	John F. Moran,	14	00	1033	Cora Copestick,	9	20
418	E. M. Tingley,	10	95	913	E. D. Snover,	9	20
418	Mrs. E. M. Tingley,	10	95	913	Ellen Snover,	9	20
873	E. W. Bush,	12	75	384	Frank H. Wilson,	9	20
931	P. H. Bell,	11	75	384	Jessie W. Wilson,	9	20
931	Mrs. P. H. Bell,	11	75	912	W. J. Everitt,	8	85
289	Clarence Shay,	10	55	912	Nettie Everitt,	8	85
289	Bertha Shay,	10	55	905	L. G. Brant,	8	15
1166	J. E. Osterhout,	10	60	905	Mrs. L. G. Brant,	8	15
1166	Adella Osterhout,	10	60	1009	E. B. Dorsett,	9	20
1227	Wm. Minkler,	13	70	1009	Mrs. E. B. Dorsett,	9	20
74	J. D. Baker,	12	40	600	Wallace Chase,		
74	Elizabeth B. Baker,	12	40	1095	Orson Williammee,	12	60
152	R. T. Everson,	11	75	1095	Hattie Williammee,	12	60
924	R. M. Tingley,	10	90	84	C. H. DeWitt,	12	40
1018	Giles H. Lyon,	11	70	84	Mrs. C. H. DeWitt,	12	40

705	Geo. F. Curtiss,	9	20	870	W. B. Hale,	3	20
705	Mrs. Geo. F. Curtiss,	9	20	870	Ida Hale,	3	20
966	S. G. Borden,	9	50	847	Geo. A. Woodside,	2	90
874	Stella Thompson,	9	20	847	Sister G. A. Woodside,	2	90
874	M. A. Thompson,	9	20	236	A. H. Olstead,	1	50
876	P. H. Merrick,	8	55	236	Clara T. Olmstead,	1	50
876	Ola Merrick,	8	55	467	L. M. Cartwright,	2	35
1113	N. L. Hanscom,	10	40	875	H. F. Poole,	1	50
981	Wesley Potter,	8	65	1143	Theodore Shuler,	2	65
981	James Potter,	8	65	1205	Eugene Bentley,	3	50
989	Winfield Scott,	8	55	1205	Lydia Bentley,	3	50
989	Rosina Scott,	8	55	1025	E. D. Stewart,	2	65
1078	R. L. Pride,	8	55	1025	Mrs. E. D. Stewart,	2	65
1078	Mrs. R. L. Pride,	8	55	1208	F. G. Seavy,	3	15
1088	John M. Seamens,	8	55	WASHINGTON.			
1089	Mrs. John M. Seamens,	8	55	314	J. C. Reed,	7	90
1016	Mattie Knowlton,	9	50	314	M. A. Reed,	7	90
1016	M. S. Knowlton,	9	50	1164	J. H. Cheeseman,	6	30
957	J. D. Seeley,	8	40	1133	J. M. Weygandt,	7	70
957	Mrs. J. D. Seeley,	8	40	179	J. B. Painter,	8	00
1223	F. O. Steele,	8	25	1055	D. C. Day,	7	70
1223	Hattie T. Steele,	8	25	WAYNE.			
817	John Teachman,	8	30	1041	F. N. Rude,	16	30
817	Mary Teachman,	8	30	1089	Chas. Blake,	13	45
UNION.				1089	Clara Blake,	13	45
434	J. H. Wingert,	11	25	977	J. W. Andrews,	13	10
434	Elizabeth Wingert,	11	25	1071	Homer W. Bower,	16	30
122	R. J. Moyer,	11	00	1074	W. H. Bullock,	13	45
VENANGO.				1074	Mrs. W. H. Bullock,	13	45
284	C. A. Bradley,	2	60	898	Theodore Klein,	13	10
1131	Robt. Boal,	2	35	898	Sister Theo. Klein,	13	10
1131	Martha Boal,	2	35	WESTMORELAND.			
893	M. V. Greer,	3	65	848	M. N. Clark,	7	10
WARREN.				1011	J. W. Ruth,	7	45
839	A. F. Lyon,	2	65	704	W. F. Holtzer,	6	80
839	Etta A. Lyon,	2	65	835	John Stroble,	7	80
407	E. N. Babcock,	2	30	835	Esther S. Stroble,	7	80
407	Sister E. N. Babcock,	2	30	862	J. K. Sarver,	7	80
846	L. H. Darling,	2	70	WYOMING.			
1068	Emma Barney,	2	65	926	C. W. Capwell,	10	00
1068	J. J. Barney,	2	65	1245	L. D. Armstrong,	11	75
1042	Christena Morgan,	2	65	1245	Sister L. D. Armstrong,	11	75
1090	H. D. Stoneburg,	3	00	1139	Chas. E. Henning,	11	10
1151	F. E. Donaldson,	3	00	400	W. A. Hodgson,	11	75
911	S. L. Walling,	3	00	321	H. R. Freeman,	11	35

321	Sister H. R. Freeman, 11	35	165	Leon S. Jennings, 11	35
1249	Rev. J. W. Johnson, 10	00	165	Mrs. L. S. Jennings, 11	35
641	E. H. Clark, 12	95	1261	E. L. Bacon, 11	75
641	Mrs. E. H. Clark, 12	95	1261	Ella L. Bacon, 11	75
508	G. E. Remington, 11	00		YORK.	
508	Ella Remington, 11	00	810	Ira D. Keller, 15	45
209	Geo. A. Benson, 10	75	1270	W. S. Newcomer, 15	35
209	Mrs. Geo. A. Benson, 10	75	1270	Amanda Newcomer, 15	35

Report received and ordered to appear in the Journal.

The following was presented and adopted:

Resolved, That 1,200 copies each of the Journal of Proceedings and register be printed and that copies be furnished to the Master of each Subordinate Grange, to the Master, Secretary and Lecturer of each Pomona Grange, to every Deputy and to the Business Houses under contract with the Executive Committee of the State Grange.

The officers of the State Grange were installed by the Hon. Mortimer Whitehead, of New Jersey.

No further business appearing, the State Grange closed in full form with the Patrons' chain.

J. T. AILMAN, Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE.

Master—W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin County.

Overseer—HON. A. C. BARRETT, New Milford, Susquehanna County.

Lecturer—A. M. CORNELL, "Columbia X Roads.

Steward—THEODORE KLEIN, Lake Ariel, Wayne County.

Assistant Steward—HARRY H. PRATT, Goshenville, Chester County.

Chaplain—REV. J. W. JOHNSON, Skinner's Eddy, Wyoming County.

Treasurer—S. E. NIVIN, Landenburg, Chester County.

Secretary—J. T. AILMAN, Thompsontown, Juniata County.

Gatekeeper—WALLACE CHASE, Fall Brook, Tioga County.

Ceres—MRS. VELMA WEST, Corry, Warren County.

Pomona—MRS. MARY FISHER, Lincoln University, Chester County.

Flora—MRS. J. S. DALE, State College, Centre County.

L. A. S.—MRS. FRANCES ARTERS, Mill Village, Erie County.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

I. FRANK CHANDLER—Toughkenamon, Chester County.

C. H. DILDINE, Rohrsburg, Columbia County.

G. W. OSTER, Osterburg, Bedford County.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

D. B. MCWILLIAMS, Burnham, Mifflin County.

S. B. BROWN, Sulphur Springs, Bedford County.

JOHN T. PATTON, Warrior's Mark, Huntingdon County.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin County.

HON. W. T. CREASY, Catawissa, Columbia County.

E. B. DORSETT, Wellsboro, Tioga County.

Ten thousand new members is the membership goal of the Subordinate Granges of Pennsylvania for 1905.

Missing:
Vol. 1, no. 7
1905

Officers of the Pennsylvania State Grange

Master, W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
Overseer, HON. A. C. BARRETT, New Milford, Susquehanna Co.
Lecturer, A. M. CORNELL, Columbia X Roads.
Steward, THEODORE KLEIN, Lake Ariel, Wayne Co.
Assistant Steward, HARRY H. PRATT, Goshenville, Chester Co.
Chaplain, REV. J. W. JOHNSON, Laceyville, Wyoming Co.
Treasurer, S. E. NIVIN, Landenburg, Chester Co.
Secretary, J. T. AILMAN, Thompsontown, Juniata Co.
Gatekeeper, WALLACE CHASE, Fall Brook, Tioga Co.
Ceres, MRS. VELMA WEST, Corry, Warren County.
Flora, MRS. J. S. Dale, State College, Centre Co.
Pomona, MRS. MARY FISHER, Lincoln University, Chester Co.
L. A. S., MRS. FRANCES B. ARTERS, Millvillage, Erie Co.

Executive Committee

I. FRANK CHANDLER, Toughkenamon, Chester Co.
C. H. DILDINE, Rohrsburg, Columbia Co.
G. W. OSTER, Osterburg, Bedford Co.

Finance Committee

D. B. McWILLIAMS, Burnham, Mifflin Co.
S. B. BROWN, Sulphur Springs, Bedford Co.
JOHN T. PATTON, Warriors Mark, Huntingdon Co.

Legislative Committee

W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
HON. W. T. CREASY, Catawissa, Columbia Co.
E. B. DORSETT, Wellsboro, Tioga Co.

Pennsylvania Granges are going to add 10,000 members this year
THIS MEANS WORK.

Pennsylvania Grange News

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VOL. 1 No. 8

MARCH, 1905

20 CENTS PER YEAR.
5 CENTS PER COPY

W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

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EDITORIAL.

An Open Letter to Fair Associations.

YOU doubtless know of the fast increasing popularity of the Grange as a factor in the betterment of country life. We also recognize the local Fair as a kindred educational force. It has occurred to me that by a little co-operation we can make our institutions of still greater attractiveness and value. To this end I wish to suggest that you designate one day of your Fair as "Grange Day," and set aside an hour or more after dinner for speaking. Advertise same and specially invite farmers and Grange members to attend the Fair that day—seeing it and also hearing a speaker of note.

The State Grange can arrange to provide a well known speaker, able to both interest and instruct along lines of Agricultural Education and Improvement.

W. F. HILL.

LIMESTONE Grange, Warren Co., is "setting the stakes" to hold another Grange Fair in its Hall this fall. This is Bro. Wheelock's pet scheme. The members take pride in growing fine products and some very creditable displays have been made. The Fair is held for two days. The Grange also procures good speakers, good music, and a variety of enter-

tainment, and by charging an admission fee, quite a sum is raised for the Treasury.

They received nine new members at a recent meeting and more are now on the way.

A Grange that "does things" for the good of the neighborhood can always secure applications. Farmers are ready to help a Grange that tries to help itself.

Applications should be balloted on at regular meetings only. The initiation may be performed, however, at special meetings called for that purpose.

PENN'A boasts of a young Master.

Kie E. Brown, son of State Grange Finance Committeeman, S. B. Brown, Sulphur Springs, Bedford County, is only fifteen years of age, but he is satisfactorily filling that important office in his Subordinate Grange. The Editor of Penn'a Grange News likes to see the young men and young women of Penn'a qualifying themselves for holding positions of importance and responsibility in the Grange. There is work for you to do and places for you to fill just as soon as you are equal to the requirements. Prepare yourselves well and your future success is assured. Workers are in demand. Come right along to the front.

To Masters of Subordinate Granges.

Please present the following at the next meeting of your Grange.

The question is being asked as to whether reinstated members will count in the contest for the banner. Yes, count just the same as new members. They will count too, toward getting the 10,000 additional members for the Granges of Pennsylvania this year. Warriors Mark Grange, Huntingdon County, is taking this for a motto this year, "Every member bring in a new member" and it is working well.

There is scarcely a member but that can bring in one or more applications of good people. We would not have any member solicit for the application of an unworthy person. Your Grange is a family. Its relationships should be carefully safe-guarded and cherished. The welfare of your Grange is a matter worthy of more protection than is the redemption of a single character from the byways and hedges.

Build up your Grange by all means but do it out of worthy material.

Jurisdiction of a Grange.

The territory immediately surrounding a Grange Hall should not be entered upon by another Grange in soliciting for members.

A Grange has a right to claim jurisdiction over such families as live close to it and who can get to its meeting place more conveniently than to that of another Grange. The farther away Grange should also respect jurisdiction and encourage applicants to apply to nearest Grange.

In a case where Mr. and Mrs. A. are solicited to join Grange No. 1, altho living four miles from it and only one mile from Grange No. 2, and with no obstacle to prevent them from attending No. 2, it is plain that No. 2 has jurisdiction over them.

Unless No. 2 is willing—upon request from No. 1, to waive jurisdiction, No. 1 should encourage Mr. and Mrs. A. to apply for membership in the nearest Grange, No. 2.

In Grange lore we of to-day are the heirs of four decades. The accumulated experience, purposes and hopes of forty years have been transmitted to us of to-day. The foundations have been laid broad, deep and true. In the evolution of time and of affairs you are now upon the stage center playing your part. Those who have gone before acted well their part and "therein all the honor lies." The well being of the order is this year entrusted largely to you. Are you determined that it shall be your aim and purpose to make it achieve this year its fullest measure of usefulness and of helpfulness in the farmers' world?

Success will always attend honest effort as it always has in the past. Honest endeavor in a worthy cause achieves; for has not the Lord said, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you."

Then when the end of the year draws near and you review the past in satisfaction and you contemplate the future so pregnant with opportunity and ripening fruit, do not mar this beautiful scene by seeking to gain praise for self. Rather say that your efforts have been to benefit the whole, altho thru these you have yourself been helped. You have given to others of your time, your brain, and your heart, and now as you experience within you the consciousness of duty well done, and your own heart swells with gladness, you feel more deeply, understand more fully than ever before the meaning of the sentence, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Fraternally,

W. F. HILL,
Master of State Grange.

For To-day.

Each day holds but its own hours' length;

Nor for the morrow need we pray,
But only that God gives us strength
To meet the issues of to-day.

Executive Committee Department

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

A Letter to President Roosevelt.

The following letter was sent to the President of the United States March 31st, 1905, by the Executive Committee of the Penn'a State Grange. On the same day the appointment of two delegates from the United States was announced. While both are good men, yet they were in the employ of the Government. They are representative of the Governing body, and now in addition there should be sent some representatives of the governed body—the people. When one reflects upon the character, work, strength and standing of the Grange as a farmers' organization, it will seem that a great mistake is made if it is not represented in this world movement. The influences affecting the farmer are now-a-days world-wide and his organization must measure up to the changing conditions. Where could as good schooling be had for some of our leaders as right in Rome where they would mingle for days with leaders in rural economics and practices?

The organized farmers should not be satisfied with anything short of adequate representation of themselves and their class at this important gathering. This stand by the Executive Committee of the Penn'a State Grange is in harmony with the general policy of the State Grange for bettering rural conditions.

Chambersburg, Pa. Mar. 31, 1905.
Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
President of United States,
Washington, D. C.,
Honored Sir:—

As the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania State Grange, we note with pleasure the invitation of H. M. Victor Emanuel, King of Italy, to the various Governments of the world to send representatives to Rome to engage in a Conference, looking toward improvement of Agricultural conditions throughout the world. In an assemblage of this character, fraught with such immense possibilities, for the betterment of conditions, both along the agricultural and allied lines, it is fitting that our Government should exert a potent influence.

Proud as we all are, of our past and present, we feel that the future supremacy of United States agriculture will be acquired and held only as we have definite knowledge of and positive influence in controlling, world wide conditions. We have implicit confidence that in this matter, as in all other matters, you will do the best that is possible to be done for the interests of agriculture. We desire only to suggest that in the make-up of the delegation to represent our country there, that representatives of practical agriculture be included. As to the individual members of this delegation, we have nothing to offer, save that they be patriotic, broad-minded men, of recognized ability, whose devotion to the best interests of agriculture is established beyond question.

Very truly yours,

W. F. HILL,
I. FRANK CHANDLER,
C. H. DILDINE,
G. W. OSTER.

Fellow Patrons:—

In a day or two I will mail to every Subordinate Grange in the State (addressed to the Master) the Order blank for binder twine, accompanied with a letter of information and instruction. If your Master fails to present this communication ask for it. It is important that this letter be read in every Grange, and preserved for future reference. If for any reason this matter fails to reach every Grange, drop a line and another will be sent at once. This matter is, as usual, all sent out in a sealed envelope, and unless it is tampered with in the mails, every Master should get one by April 1st. Let me again urge that Granges send their orders in promptly for their twine and not wait until the last minute and then get left.

Where to Get Roofing Nails, Fish, etc.

Hardly a week passes that I don't get one or more letters from some member or Secretary asking where they can get hardware, fish, salt, nails, roofing, etc.

The State Secretary mailed to each Secretary in the State a corrected and

revised list of all the business houses now under contract. If it has not been presented, ask your Secretary for it, and post it up in your Hall for the use of your membership so all may know what houses we have contracts with. All those not printed on this list have been canceled and no account should be kept of the advertising matter sent by them.

The best place to buy salt, by the car load and salt fish as well as hardware generally, is from Garver Bros. Co., Strasburg, Ohio. Their salt is first class and is sent direct from the factory. Their fish are also fine and are shipped direct from the fisheries at Buffalo, N. Y. and the price is right. The cheapest and best places to buy nails, galvanized roofing, fencing, wire, etc., is from Garver Bros. Co., and the C. W. Evans Steel and Iron Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. Their prices are all right. In buying galvanized wire or roofing it pays to buy the lime process of galvanizing, as the cheap, trashy stuff that is put on by what is known as the acid process will all scale off, and in a year or two you have nothing but rusty black wire. These are pointers and facts well worth knowing and remembering when you are buying.

Fertilizer Experiments for Granges.

It will be remembered that State Master Hill suggested in his annual address at Erie that he considered it to be practical for Granges to take up experimental work along lines of certain farm activities, in conjunction with, or under direction of The Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Pa.

The Ohio State Grange meeting a week later instituted some action along this line.

The Experiment Station officials have now prepared and sent to each Grange a plan for a test to determine just what fertilizer will pay best on the farm. They will furnish full directions and expert advice free. Any member or members can make the simple tests proposed right on his own crops and with but very little extra work. If several members try them they can report and discuss results at the meetings, very profitably.

This opens up a new line of activity for Granges and if properly appreciated and patronized will lead to other important propositions from the Experiment Station. Write to Dr. Wm. Frear, State College, Pa., for circular and full information.

Bro. Dildine writes that he has just closed a contract with the Silver Spring Quarry Co., Almedia, Columbia Co., Pa., for all kinds of lime. Particulars next issue. Meantime, Granges wishing lime write this firm, under seal for prices. It is a well established concern and a reliable one.

Mill Feed.

We have just closed a contract with the Black Rock Mills Coal and Iron Exchange, Buffalo, N. Y., for flour, middlings, mixed feeds, grains, glutens, cottonseed meal, linseed meal, poultry feed, etc. in straight or mixed car lots.

This is a good reliable house and their prices are right and will save freight on this class of goods.

G. W. OSTER,
Sec. Ex. Com.

The Higher Standard.

Those that would presume to measure the work and influence of the Grange by a money standard alone utterly fail to have any adequate conception of its principles, and are not in sympathy with its grand and lofty mission.

The educational features of the Grange are the foundation stones upon which the order is built, and by taking advantage of them the farmer may be the peer of the man in any other business.

The opportunities of the farmer in former years were limited in the extreme, but by organization and co-operation it is possible to overcome these hinderances. Co-operation must be of the whole rank and file of the organization. The leading officers may plan well and wisely, but if the subordinate officers and members use their plans to promote selfish ends, the word "co-operation" is a failure. Let us every one be loyal to ourselves, our officers and our Grange. Stand by each other. That is the way both to get and to give a "square deal."

Legislative Committee Department

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.



THE Bill to give trolley companies the right to carry freight, published in full in the last number of Penn'a Grange News, apparently is defeated thru the influence of the steam railroads. This measure is one, tho, that will not down. It is bound to come some time; it is fair and it is demanded.

At the hearing before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, Bro. Rhone presented unanswerable facts and arguments in favor of the Grange position. These were supported by Bro. Hill and others, but this Committee evidently intends to smother the bills and not report them out.

With road legislation we feel much encouraged. Your committee took action upon two different road bills and succeeded in securing meritorious amendments in each.

In what is known as the Township Law, provision is made for a continuous Board of Road Commissioners (that is, it is to consist of three members, one of which is to be elected each year, thereby there will be experienced men on the Board at all times and the policy will be continuous). Like school directors, they are to serve without pay. Road Commissioner may let out not more than three miles of road to one man for not more than three years at a time.

Another feature of the Bill which passed the House without a dissenting vote makes a practical application of the principle of initiative and referendum, and if there is anything wrong with applying this system of government, we would like to have some of the opponents of the initiative and referendum point it out. The Bill provides that whenever there is a desire in a township to pay road taxes in cash the movement to do so is "Initiated" by twenty-five or more taxables making application to the county court to have the proposition "Referred" to the people of the township at the next election. It is then

submitted to the voters at the February election and if approved that the township shall pay in cash, the State will appropriate to the township a sum equal to fifteen per cent. additional to the amount of tax so paid. In many townships it is believed that they would realize better results from a cash tax and this reward from the State will go to those that vote to abolish work tax and pay all money.

The next Bill is the new general—or Sproul—law. Under existing requirements the State bears two-thirds of the cost of improving roads, the county and township each one-sixth. We got this amended in the House Committee so that the expense to the county and township would be reduced one half. It passed the House in this form, but the Senate dissented. It had then to be referred to a joint conference committee consisting of three members from each body. They compromised by recommending that the State bear three-fourths, and the county and township each one-eighth. This is its status at this writing. It remains for the House and Senate to ratify the action of the conference committee. This will likely be done. We shall refer to our achievements in Road Legislation in a later issue. At this time we feel that much has been accomplished to which our Order can point with pride.

W. T. CREASY.

A Grange Bill.

A bill favoring taxing corporations for the benefit of the roads of this State introduced in the House by Representative Hitchcock is the one endorsed by the Pennsylvania State Grange.

The voters of the city of Los Angeles, Cal., "recalled" an alderman charged with corruption. That was the first time in the United States the Recall has been used. About six weeks ago San Diego voted to amend its constitution by adopting the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall,

and the Legislature has just ratified this. We understand that Pasadena has also just adopted the Recall, tho it has had the Initiative and Referendum for about a year. Thus government by the people extends itself. The evils of democracy can best be cured by more democracy.

By State Lecturer A. M. Cornell.

I desire to say to Patrons through the Penn'a Grange News that during the recent past, we have spent in Grange work, from five to ten days in Centre, Perry, Clearfield, Clarion, and Jefferson Counties. We addressed more public and private meetings in the interest of the order than ever before in the same time.

It has been gratifying to note the systematic way in which the work is being done, not only in arranging a lecture campaign for the county, but in many other lines of Grange work.

We hold that it is necessary in doing a mutual co-operative work, to have knowledge, acquaintance, and understanding with those with whom the work is to be done, as well as a definite idea of results desired and the field to labor in.

We also hold that when a body of people get in touch with one another in a concerted effort, or in other words, when they become acquainted thus placing greater confidence in each other and learn to act together in an organized capacity, it is much easier to induce them to reach out and take hold of other movements requiring unity of action.

It is gratifying, indeed, as I move about from place to place, and study these matters, to note the great work the Grange is doing in developing and leading its membership up and on, in this wonderful age of intelligent, organized co-operative progress.

From the kindly feeling and fraternal fellowship formed, from the knowledge and acquaintance that is being developed in the thousands of Pomona and Subordinate Grange meetings held here and there over the State, a mighty force is growing and centering among the agricultural people that is surely destined to bring added blessings to future generations.

Clarion County Pomona Grange No. 27 held an interesting session in the Hall of Maplegrove Grange, near Kingsville, on March 9 and 10. The condition of the roads was not good, yet the attendance was ample to fill the Hall. The excellent program arranged under the efficient supervision of the lecturer, Bro. W. H. Jordon, elicited active interest and free discussion, some of the topics were:

"Commercial Fertilizer—Composition and Use."

"What are the Future Prospects of the Farmer?"

Facts concerning the strength of the Grange, and the building of a good Subordinate Grange.

"What have Patrons of Husbandry Gained in Legislation."

"Influence of Cheerfulness in the Home."

Resolutions were passed favoring the "State Agricultural Conference Bill," to better equip the State College for teaching agriculture.

Favoring laws for electric roads to carry freight.

Favoring laws to retain all personal property taxes, all license and municipal loan taxes in such counties as said taxes are collected.

It was decided to hold a pic-nic in Clarion County in conjunction with the State Series pic-nics.

Keep in mind the five banners offered by the State Grange Executive Committee, that will be presented at the next State Grange meeting, to the representatives of the five Subordinate Granges in the State that add the largest number of members during the year closing September 30, next. It is a worthy ambition to strive for one of these banners. Those winners of the banners last year gained 82, 71, 62, 62 and 59 members, respectively.

"Initiative and Referendum" is the name applied to a system of government, where people express their desire by direct vote for or against a given measure. Several State Granges have passed resolutions favoring it.

Clarion County Pomona Grange on March 10 voted to hold a pic-nic this

year, the matter of location came immediately up for consideration. Several points seemingly being desired by the different members. It was decided that each Grange ask their members to vote for their choice of place, keep a record of all and locate the pic-nic at the point receiving the largest number of votes.

That is direct Majority Rule. It is also the system referred to in the term "Initiative and Referendum." Study the system and decide what you think of it.

Susquehanna Grange No. 1145, of Clearfield County, has put out a program for the year 1905, that is worthy of mention and merit. It contains a complete list of the officers, while a picture of the Master Bro. C. P. Carr stands as a frontispiece.

The date and hour of each meeting for the year is given, with topics for discussion, musical numbers, readings, papers and recitations, and the name of who is to give the same.

It is not surprising that the membership of this Grange is rolling on, now nearing two hundred, while a building lot has recently been bought and plans for a new Hall are being perfected, to be occupied as a home and stand as a monument to the order in the town of Curwensville.

Pomona Grange No. 20, of Jefferson County, assembled at Brookville, on March 8th, with good attendance considering it was a stormy day.

The Worthy Master Bro. John Norris called the meeting to order at the appointed hour and named several committees. During the past year two Granges have been added to this county, making ten Subordinate Granges.

Bro. J. K. Womeldorf, of Reynolds-ville, an active and hustling Patron, has recently been commissioned Deputy to work with Bro. G. H. Small, who is laboring diligently.

Additions by initiations in several Granges were noticed by the reports.

During the afternoon a recess was declared to admit His Honor Judge John W. Reed, the Judge of the Courts of Jefferson County, who read

a carefully prepared paper for the occasion, classical in its nature, that paid several worthy compliments to the past work of the order and emphasized the present high position attained by the Grange, as viewed by those of other callings.

SQUIBS,

A New Grange that is Taking Hold Right.

Our Grange, Locust Ridge No. 1276, has been making progress during the winter, although there is some opposition to it, by persons who do not understand the nature of our order.

Organized with thirteen charter members and have at present twenty-one fourth degree and 3 second degree members. We have also granted one withdrawal card to a member leaving the community. Have been meeting each week and now have a vacant dwelling house rented for a regular meeting place.

Our members are nearly all young people and the sisters appear to be taking much interest in the work. Also, some of our neighbors appear to be holding back, waiting for their friends to join, and we would be glad if you would send us some of your new literature, including some "reports of the Legislative Committee."

Fraternally yours,
J. H. McELHENEY,
Finleyville, R. D. 1

[As your neighbors hold back waiting for friends to join, why not arrange it so that several can join at the same time. Let the Grange assure them of a class of half a dozen or more—that they will not be initiated until that many applicants are secured—and perhaps you can overcome the diffidence for "riding the goat" that they now feel.] Ed.

A fly and a flea in a flue
Were imprisoned. Now, what could
you do?

Said the fly: "Let us flee!"

"Let us fly," said the flea—

So they flew, through a flaw in the
flue.

Blair County Granges have stood the winter well and are coming out in good shape.

Logan Valley Grange No. 664, held an enjoyable social recently; also finished with a class of seven.

Juniata Grange No. 889, has wakened up and added eleven to its number lately.

"The Pomona Meeting at Duncansville was the largest in its history," says Bro. Glasgow, "and had a wonderful effect on Allegheny and maybe they will get some lady members now.

Scotch Valley No. 510, is wide awake and intends to get out of cramped quarters by building themselves a hall.

Next Pomona meets with Clover Creek No. 791, when we may have Bro. M. Whitehead with us.

Sinking Valley No. 484 is also adding members. Deputy Harvey writes that he expects to organize a new Grange in Blair April 7th.

Columbus Grange No. 875, Warren County. "We received the Memorials; took action on them next Grange day. We stand ready to promptly take up any matter of benefit to the order. Growing surely, but slowly." Mrs. C. N. Dodd.

A straw to show which way the wind blows. In Clearfield, Deputy Harrison Straw. "I installed officers in six Granges and had to decline other invitations as dates conflicted. Have been inspecting. Find great interest and good increase promised. I find many that need help in the ritualistic work." [We trust that your visits would be helpful along these lines. A Deputy has a fertile field to till, and Bro. Straw will, we hope, plough deep.]

Erie County is "talking big" since the State meeting. Two hundred Patrons at Union City at the first of the two days' session of the last Pomona Grange and three hundred the second day. At the evening, fifth degree session, eight went up a "step higher."

Reports indicated a large net gain in membership in the county. Summit Grange is the largest, with Elk Creek second, and Cherry Hill a very

close third in size; but Elk Creek shows the largest increase. On the 11th, the latter initiated 8 and each one of them is succeeded by an applicant for his place in the class. Phillipsville Grange is having lively times. One hundred members now and a dozen applications awaiting action. Our County Judge, Mr. Walling, who spoke at the reception to State Grange, has made application to join Clover Leaf Grange.

[This Judge certainly knows a good thing when he sees it. We will all be glad to see and hear him at State Grange again—a member of our order.] Eds.

Jefferson County Pomona took a step forward when it had the Judge of the county deliver an address to it at its last session. Here is a hint to other Pomona lecturers—why not invite your Judge, County Superintendent, or some other prominent person to address your next Pomona. It will do good all around.

THE stirring reports of State Grange Officers, and the many good things in Penn'a Grange News does us good," says the W. M. of Eulalia Grange No. 1088, Tioga County. "Send literature. We need it to interest outsiders for one thing, and also that our members may learn more of the sterling worth of our order. We are initiating twenty-one this month." [Good! That reduces the 10,000 to 9,979, to say nothing of the additions to other Granges told of in this issue—and only a few of the total are mentioned here.]

And Center County, Too.

PROGRESS Grange No. 96, Center County, has been adding members a dozen at a time. This is Worthy Past Master Rhone's home Grange and it owns what is probably the best Grange Hall in the State.

The many friends of Mrs. Rhone will be glad to learn that her health is very much better and the threatened danger now seems to have been averted.

Bros. Oster and Cornell campaigned a week in this county. Members

were added to the Granges visited as a result, and W. Deputy John R. Dale, ably assisted by his wife, the W. Flora of the State Grange, has organized one Grange and re-organized another. Bro. Dale works hard but should feel proud of the success he achieves.

The Master

of Grange No. 805. Crawford County, is "not mad but desperately in earnest." "Hayfield" intends to add its share towards getting the 10,000 new members and if they win a banner it will be because they are at work in earnest and purpose to keep "everlastingly at it."

Leonard Grange No. 779, Center County, is reported to have cleared over two hundred dollars at festival recently. Of course, they have been receiving applications. People just cannot help joining an enterprising Grange.

I have been requested by Master George Youngs, of Clover Leaf Grange, to write asking you for literature for distribution.

We are in our infancy—our Grange having been organized less than one year. However, we are progressing nicely and have a membership of over eighty, with several applications for membership.

I assure you we are determined to be the "Banner Grange" of Erie County. Much enthusiasm is manifested and Grange literature will aid us.

M. D. NEWTON, Lecturer
North East, Pa.

"Applications are rolling in," writes Bro. Hartley, Youngsville, Warren County. "Broken Straw Grange No. 407, has added twenty-one and we are puzzled to get time to initiate and do our other work. Think we will have to set aside certain meetings for degree work.

Lawrenceville Grange, Tioga County, is looking forward to getting into its new Hall soon.

A \$5,000 Grange Hall.

McKean County Patrons show their faith in the Grange by their works.

The Smethport Subordinate Grange is preparing to invest the above sum in a new Hall, 40x60 feet, three stories high, with a Farmers' Exchange on the first floor.

"Our Juvenile Grange numbers nineteen; and will probably reach thirty before the year is out. This talent is fine for our lecture hour. At that time we have them all come in, and each Juvenile Officer sits beside the corresponding Officer in our Grange. It would do you good to see how fast the children develop in their Grange work," write Master Hohner, of Coryville Gr., No. 1212. [It would be a good idea to have more Juvenile Granges in Penn'a.] Ed.

In reply to your inquiry, the Editor advises that dues for a new member, begin with the commencement of the month next following the one in which he takes the first two degrees.

Linesville Grange No. 694, Crawford County, received forty-three members last year and sixteen the first two months of 1905, making them 148 members. Dues of all the members are paid right up to date. They meet each two weeks but had to hold a number of extras last year for initiation. Bro. Mang, the Worthy Deputy, will have to pay this Grange a visit, as they want him to come, inspect their work, and make them some helpful suggestions. Deputies should not fail to get to every Grange in their jurisdiction at least once each year.

Middlebury Centre No. 705, and Mitchells Mills No. 912, both of Tioga have been getting their names in the papers, because the members of each have organized dramatic clubs. They have given plays in different Grange Halls and the proceeds go for library, Grange band, etc. "The Deacon" was recently played and we suspect that Brother Dorsett was "It."

Keystone Grange, Crawford County, has 120 members and more in sight. "We have 30 young people that take pride in Grange work," writes Bro. Graham, the W. M. "Had a fine dinner on the 4th as a fitting climax to finish the work on a class of six. We are talking of building a Hall on our lot next year. A Fire Insurance Agent here for another company is misrepresenting our Grange Insurance and has made a few believe his story. I think of writing him a nice letter to let him know that there are hot times ahead for the fellows who get away from the truth."

"Are initiating five and have four more applications," is the good word Bro. O. B. Powell sends from Newton Square, Delaware County.

"We are increasing in membership," writes Master J. B. Rogers, Sugar Run. "Since January we have initiated two, re-instated two, and two new ones for our next meeting. Have bought our home and are preparing to live."

"We have just entertained Pomona No. 10, Warren County, Had a grand and a large meeting, which I think will give our Subordinate Grange a push in the right direction." Mrs. C. E. Marsh, Master Ackley Grange.

Wellsboro Grange No. 1009 has been working for several years but does not have everybody in yet that they want. They are helping to get the 10,000 members and are receiving applications by the dozen. They are having their Hall wired and the representation they make to this office is that it is for light. It is well that you told us. Our first thought was that you were fixing up some kind of an electric "shute" to run more members in on, on the double quick plan.

Hustling for Good Things.

Worthy State Master and Bro :—

Your communication was not received until the evening of March 4th—the day of our last meeting.

The Grange News came a day or two later. Although our Grange, Morning Star No. 1271, is only nine months old, we now have sixty-six members, with good prospects for more. We take pride in doing our Grange work in the best possible manner, believing that a thing worth doing at all is worth doing well. We have just received a supply of grass seed for spring sowing, from a Cleveland firm. We ordered the best of four grades and are much pleased with the quality of seed. Are getting up an order for fertilizer and binder twine. Since our Grange was organized we have purchased through our purchasing agent from \$1200 to \$1500 worth of goods. Our Grange has accepted an invitation to assist Curfew Grange in initiating a class of twenty candidates on Thursday, March 16th, 1905. We held a social on last Friday night and realized near \$50 to be applied to the purchase of an organ, for the use of the Grange.

Many of our members have availed themselves of the insurance feature of the order and others will do so as soon as their policies expire in other companies. It is probable that Curfew, Waltersburg, Franklin and Morning Star Granges will have a joint picnic about the close of harvest. Will make an effort to get the Granges interested in this matter, to take the necessary action to bring about the result. Would be pleased to receive any literature you may be able to furnish, suitable for distribution among prospective applicants for membership in the order. Will bring the Legislative bill before our Grange at our next meeting, March 18th, 1905. Watersburg, Franklin Granges each held their annual oyster dinner recently—both were a success. District Deputy Bro. H. D. Core has not been able to visit our Grange since it was instituted. I made arrangements with him to pay us a visit in December, but the day proved so inclement that he thought best not to come. Would be pleased to hear from you at any time.

Fraternal yours,

J. W. MILLER,

Master Morning Star Grange No. 1271.

Fayette County,

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Pennsylvania

Grange News



April, 1905

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**Pennsylvania Granges are going to add 10,000 members this year.
THIS MEANS WORK.**

Pennsylvania Grange News.

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

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APRIL, 1905

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W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

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EDITORIAL.

International Agricultural Conference.



HE prompt and comprehensive action taken by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania State Grange in relation to this conference speaks well for the alertness of these brothers. The eager and comprehensive grasp of the great Trust organizations with their tentacles reaching into every country of the globe to seize upon the helpless unorganized producer of world necessities makes it imperative that the farmers shall organize on a broader scale and more intensive plan than they have ever done in the past. The organization of farmers is impelled by the necessities of the times. No longer are they prompted to organize for social purposes alone, but in recent years they have become the prey of designing men until the census statistics of our government shows that they have lost millions of their wealth. Thousands upon thousands of the young men and women have gone from the farm homes to secure better remuneration elsewhere, until we find that even in our State alone one-third of the counties, and they are those that are most purely agricultural, have a less population than they had ten or twenty years ago. Perhaps there is no thinking

man in the country but that realizes the gravity of the situation. Many remedies are proposed and advocated but to the mind of the writer the immense concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, with the power that is always attendant upon it, enabling monopolistic trusts to control the price of beef, and other live stock; while another set of men closely allied to these fix the price of our grain products; and a kindred trust fixes the price upon the oil with which we light our houses; another, the sugar that we consume upon our tables; another, the harvesting machinery with which we husband our crops; the farmer finds himself between two millstones. Other parties are fixing the price which will be paid for the articles the farmer has to sell and other monopolists absolutely hold up the price which the farmer has to pay for the product he consumes. Unorganized the farmer is at the mercy of these organized men, whose interest it is to shear him both coming and going. The farmers need protection. An organization, intense, general and intelligently directed offers to him the most effective agency by which he may insure his standing among the business interests and business men of our country. The coming together of farmers from all parts of the

world at this International Conference to devise ways and means to improve and advance the interests of agriculture all over, may mark a new epoch in the history of agriculture. The exchange of ideas, the broadening of views, the comparison of conditions and discussion of economics, will certainly be of a character to repay many times over, all organizations and men participating in this Congress. The trusts and monopolists will continue to oppose the progress of the farmer in this direction. Whatever advancement the farmer makes, must in a large measure be made as a class and be made through the efforts of the farmers themselves. It is very gratifying therefore to know that agricultural societies and organizations are to participate in this Congress, and the Executive Committee did well in suggesting to President Roosevelt the appointment of a goodly-sized delegation from this country and that practical farmers should be included in its makeup. The President has already appointed as delegates, Mr. Henry White, United States Ambassador to Italy, and Prof. Woods, of the United States Department of Agriculture. We presume that several men in addition to these will go from the United States representing different farm organizations, and we shall be very sorry indeed, should the National Grange allow itself to be eclipsed by any other farm organization in its loyalty to the farmers' broadest interests and in its zeal to better the conditions of the farmers of our country, by any failure to be adequately represented at an Agricultural Conference of the scope and magnitude of this one. W. F. HILL.

Picnics.

THERE is perhaps no better way to popularize the Grange in any locality for an equal outlay, than by holding a picnic. There is to be a Series Picnic campaign carried on in our State again under the auspices of the State Grange. Doubtless nearly every Pomona Grange will want to hold one. In addition to the Pomona picnic, Subordinates may also have State Grange assistance in holding

them. It is the plan of State Grange to secure the services of a large corps of speakers from within our State and announcing them later, let each locality have its choice from among them so far as is practicable. Where Granges are located so that two or more can unite in holding a picnic, and so divide the work and perhaps increase the interest and attendance, it may be found to be advantageous to do so.

It is expected that each picnic will contribute three dollars at least to help defray the expenses of the State Grange speaker. State Grange will pay the balance, and on this basis there may be held as many picnics in a county as may be desired. Applications for them should be filed early. Correspondence on picnic matter ought to be on a sheet separate from any other matter.

The State Sec'y will handle the picnic arrangements in the absence of the State Master and all applications should be sent direct to Bro. Ailman.

Let us have more picnics and better ones in 1905 than ever before.

A Rallying Point.

IN a certain county the reorganization of a Grange was recently thwarted because they wanted to get thirty members pledged before starting in. While thirty, sixty, a hundred charter members are all right in theory, yet in actual practice, less than half of our present good, strong Granges started with smaller charter lists.

The writer recalls a Grange that had but sixteen charter members and for a year and a half simply held its own—neither losing or gaining a single member. The loyalty and work of this small but earnest band meeting regularly month after month then began to impress the neighbors. They reasoned that there must be something worth while in "that Grange business," and some venturesome ones concluded to join and find out for themselves. That Grange steadily grew to over ten times its charter list.

The original members by living up to the principles of our noble

Order, were demonstrating in daily life their value to the world. The faithful attendance at the meetings and devotion to the best interests of the farmer thru the Grange compelled the respect and won the confidence and membership of all the best people in that locality.

And so it goes elsewhere. Even tho a Grange may be weak in numbers it can be strong in faith. The members can all be loyal to it. They can attend its meetings promptly and regularly and cause the Grange to become recognized as the center around which for social and educational culture may rally the people of the entire township. As the officers and members of a Grange make it to be a helpful and valuable institution in the neighborhood, to the same extent they increase its popularity and insure its permanency. When people outside are led to see that the Sub-ordinate Grange in their township has interesting meetings, a good program, works for the betterment of local conditions, then they realize that there is something tangible to join. Let every Grange stand for something worthy of itself and the community.

The "quality" of a membership has more to do with attaining this success than the "quantity," altho Granges generally aim—and properly so—to have both quality and quantity in their membership.

Fertilizer Tests.

The long, severe winter and backward spring make fertilizer applications the more advisable this year. It is a problem to know what fertilizers, amounts and proportions of different ingredients will pay best on a man's own farm. Thousands of dollars are wasted by Penn'a farmers because of not knowing just what fertilizer to buy to supply the needs of a given soil.

The Experiment Station of this State has proposed a plan so that any farmer can largely find this out. Readers will do well to write for the plan. A postal will bring it. Address Dr. William Frear, Chemist, State College, Pa.

A Lively Grange picnic with a good speaker, some recitations, plenty of good Grange songs well sung, a full measure of fraternal hospitality, sociability, and good cheer, accompanied and followed by personal solicitation, will help your Grange in getting the 10,000 additional members that the State Master wants for Penn'a this year.

Hand Copy to Another.

GRANGE officers know that Penn'a Grange News is sent free to the M. L. and Secretary of each Penn'a Grange. These are for the use of the Grange. Other members would perhaps like to subscribe for it if you would hand your copy to them to read. It will help your Grange and the reader, too. If you would like to get some subscribers in your Grange, drop a postal to this paper and several sample copies will be sent you free for that purpose.

Immigrants.

Over 10,000 of these reached New York in one day recently. The Hamburg-American line steamer "Pennsylvania" had 3,086 passengers and all but 207 of them were steerage immigrants. They will scatter, going principally to cities, mines and railroads in search of work. Then in a few years some snide politician will corral them in big bunches, have them naturalized and run their votes in for his boss. This is not a "square deal," and we do not blame our American born citizens for resenting it. American women, fitted for suffrage, are debarred from it while we extend the privilege to the ignorant, vicious, disinterested recent arrival.

"I am glad the re-instated members count in the contest for the banner as well as in getting 10,000 members. We have 11 more names on hand, 9 have been balloted on favorably and the others will be balloted on next meeting. Also some more names to take in soon." Harry Ash-ey, Master No. 800 Crawford Co.

To Masters of Subordinate Granges.

Please present the following at the next meeting of your Grange :

I desire to announce to the Patrons my intention to leave home May 9th and to spend six weeks or so in the study of the farmers' condition in the Old World. It is intended to go first to Rome and attend the International Chamber of Agriculture which is called by the King of Italy, and convenes in that city May 28th. Making there the acquaintance of men from different European countries who will be present representing either farm societies, organizations, or their respective governments. I will learn from them, sections of greatest value for me to visit and study from an agricultural standpoint. An outline of my investigations will then be made and arrangements perfected with these men for my visit in their different countries. I shall expect to go to the farmers' homes and mingle with them in their everyday life and learn direct from them of their customs, their modes of life. I will want to inquire into their system of taxation and economics; also the construction and maintenance of the magnificent roads for which many parts of Europe are famed. Their wages, rentals, and profits upon the farm will be to me an interesting study, as well as their system of schools and of Christian development. Will want to learn at first hand how satisfactory the government's ownership and operation of public utilities

such as railroads, etc. is in several different countries and as opportunity presents, will aim to compare their agricultural colleges and experiment stations with our own. While I shall see incidentally some of the magnificent cathedrals, art galleries, etc. of the Old World, yet my primary object is to learn more of the world-wide relations and influences affecting modern agriculture. It is well known that with our present highly developed means of communicating intelligence, for transporting produce, and with trust control of the prices on nearly everything bought or sold by the farmer; that his success is no longer determined by the boundaries of the State or a Government, but international factors now intervene. While it is a privilege to attend this International Congress and to make the acquaintance of representative agricultural leaders from all parts of the world, yet I deem it no less my duty as Master of the Penn'a State Grange to take advantage of this unusual and unequalled opportunity for securing better qualifications to more efficiently serve the interests of the organized farmers who have honored me in this State. I shall expect to give to the order whatever of benefit my limited ability will enable me to assimilate. Patrons throughout the State who have communications which they would like to have me act upon, will do well to send them at once.

W. F. HILL,
Master State Grange

Executive Committee Department

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.



GRANGES should get up their orders for twine as promptly as possible and forward them to the manufacturers, at the same time sending me the duplicate order so we may keep a record of the amount of twine bought and thus keep track of the matter and know the amount of rebate the State-

Grange is entitled to. The manufacturers have written me recently and urged that orders be sent in as soon as possible. If you need more order blanks later drop a line and they will be sent you.

I want to again call the attention of Granges to the importance and necessity of using the Grange Seal or Trade Card with your orders to

our business houses. This enables them to know that your order is a Grange order and assists in keeping their records of sales made to Granges properly, and it helps the State Grange rebates by you heeding this injunction.

New Business Houses.

Since our last issue of the News, the following contracts were made: David Lubin & Co., 27 Walker St., New York City; the great mail order house. Write under seal for their bulletins, which are issued frequently. They can save you money on goods in their line.

We have also closed a contract with A. T. Stewart, Box 204, Pittsburgh, Pa., for such farm implements as manure spreaders, mowers, rakes, tedders, etc., etc. Write him under seal for prices; he is in a position to help you and save you money. He is strongly opposed to trusts and if the Grange members will stand by him and co-operate he is in a position to benefit all who need goods in his line.

There have been frequent requests to contract with a grocery house in Pittsburgh, but repeated efforts have been made several years ago and without success. If any of our patrons residing in the vicinity of Pittsburgh can recommend a house that might be willing to enter into a contract with us, we will be thankful for the information, and will at once take the matter up and see what can be done.

Guard the Register.

I have recently received a large number of inquiries for our Register and of course refuse all such requests. This we must do if we would protect our authorized business houses.

I am led to believe that some patron has furnished several firms with a register, as the Granges have been flooded with advertising matter, of different kinds. I have no doubt that this is sometimes done thoughtlessly, not stopping to think what it means and the injury it does to our authorized business houses.

We trust that Patrons will observe the sign of Caution in this matter,

and not be guilty of lending or selling a register to any person or firm who is not entitled to receive it. By so doing, you are helping to break down or destroy the business arm of our Order—the very thing we are striving to build up.

Fraternally,

GEO. W. OSTER,
Sec. Ex. Com.

State Lecturer Cornell.

The busy season on the farm and in the farm home is at hand when the long days, with their many duties draws heavily on the physical as well as the mental strength of the agriculturist. Yet it must not be forgotten that activity moves the world and develops the individual while dormancy leads to decay.

During this rush season we believe it will be possible as well as helpful to plan wisely and adjust the work so as not to miss but few, if any, Grange meetings. It lightens the burdens and breaks the monotony to associate with the members of the community, in a social, business and fraternal way.

Sister Carrie S. Dale, of Centre County, Worthy Flora elect of State Grange, has kindly arranged the following program for "Flora Day," which we gladly submit with approval and trust Granges generally may observe same with appropriate floral decorations:

FLORA DAY PROGRAM.

Music—No. 5, (Grange Melodies) "He that goeth forth." (All standing.)

Prayer by Chaplain.

Music, 94—"The Wild Bird."

Scripture Reading by Chaplain—The Song of Solomon, 2, 11-12; Matt. 6, 24-25.

Music, 50—"My Little Boat."

Recitation—"A dream of Summer;" Whittier.

Recitation—"The Barefoot Boy;" Whittier.

Music, 83—"Bright Visions."

Recitation—"Flowers." Longfellow.

Recitation—"The Reaper and the Flowers." Longfellow.

Music, 98—"The Happy Peasants."

Address by Flora.

Music—"America." (All rise.)

Benediction.

Every patron should feel that a duty devolves on him to take active part in advancing the work of the Grange.

Do not consider that paying dues is all that is necessary to get the results that should be attained through organization of those engaged in the great calling of agriculture.

The member usually who is getting the least benefit from the Grange is the one who is doing the least, assuming the least responsibility, and possibly criticising what others are doing. If a Grange is not active, I would suggest that at the first opportunity this question be considered: "Is this Grange doing what it should to advance rural life in this community, county, State and Nation? If not; why?"

I recently was present at a Grange meeting where perhaps forty-five members out of the sixty-five were

present. When suggestions for the good of the order came, every one present rose, one by one, addressed the Master, and had some word to express in behalf of the many matters that properly appertain to the broad field covered by the Grange.

I was informed this was the regular custom of this Grange. It is needless to add that the meeting was interesting and helpful to those present; they not only feel, but act the responsibility and profit by their action.

Patrons do not look for perfection in man or his works; but constantly striving individually and collectively to meet responsibilities manfully, you will become stronger, this aiding those with whom you associate, building up the Order and community preparatory to leaving the world better than you found it.

Legislative Committee Department

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.



WE publish below a full and exact copy of the new Township road law. This is destined to become an important law, and by preserving this number of Penn'a Grange News, you will have the new law exactly as it was passed by the last Legislature. Preserve your copy; each issue contains something worth filing.

Providing for the election and appointment of road supervisors in the several townships of the second class of this Commonwealth; defining their duties; authorizing them to make, repair and maintain roads and bridges, let contracts for the same, levy and collect taxes, employ labor, divide townships into districts; appoint roadmasters and treasurer, purchase road-making implements and machines; prescribing penalties for violation of this act; and requiring the road supervisors to report to township auditors and to the State Highway Commissioner, from time to time, and for the payment of a percentage of road tax to townships that abolish the work tax; and for the repeal of all laws, general, local or special, inconsistent herewith or supplied hereby.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, &c., That in every township of the second class in this Commonwealth, the qualified voters thereof shall, on the third Tuesday of February, one thousand nine hundred and six, elect one person to serve one year, one person to serve two years, and one person to serve three years, who shall be styled road supervisors; and at each township election thereafter, they shall elect one person to serve three years: Provided, That in any township which now has three supervisors, or other officers having charge of roads, elected under existing laws, no new election under this section shall be required, except as the terms of said road officers expire.

Sec. 2. The road supervisors of each township shall meet at the place where the auditors of the respective townships meet to perform their official duties, on the first Monday of March, one thousand nine hundred and six, and yearly thereafter; and after being duly sworn or affirmed, according to law, to discharge their duties with fidelity, a copy of the oath to be filed with the township auditors, shall organize as a board, by electing one of their number as chairman, and one as secretary, and shall appoint one person as their treasurer, who shall not be a member thereof; and shall proceed immediately to levy

a road tax, which shall not exceed ten mills on each dollar valuation; this valuation shall be the last adjusted valuation for county purposes, and which shall be furnished to said road supervisors by the commissioners of the proper county: Provided, That a greater rate than ten mills, and not to exceed ten additional mills, may be levied by the order of the court of quarter sessions of the peace of the county, upon the petition of the board of supervisors, with their unanimous recommendation, and upon due cause shown: And provided further, That upon every taxable the road supervisors of each township shall assess the sum of one dollar, in addition to the millage tax shown: And provided further, That any township may, by a majority vote of the electors thereof, at the February municipal election, after thirty days' prior notice thereof, change the system of taxation for working the public roads. Such election shall be authorized by the court of quarter sessions, upon a petition of at least twenty-five taxpayers of said township; and any such township, which shall have abolished the work tax shall annually receive from the State fifteen per centum of the amount of the road tax collected in said township, as shown by a sworn statement of the board of township supervisors, furnished to the State Highway Commissioner on or before the fifteenth day of March in each year. The said statement shall show the amount of tax assessed, as well as the amount collected. Upon receipt of the sworn statement from the board of township supervisors, it shall be the duty of the State Highway Commissioner to draw a warrant upon the State Treasury for the payment of the said fifteen per centum, which shall be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated: Provided, That before issuing the duplicate and warrant for the collection of road taxes, it shall be the duty of the board of supervisors of every township that has not abolished the work tax, to give notice to all persons rated for such taxes, by advertisement or otherwise, to attend at such times and places as such supervisors may direct, so as to give such persons full opportunity to work out their respective taxes.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the board of road supervisors, immediately after their organization as a board, to divide their township into road districts, of not less than five miles of road to each district, and they shall employ a roadmaster for each district, whose duty it shall be to work upon the roads himself, and to see that the work done on the roads in his district or division is in

accordance with plans and specifications furnished him by the road supervisors, to oversee the men employed, while at work on the roads, and keep the time of each man working under him, and report, under oath, to the road supervisors as often as they require. Road supervisors may require the roadmasters to give bond, with the approved security, for faithful performance of their duties; and said roadmasters shall at all times be subject to removal by the road supervisors. The road supervisors, from time to time, shall fix the wages to be paid, per hour, to roadmasters and laborers, for work on the roads and bridges: Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall prohibit the board of supervisors from making a contract with any citizen of the township, for the keeping in repair of not more than three miles of road; no contract to extend over three years; and no contract to be given unless approved of, and signed by, at least two of the board of township supervisors. Every contractor for road work shall give bond for the amount of said contract.

Section 4. The board of road supervisors shall have full control of roadmasters and employment of laborers, and is authorized also to purchase such material, scrapers, plows, stone-crushers, rollers, and other road-machines, tools and property, as shall in its judgment be necessary for making and repairing roads and bridges; the same to be the property of the township, used exclusively for township purposes, and to be properly taken care of by said board of road supervisors. Said road supervisors are hereby authorized to join with the road supervisors of one or more of the other townships, or the proper authorities of boroughs, in their respective counties, in the purchase of such road-making implements and machines as, in their judgment, may be too expensive to justify such purchase by said township alone; the same to belong to such townships or boroughs in proportion to the amount paid therefore by each, and the right to use the same to be regulated by agreement to be made between said road supervisors or borough authorities at the time of joining in said purchase: Provided, That said joint ownership shall only continue during such period as may be agreeable to all of said joint owners, and either board of road supervisors or borough authorities may, at any time, elect to sever said joint ownership as to any or all of said implements and machines. In case terms cannot be amicably agreed upon, either of said joint owning townships or boroughs may, by its board of supervisors or proper borough authorities, present

its petition to the court of quarter sessions of the peace, setting forth the facts, verified by affidavit; which court, after notice and opportunity to be heard, shall then make such order for the sale or disposal of said joint property as will be right and proper in such case.

Section 5. The treasurer appointed by the board of road supervisors shall be required to give bond, with at least two sufficient sureties, to be approved by the auditors of the township, conditioned that the said treasurer shall well and truly account for and pay over all moneys collected and received by him for road purposes, according to law; and such bond shall be filed with the township auditors. He shall pay out moneys received by him as road taxes, only on the written order of the road supervisors, setting forth the purpose for which the order is given, signed by the chairman of the board and attested by the secretary thereof.

Section 6. The road supervisors of each township shall make, or cause to be made a duplicate, designating the amount of road tax levied against each taxpayer of the township, and deliver the same to their treasurer, who shall, within ten days after receiving said duplicates, give a written notice to all taxable persons of the amount of tax that has been assessed against them; and shall also give him a warrant to collect the tax, which shall be collected as follows, namely: To all taxpayers who pay their road tax before June first of each year, to the treasurer, an abatement of five per centum shall be made; on all road taxes paid to the treasurer between June first and November first, of each year, the taxpayers will be required to pay the full amount of the road tax levied against them; and on the first of November, in each year, the treasurer shall make out a list of all delinquent taxpayers, with the amount of the road tax levied against each, with five per centum added thereto, as a penalty for such delinquency, and deliver the same to the township collector, who shall immediately proceed to collect the same, and make payment thereof to the treasurer of the board as soon as received; and the collector shall be responsible to the township for the collection of such tax, and shall receive for his services the five per centum in penalty added. The treasurer shall receive, as compensation for his services, such amount as the board or road supervisors may prescribe, not exceeding two per centum of all moneys received and distributed by him.

Section 7. The road supervisors shall meet for the transaction of business once each month, at a time to be fixed by the board; and the

board may be allowed for necessary expenses, including office rent and stationery, light and fuel, to be paid out of the township road funds.

Section 8. In all cases where a vacancy occurs in the board of road supervisors, from any cause, the court of quarter sessions of the peace of the proper county shall, upon the petition of the remaining members of the board, appoint a successor to fill the office until the next election for township officers: Provided, That such vacancy happens at least thirty days before said election; if less than thirty days before said election, the person so appointed shall fill the office until the next election thereafter for township officers, and until a successor is duly elected and qualified.

Section 9. The board of road supervisors shall annually submit, under oath, to the board of township auditors a full and itemized statement of their accounts of the preceeding year; and the township auditors shall audit, settle and adjust said accounts, in the same manner and with effect as other accounts of township officers are audited and settled.

Section 10. The board of road supervisors of the several townships shall annually, on or before the fifteenth day of March in each and every year, make a report to the State Highway Commissioner, on blanks furnished to them by the State Highway Commissioner, of the whole amount of money raised during the preceeding year by taxation for road purposes; specifying in such report the amount expended for maintenance or repairs of roads, for opening and building of new roads, and for macadamizing or otherwise permanently improving roads, and the number of miles thus made; together with the names and addresses of the chairman and secretary of the board, and such other things and matters as the State Highway Commissioner may require. And it shall be the duty of the State Highway Commissioner, not later than the first day of February of each year, to forward the aforesaid blanks to the several boards of supervisors. It shall be the duty of the prothonotary in each county, not later than the first day of April of each year, to certify to the State Highway Commissioner the names of all the supervisors of the respective townships in said county.

Section 11. The board of road supervisors shall keep minutes of their proceedings, and such books as they may find necessary in the performance of their duties all of which shall be open for the inspection of any taxpayer, at all reasonable times, and which shall be submitted for the information of the township auditors when said auditors meet to audit the

accounts of the treasurer and other township officers; and shall deliver such books, papers and accounts to their successors.

Section 12. It shall not be lawful for any road supervisor to be interested, either directly or indirectly, in any work done, purchase made, or contract relating to roads and bridges, nor to furnish any materials therefor. Any person knowingly violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months, both or either, at the discretion of the court.

Section 13. If any road supervisor, roadmaster or contractor, employed to work on the roads, bridges and highways of this Commonwealth, shall violate any of the provisions of this act, or shall fail, neglect or refuse to carry out the same, he shall pay a fine of not more than fifty dollars, to be collected in the name of the township, as other debts of like amount, and paid to the township treasurer, for use of the road fund of said township.

Section 14. The road supervisors of the several townships of this Commonwealth, elected or appointed in pursuance of this act, shall perform all the duties imposed by the existing laws on supervisors of road, bridges and highways; and shall be subject to the same responsibilities and penalties that supervisors are now subject to, except in so far as changed or supplied by the terms of this act.

Section 15. Two shall constitute a quorum of the board of supervisors.

Section 16. All acts or parts of acts, general, special or local, inconsistent herewith or supplied hereby be and the same are hereby repealed: Provided, however, That the act, entitled "An act enabling the taxpayers of townships and road districts to contract for making, at their own expense, the roads, and paying salaries of township or road district officers,

and thereby preventing the levy and collection of road tax therein," approved June twelfth, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three; and the acts entitled, "An act to provide for the permanent improvement of certain public roads or highways in the several counties of this Commonwealth, making such improved roads and highways county roads, authorizing the relocation, opening, straightening, widening, extension, and alteration of the same, and the vacation of so much of any road as may therefore become unnecessary, authorizing the taking of property for such improvement, and providing the compensation therefor, and the damages resulting from such taking; providing for the payment of the costs and expenses incurred in making such improvements, and in thereafter repairing and maintaining said road, and authorizing the levy of a tax to provide a fund for said purposes," approved the twenty-sixth day of June, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five; also, "An act to provide for the classification of the townships of the Commonwealth, with respect to their population, into two classes, and to prescribe the form of government for townships of each class," approved April twenty-eighth, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine; also, "An act to amend 'An act to provide for the classification of the townships of the Commonwealth, with respect to their population, into two classes, and to prescribe the form of government for townships of each class,' approved April twenty-eighth, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine," approved the twenty-fourth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and one, shall not be repealed hereby, but shall continue in full force and effect.

APPROVED—The 12th day of April, A. D. 1905.

SAML. W. PENNYPACKER.

The foregoing is a true and correct copy of the act of General Assembly No. 107.

FRANK M. FULLER,



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Grange News



May, 1905

Officers of the Pennsylvania State Grange

Master, W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
Overseer, HON. A. C. BARRETT, New Milford, Susquehanna Co.
Lecturer, A. M. CORNELL, Columbia X Roads.
Steward, THEODORE KLEIN, Lake Ariel, Wayne Co.
Assistant Steward, HARRY H. PRATT, Goshenville, Chester Co.
Chaplain, REV J. W. JOHNSON, Laceyville, Wyoming Co.
Treasurer, S. E. NIVIN, Landenburg, Chester Co.
Secretary, J. T. AILMAN, Thompsontown, Juniata Co.
Gatekeeper, WALLACE CHASE, Fall Brook, Tioga Co.
Ceres, MRS. VELMA WEST, Corry, Warren County.
Flora, MRS. J. S. Dale, State College, Centre Co.
Pomona, MRS. MARY FISHER, Lincoln University, Chester Co.
L. A. S., MRS. FRANCES B. ARTERS, Millvillage, Erie Co.

Executive Committee

I. FRANK CHANDLER, Toughkenamon, Chester Co.
C. H. DILDINE, Rohrsburg, Columbia Co.
G. W. OSTER, Osterburg, Bedford Co.

Finance Committee

D. B. McWILLIAMS, Burnham, Mifflin Co.
S. B. BROWN, Sulphur Springs, Bedford Co.
JOHN T. PATTON, Warriors Mark, Hnntingdon Co.

Legislative Committee

W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
HON. W. T. CREASY, Catawissa, Columbia Co.
E. B. DORSETT, Wellsboro, Tioga Co.

Pennsylvania Granges are going to add 10,000 members this year.
THIS MEANS WORK.

Pennsylvania Grange News.

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

VOL. 1 No. 10

MAY, 1905

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5 CENTS PER COPY

W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

Official publication. Issued monthly. Entered August 9, 1904, at Chambersburg, Pa.,
as second class matter, under Act of Congress of July 16, 1904

EDITORIAL.

To Masters of Subordinate Granges :—

Present this communication at the next meeting of your Grange. So many inquiries reach this office as to the course to be pursued in the reinstatement of unaffiliated members that it seems to be advisable to discuss the subject at some length through this agency. In the first place each Subordinate Grange should adopt a form of By-laws for its government. Of course it is required they be in harmony with the laws of the higher units of the organization. They will provide that when a member is delinquent for dues after a designated time the Secretary shall notify him of the same, and the notice should state that he will be suspended at a stated meeting if dues are not paid at or before that time. When this meeting arrives the Worthy Secretary should indicate to the Grange what he has done and announce the name or names of those who are liable to suspension. If no provision is then made by the designated members or by some friend for them, the Worthy Master has it in his power to declare them suspended and to ask the Secretary to advise them of this action of the Grange. This second notice by the Secretary should state to the suspended members that if their dues are not paid by the time of the designated meeting that they shall be dropped from the roll for non-payment of dues. It often happens that after a longer or shorter period of time members who have become unaffiliated either by action of the Grange suspending them, as in this case, or from other causes desire to be reinstated. It is desirable that this reintatement shall be made in the Grange with which they were formerly associated.

As the records of that Grange indicate the cause or causes which resulted in members becoming unaffiliated and in many instances they continue to pay State dues upon the members for some time after receiving any dues from them. It is therefore right that the re-instatement should be made in that Grange. As to the fee for re-instatement, some years ago Worthy Master Rhone issued an official proclamation recommending to each Subordinate Grange that it pass a resolution to re-instate such unaffiliated members who had not been connected with the Order for some years, upon payment of the uniform fee of \$1.20 or one year's back dues. This is becoming an established custom in this State. The person desiring re-instatement should fill out a regular application blank in the usual manner and deposit with the Secretary together with this fee. An Investigation Committee has then to be appointed, the same as in the case of a new application, the only difference being that a majority vote is required to reject. If the ballot be favorable to re-instate-

ment the applicant need not be either initiated or obligated again, although I strongly advise that when a member has been out for several years that he be re-obligated in order to impress him with his responsibility and obligations to the Grange. It is in fact even beneficial to those of us who are members in good standing to again hear the obligations and to have memories freshened upon the pledge taken.

W. F. HILL,
Master State Grange.

New Executive Committeeman Active.

BRO. C. H. DILDINE, of Columbia County, has been making his influence count towards getting the "10,000" for this year. He re-organized a Grange in Snyder County and organized Sugar Loaf No. 1287 in Luzerne beside persuading a number of outsiders to "come in out of the wet" into existing Granges. Persistent work will win and he is a big help to the Order in his part of the State.

It is well for Granges that have lost members by death during the year to hold memorial services during the early summer, when flowers are plentiful to place upon the grave, or on the altar of the Grange in memory of the departed. A committee may be appointed to act in conjunction with the Worthy Chaplain and a very impressive and inspiring service arranged for some Sabbath afternoon, or, if preferred, an hour set apart at a regular meeting.

Also, Granges ought not to allow a year to pass without holding at least one session devoted especially to the children. We, as Patrons, cannot do too much to safeguard, care for and be helpful to child life. Short as it is, it should be the careful thought of all to surround and fill their young lives with the best of influences. Take this matter up at an early opportunity.

Grange Burial Ceremony.

Members of an organization owe certain obligations and feelings of respect to other fellow members. In the Grange these are generally discharged very freely. We render aid of various kinds to our fellow patrons and when ill we try to provide nurses and other aid but there comes a time when the ministrations to the living are to be succeeded by obseques to the dead.

For this latter purpose a burial ceremony has been formulated and is published in the back part of the manuals. I want to inquire of the officers of your Grange as to whether you would be prepared to render this ceremony if unexpectedly called upon. You owe it to the friends as well as to yourself and to the order that if used at all it be rendered "decently and in order." Would it not be a good idea to give some study to this ceremony, so that should you unfortunately be called upon to participate in it you can do so acceptably?

Remembering Our Departed Friends.

The spirit of fraternity is perhaps more highly developed in the Grange than in almost any other organization or society. A feeling of brotherly love for our fellow members is characteristic of true patrons every place and whenever the Death Angel calls and takes from us a beloved patron, the blow falls heavily upon all remaining members. It is customary to pass resolutions of respect and to hold memorial services. At a meeting of the National Grange some years ago it was thought to be wise to encourage the holding of memorial services annually and let them be for all members who had passed on during the year. It was recommended that these services be established and held regularly in the month of June and we call the attention of Pennsylvania Granges to it at this time with our recommendation that the custom become established in our Granges. For many reasons June is a preferable month for this impressive and beautiful ceremony. None of us can engage in it for the hour without feeling the better for the experience. This can be held either at regular, or at a special meeting, or arrangements can be made for having it at some time during the Sabbath.

Register Records and Corrections.

Below we publish some corrections to the Register so far as they have been discovered and known at this office. If Patrons know of any other errors in the Register we shall be glad to make such corrections in the Grange News, as we are advised upon. We also give the list of additional Granges that were received by the State Secretary too late for insertion in the Register. When no P. O. is given, the one published in the Register is to be used.

The name of Ed. McEntire, Framp-ton, should appear as a Deputy in Clar-ion County; H. Bruce Larned, Hunting-don Mills, as a Deputy Luzerne County; G. B. Walchob, Luthersburg, as a Deputy Clearfield County; E. D. Bohn, Robeson-ia, as a Deputy Berks County; Mrs. Gertie Nickerson, Ulysses, as a Deputy in Potter County; Herman Gregory, as a Deputy in Elk County.

In Pomona No. 43, Daniel W. Bohn, Robeson-ia, should appear as Master, Po-mona No. 54 M. T. M. Burt, Ulysess.

A new Pomona was organized March 18th for Schuylkill County with J. H. Dunkleberger, Hegins, Master, W. H. Stout, Pine Grove, Lecturer, and A. J. Hummell, De Turksville, Secretary.

The following corrections are noted for Subordinate Granges:

No. 593, Armstrong County, should show as Master Wm. Hayes, as Lecturer, J. L. Bouser.

No. 531, Bedford, Mrs. S. B. Brown, Sulphur Springs, Secretary.

No. 998, Bucks, Dr. J. I. Crawley, Lec-turer, W. H. Weamer, Secretary.

No. 1032, Carbon, W. F. Eroh, Master.

No. 248, Columbia, A. B. Walter, Sec'y, Newlin.

No. 254, Centre, A. J. Tate, Pinegrove Mills, Lecturer.

No. 1019, Clarion, Earl Black, Knok, R. D. No. 1, Lecturer.

No. 1101, Clarion, J. E. Mahle, Miola, Secretary.

No. 853, Forest, Fred Weingard, Master, R. W. Lidebur, Tionesta, Lecturer.

No. 1230, Elk, George Mertel, St. Mary's, Secretary.

No. 813, Luzerne, F. G. Shulde, Wil-kesbarre, Master and L. H. Krocher, Wilkesbarre, Secretary.

No. 1183, Potter County, Mrs. J. R. Grover, Ulysess, Secretary.

No. 337, Mercer, D. W. Burnett, Clark's Mills, R. F. D. No. 31, Master and Mrs. A. M. Dickson, Sandy Lake, R. F. D. No. 27, Lecturer.

No. 382, Northampton, E. A. Schweitzer, Nazareth, Master.

No. 993, Northampton, Reuben F. Mil-ler, Bath, Master.

No. 1149, Potter, Mrs. Lena Wetmore, Galeton, Master.

No. 1183, Potter, Mrs. J. R. Grover, Ulysses, Secretary.

No. 417, Susquehanna, C. D. Dayton, Birchardville, Master.

No. 600, Tioga, T. R. Farman, Lecturer.

No. 874, Tioga, Mrs. M. F. Patterson, Wellsboro, Secretary.

No. 893, Venango, H. O. Beck, Master and Harry Kapp, Lecturer.

No. 1071, Wayne, John A. Foster, Cherry Ridge, Secretary.

Granges Reporting too late for Insertion

TURTLE POINT, McKean Co.

1236. M—H. A. June, Port Allegheny.

L—Mrs. O. W. Abbey, Turtle Point.

S—A. G. Wandover, Turtle Point.

PENNYPACK, Montgomery Co.

S. M—Stephen H. Lewry, Willow Grove.

L—Seth T. Walton, Willow Grove.

S—Anna W. Lewry, Willow Grove.

ENDEAVOR, Montour Co.

1108. M—C. C. Billmyer, Milton, R. F. D.

L—W. H. Taylor, Milton, R. F. D.

S—C. E. Lazarus, Milton, R. F. D. No. 1

SHAMOKIN, Northumberland Co.

865. M—Jos. Berner, 1017, N. Pearl St. Shamokin.

L—Josephene Coutts, 1019 Vine Street, Shamokin.

S—W. J. Pickering, 901 E. Duvart St., Shamokin.

WHITE DEER, Union Co.

122. M—R. J. Moyer, White Deer, R. F. D.

L—Wm. Richart, New Columbia.

S—W. L. Mertz, New Columbia.

New Granges.

ALTENWALD, Franklin Co.

Organized by W. F. Hill.

1282. M—D. H. Yaukey, Altenwald.

L—M. E. Herman, Altenwald.

S—M. E. Branthaver, Chambersburg.

NEW WASHINGTON, Clearfield Co.

1283. M—J. H. Weaver, New Washing-ton.

S—D. T. Mitchell, Jr. New Washington.

PORT MATILDA, Center Co.

Organized by John S. Dale.

1284. M—James Goss, Port Matilda, R. F. D. No. 3.

L—Anna Goss, Port Matilda.

S—Joseph Goss, Port Matilda.

WAUKENA, Indiana Co.

90. M—S. L. Adair, Saltsburg, R. F. D. No. 3.

L—H. K. Johnson, Saltsburg, R. F. D. No. 4.

S—A. M. Love, Saltsburg, R. F. D. No. 3.

MONROE, Snyder Co.

Re-organized by C. H. Dildine.
191. M—Benjamin Hummel, Winfield.
S—C. E. Bittinger, Winfield.

MORELAND, Lycoming Co.

775. M—S. M. Stadon, Muncy, R. F. D. No. 4.
S—J. R. King, Muncy, R. F. D. No. 4.

BENNER, Center Co.

Re-organized by John S. Dale.
107. M—C. L. Smeltzer, Bellefonte.
S—Florence Marshall, State College.

LAWRENCE, Tioga Co.

937. M—John Croffut, Lawrenceville.
S—Frank Gibbs, Lawrenceville.

SOUTH BEND, Potter Co.

Organized by H. H. Hall.
1288. M—James Hemphill, Oswego.
S—John Schollard, Oswego.

McCONNELTOWN, Huntingdon Co.

Re-organized by W. T. Boring.
1001. M—Harry Grubb, McConnettown.
S—Ella Hamer, McConnettown.

MUNSTER, Cambria Co.

1117. M—J. W. Griffin, Cresson, R.F.D.
L—Geo. H. Garrett, Cresson, R. F. D.
S—Geo. . O'Nara, Cresson, R. F. D.

MT. HERMON, Cambria Co.

1120. M—John Griffith, Edensburg.
L—Harvey Evans, Edensburg.
S—Leighton Rowland, Edensburg.

SHAVER'S CREEK, Huntingdon Co.

353. M—Geo. W. Bell, Neff's Mills.
L—J. H. Oaks, Masseyburg.
S—D. Ross Gregory, Petersburg.

PLEASANT HILL, Jefferson Co.

656. M—Chas. C. Neel, Brooksville.
L—Foster E. Matthews, Brooksville.
S—Hallie Thrush, Brooksville.

GREEN VALLEY, Jefferson Co.

770. M—J. I. Allshouse, Stanton.
L—Blair Shaffer, Knox Dale.
S—Miss Mary Kinsley, Knox Dale.

BLOOMFIELD, Luzerne Co.

536. M—L. T. Seward, Bloomingdale.
L—Z. H. Stevens, Irish Lane.
S—G. W. Culver, Bloomingdale.

BELL POINT, Westmoreland Co.

809. M—Robt. T. Glass, Salina, R. F. D. No. 1.
S—Geo. W. Rubright, Apollo, R. F. D. No. 1.

SUGAR LOAF, No. 1287.

Organized by C. H. Dildine.
M—Charles Tressler, Conyngham, Luzerne County.
S—Otis Smith, Luzerne County.

HICKORY.**Organized by E. M. Davis.**

1285. M—Theodore Hoyt, Penfield, Clearfield County.
S—Alice Keller, Penfield, Clearfield County.

BELL RUN.**Organized by H. H. Hall.**

M—F. F. Bridge, Turtle Point, Potter County.
S—Belle Kerne, Bell Run, Potter Co.

DEWEY.**Re-organized by G. H. Small.**

1171. M—E. G. Sprague, Emericksville, Jefferson County.
S—Armetta Cable, Emericksville, Jefferson County.

KNOWLTON, Potter Co.

Organized by Gertie Nickerson
1289. M—Francis Reed, Roulette.
S—Calvin Seymour, Roulette.

Executive Committee Department

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

Important Announcement to Patrons

Osterburg, Pa. May 3, 1905.

Fellow Patrons: Only yesterday I received from B. F. Foster, of Allegan, Mich (who was formerly under contract with the Penn'a State Grange but is not a Grange house any more) a circular and price list of implements, vehicles, etc.

Accompanying this is a slip on binder twine, and another sheet termed a "Confidential Announcement," in which he says that he has a Grange Register and finds your

name in it, etc. He offers a discount of 3 per cent. on all orders accompanied by cash and Grange seal.

I wish to throw the sign of caution to all patrons and all Granges. This fellow was under contract for several years, and agreed in the contract to pay the Penn'a State Grange a rebate of 2 per cent. on all orders received by him and yet he only paid 32 cents rebate to the State Grange during the whole time he was under contract, (except the rebate on twine several years ago, which was a sep-

arate contract). This would mean that he only sold \$16 worth of goods to Penn'a patrons in all this time and yet we had reports from Granges and members to show that he sold a large amount of stuff to our people. Therefore he has deliberately cheated our State Grange out of its honest dues, and your Executive Committee have long since branded him as a fraud for this reason.

Under our twine contract a few years ago, he was to pay us $\frac{1}{2}$ ct per lb on all twine sold. We coaxed, and requested and demanded settlement, and wrote letter after letter, and we had to at last threaten to expose him as a fraud and an imposter and inform our Granges to that effect and cancel the contract. This finally brought the rebate, but not until more than a year had elapsed. Now he is seeking to undermine our twine arrangement for this year, and draw your order from our legitimate channel. I regard this man as one who is void of principle and I hope that not a single Grange will send him an order. He is unworthy of our support and confidence and patronage, and inasmuch as he cheated the State Grange out of its rebate when he was under contract, now that he is not under contract no member has any protection whatever in dealing with him. Stand by our business arrangements loyally. Discountenance all such circulars or letters that try to allure you from the path of duty. Don't patronize any of these fakirs that try to work a gag game on us.

If we knew who the guilty party is that furnished B. F. Foster with a Register for 1905 the Executive Committee would take the matter in hand and prefer charges against such a member. I regret that any member should violate his obligation to this extent as to be guilty of sending a Register to any one. Unless this business is stopped, we will not publish a Register for distribution promiscuously among the Granges hereafter, but only for the use of the State Officers who really need and have use for them.

Faternally,

GEO. W. OSTER,
Sec. Ex. Com.

Picnic Speakers.

The Executive Committee has secured the consent of the following Patrons to participate as speakers in the Grange series picnic campaign of this summer. We desire each Subordinate or Pomona Grange that intends to hold a picnic in this series to express its preference of speakers from among the following names, giving first, second and third choice, so that if the first is engaged in another part of the State for your particular date, or for other reasons we are unable to secure him, that we can give you your next choice that is available. As stated in the December issue each Grange that is able will be expected to contribute a minimum of three dollars towards defraying the expenses. It is also our plan to hold as many picnics as may be desired by a county, if they can be advantageously located and be properly advertised, etc. So that not only the Pomona can have a picnic in this series, but Subordinate Granges also and it is hoped that this proposition will be taken advantage of generously by Granges. It has been arranged that in the absence of Bro. Hill, the picnic arrangements will be handled by Bro. Ailman. The requests for picnics or correspondence relating to them should therefore be addressed to the State Secretary. The speakers so far secured are :

State Lecturer Cornell, State Secretary Ailman, Hon. W. T. Creasy, member of Legislative Committee, E. B. Dorsett, member Legislative Committee, G. W. Oster, member of Executive Committee, (after Aug. 20) Rev. Johnson, chaplain, (not over ten days) Rev. Tregarden, Past Chaplain, Mrs. Holiday, Past Ceres, Henry Buckley, Crawford County, S. S. Blyholder, Armstrong County, Prof. H. A. Surface, State Zoologist, (as office work permits) Hon. A. L. Martin, Director of Institutes, (as office work permits).

The Grange Fire Insurance data shows up well. You will find some of it elsewhere in future issues.

"Penn'a Grange News just touches the spot." Deputy L. W. Howden.

Order Twine Early.

The following letter has just been received from our twine people and we publish it for the information of the membership. We feel sure that Granges that order early will have reason to feel that they did right and then they have their twine in ample time for use. It is always well to be ready as there are so many things crowding by the time harvest opens up.

Mr. George W. Oster, Sec., Ex. Com.
Penn'a State Grange,
Osterburg, Pa.,

Dear Sir:—

If you can in any way induce your Subordinate Granges to send in their twine orders at once it will not only assist us materially, but we believe the various Granges supplied will be better satisfied in every way as deliveries will be had in advance of dates when the twine is to be needed and there will be no inconvenience through delay in transportation. The 1st of May is fast approaching and as you well know with the opening up of spring there is always an increase of railroad business which very naturally results in more or less congestion, and small shipments are not handled with the expedition which is desirable. If you can give this suggestion your favorable consideration we shall hope to hear from you to the effect that you have circularized the Granges to that effect.

Yours very truly,

On Board Ship.

By the time this issue of Penn'a Grange News is printed, State Master Hill will be on the "Big Pond." The vessel he takes is the "Prinz Oskar," of the Hamberg-American Line, leaving New York one p. m., Tuesday, May 9th, and due to reach Naples, Italy, the 23rd. This is what is called the Mediterranean route and requires two weeks for the trip. He expects to travel up through the continent of Europe and to go to England, take vessel home from there and will reach the United States by that route in from seven to nine days. The Executive Committee have given the Worthy Master credentials empowering him to represent the Penn'a State Grange at the International Agricultural Congress at Rome and we shall hope to publish in Penn'a Grange News some letters from him while he is abroad.

An Appeal for Co-Operation.

To the Masters of Subordinate and Pomona Granges:

By direction of the Penn'a State Grange, that is by your direction, I am sending Grange Items monthly to some 300 news papers in the State. To make this little sheet interesting and worth publishing I must have the items and I get them only when some one sends them. Worthy Master, it is your duty to send me those items or to see that they are sent. When your Grange does anything that is worth telling about send an account of it no matter how short. In almost every issue of the Penn'a Grange News, American Grange Bulletin and Farmers Friend I see accounts of meetings, contests, entertainments, socials, etc. It is all right to send them to these papers. You should do it, but why not make two or three copies of the same report and send one to me. I cannot copy from them for I send to the papers only once a month. Till I copy an article and then send it on and the paper to which I send it publishes it, it becomes ancient history. They simply will not publish it and so my sending is vain. Some of you say your papers do not publish them anyhow. I have asked them to notify me if they no longer want them and they say send them on. Sometimes members have told me that their papers were not using the items and at the same time marked copies of the very same paper were sent to me with the items in. Let me hear from you, and if your local paper is really not using the items let them hear from you, too. Fraternally,

J. T. AILMAN.

Let Them Pass; Forget Them.

Never mind bad things you've heard;

Don't repeat a single word;

Let them pass; forget them.

Do not mind them; they are not

Worthy of a moment's thought;

They have now much mischief wrought—

Let them pass; forget them.

Take Penn'a Grange News along with you to Grange.

State Lecturer's Corner

A. M. CORNELL.

We have been gratified of late to receive more than the usual number of reports from lecturers of Subordinate and Pomona Granges and pleased to know of the work done by those who are holding official positions for the current year. If space would permit, we would be glad to reproduce here these reports that all might profit by them, the last mail brings this one from the active Grange County of Potter, which contains evidence of helpfulness and progress that characterize nearly all, we are glad to use this as a sample:

"Our Grange is in good working order many members are taking an interest in the work, that have never evidenced any before except to pay their dues.

"The Lecturer's hour is looked forward to as being profitable and pleasant. We try to find subjects that the different members are interested in, and by bringing out their thoughts on these, they soon will talk on others.

"We find that opening with a roll call of quotations enlivens and gives a general good feeling to commence our work with."

We desire to compliment and congratulate all active Lecturers on the valued service they are rendering, not only the Grange, but through that, are helping to build on a permanent foundation, for the advancement of rural life, for the material well being of the country home socially, educationally and morally.

Let other Lecturers report their successes and failures. We are always pleased to hear direct from you and to aid you in the work if possible.

For the next few months during the busy season the programs should be arranged to suit the occasion, not quite so long, as when evenings were longer and members less weary. Arrange several musical numbers as all enjoy music, a little humor mixed in gives spice. Choose topics of a practical nature, such as members are engaged in at this season of the year. Perhaps your Grange may arrange for

an ice cream or strawberry festival. Plan to have something doing. Remember inactivity is the finger board to dormancy.

We would call attention to Patrons or persons interested, and especially to Lecturers, that we have a supply of Grange printed matter for distribution that will be sent you for the asking. A card sent to A. M. Cornell, Columbia X Roads, Pa., with the request is all you need to do to get it, and then we ask you to place it in the hands of those who are uninformed relative to the Grange, and those who should become members of the Order, with a personal request to read it and consider the advisability of joining the Grange soon. This gives you an opportunity to become missionaries for the extension of Grange usefulness and influence in your community.

We have just received a large installment of the "Little Red Book," fresh from the press, that proved so popular last year that the State Executive Committee provided for the second edition, slightly revised, of twenty-five thousand copies. They explain briefly the objects, principals and purposes of the Grange with some of its achievements and general information. An up-to-date little booklet, just what you want to help in familiarizing the stranger with the Grange.

We also have a supply of literature provided by the National Grange such as the "Declaration of Purposes," "Some of the Reasons why Farmers should join the Grange," "Co-Operative Features of the Grange," "Value of the Grange," "Origin of the Grange," "Why join the Grange?" etc. Will you not aid in "casting thy bread upon the water" by writing for and distributing this Grange matter?

Let us have a club from your Grange for Penn'a Grange News. It is especially intended for Penn'a Patrons and will do each family good.

The Deputy—His Preparation and Work.

The office of Deputy is three-fold, and to be successful, one must have a rare combination of talent. First, he must be a hustler, and be willing to make a house-to-house canvass. He must be full enough of his subject so he can talk Grange matters over so as to interest the particular person he is talking to for the social, educational, co-operative, legislative, financial and ritualistic sides of the work, appeal differently to different people and he should be able to talk intelligently on each and all of them and last, but not least, he should have a few points in reserve as clinchers to use in a public lecture when the house-to-house canvass is complete, for the deputy who cannot do acceptable lecture work cannot hope to succeed for interest must precede organization.

Second, when the time comes for the organization, he should have committed to memory enough of the U.W. and installation work. so there would be little or no use for the manual as a reading book and this calls for a preparation which very few are willing to give but, which I maintain is worth all it costs in the additional impressiveness of the work when spoken rather than read and I believe also that every organizer should carry a set of manuals and if necessary, on account of time, leave out a large part of the installation service, and placing the manuals in the hands of the newly elected officers, give them a drill in opening and closing, commencing his inspection work then and there. The second meeting of a new Grange should be within one week and the Deputy should meet them and if possible, take with him all the things necessary to properly put on the first and second degrees and insist that to properly do the work they should have all the working tools, emblems and robes and regalia. Before closing the second meeting, the Deputy should go carefully over the U. W. of the third and fourth degrees again, as there is so much to remember, and all of it is important; that unless he does this he will find when he goes, in his regu-

lar inspection work, that many errors have crept in which will be hard to overcome.

Third, In the regular inspection work the Deputy finds use for all his tact and moral courage, for mayhap between the time he organized a Grange and inspected it, he has attended a State Grange and seen a degree team put on the work and heard the State Master give the U. W., the chances are 100 to 1 he will have to modify the instruction he gave at the organization and mayhap he has gotten a certain little book written in cypher which has convinced him that he did not fully understand the U. W. when he organized. Well, no matter how the errors came there, he will most likely find them, and this is where his tact and moral courage will be put to the test, for if the errors are his it takes moral courage to admit and correct them; if they are not his, it takes tact to correct them without giving offense; but they should be corrected no matter how they originated, and this brings me back to the beginning, and I repeat to be a successful Deputy, one must have a rare combination of talent. In the interest of better Deputy work, I suggest that at each meeting of the State Grange there be held a training class for Deputies. That one of the State Officers, or other qualified person meet the Deputies present at some convenient place and with the Deputies as a class, go through the whole organization of a Grange, having present all the things that are necessary to properly do the work and if this could be carried out for three or four years, the increased knowledge and efficiency of the corps of Deputies would demonstrate either its utility or futility; but I believe that the Deputy work is the weak spot in the Grange organization and am convinced that about the only rational solution of the problem is for the State Master to have power to choose a limited number from among those who have gotten results, get them together and thoroughly instruct them at State expense and constitute them a corps of Deputies at large and pay them a reasonable compensation for good work.

H. H. HALL

Largest Grange in the World—802 Members.

While we are more concerned with Penn'a Granges and their work, yet an occasional glimpse at others is refreshing. We present a type of a "well-rounded Grange," and we are indebted to "The New England Farmer" for the following:

Houlton Grange, Me., is utilizing the fullest benefits of organization and co-operation. In it the most ardent dreams of the founders are realized. The grange owns and operates a store which supplies the members with groceries, provisions, farm seeds, etc., at actual cost of goods and expense of running the store. The amount of business of this kind in 1904 was \$60,000.

A co-operative insurance company, with total risks in force of \$1,904,124, insures the property of members only. But one loss, \$1,087.50 was paid last year, and there have been but two assessments since the company was organized in 1897.

A starch factory owned and operated by patrons, has an annual output of 150 tons of starch, buying small and unmarketable potatoes at an average price of 40 cents a barrel.

A blacksmith shop is run by the Grange for patrons only, employing three men and saving the members many dollars in expense of horse-shoeing.

"So it is," says the Globe correspondent, "that a member of the Houlton Grange can buy his provisions and supplies generally cheaper than his neighbor who is not a member; can get his blacksmithing done cheaper; can protect his buildings at a much lower rate of insurance; can market his small potatoes and get a larger return; and besides all that participate in the benefits to be derived from the Grange meetings, the exchange of ideas and discussions, the frequent visits of specialists from abroad and the no end of 'gatherings' for great and general sociability and good times."

In addition to these co-operative enterprises and social features, it is now proposed that the Grange handle its own produce by arranging to sell

direct, the profit which has been going to the buyer, thus going to the farmer. As the members raise over 225,000 barrels of potatoes annually, it will be readily seen that opportunity is open for a great saving in co-operative selling. A Grange telephone line, connecting the houses of the members is one of the probabilities of the near future.

Houlton Grange owns a hall and lot valued at \$2,500, a stable with room for 60 horses which cost \$1,000, and other property valued at \$15,000. It represents 350 families and property estimated at \$1,000,000.

While the Grange has very wisely avoided anything like mixing in politics, yet the writer declares, it wields a power which few politicians or promoters of public measures have the temerity to antagonize. And it might be correct to note that such measures as the grange deem wise for the general community to adopt and follow generally prevail.

This grange is characteristic of the progressive farming community which it represents. Its officers are business farmers, men capable of conducting extensive business and farm operations. It is not only largest of the granges in membership, but is an ideal organization, putting into practice to the fullest extent, those features of co-operation and social union which come within the legitimate field of the order, and might well be adopted as the pattern for grange development throughout all New England.

Grange a Character Builder.

The Grange has a character that will stand temptation, and not snap asunder under the sudden pressures of life. This is the keynote of the Grange. It organizes and disciplines men, teaches them that the good of the many is of more importance than the selfish good of the individual. They learn that there are better things than private gains and come to look upon life with the altruistic vision of those whose sight has been quickened.

Surely such influences make for the upbuilding of character of the sort we want the citizens to possess.—Ex.

Scattering Granules Concerning Granges.

In last issue of Penn'a Grange News the Worthy State Lecturer makes a good suggestion when he refers to the advisability of observing Children's Day in the Grange. Many of our Granges make a custom of setting aside one day each year for that purpose and it is looked forward to by old and young with great expectancy. The month of June seems to be the best month for that purpose in our State as the weather is balmy and flowers are plentiful. A nice program should be arranged with special view to interesting and entertaining the little folks and they should be much in evidence upon it, both in the literary and musical features. It is hoped that the Lecturers and Sisters in the different Granges will take up this matter and let us all together enjoy a day with the young.

Roulette, Pa., May 1, 1905.
Penn'a Grange News:—

The Grange is steadily growing. Deputy Gertie Nickerson organized a new Grange at Knowlton last week which makes nineteen Granges in Potter County, all of which are active and increasing in membership. The next Pomona meeting will be held with Fishing Creek Grange, June 15-16. A rare treat is in store in the way of a picnic to be held at Burtville on June 15. The evening and day following will be devoted to the regular sessions of Pomona Grange in the K. O. T. M. Hall, Roulette.

Mrs. BERTILLA ATKINS.
(Press Cor. Pomona Grange No. 54.)

Grange Gets a New Organ.

An even dozen of new members is being received by Grange No. 1271, Fayette County, and they will step to the music of a new \$60 organ. Attendance at this Grange is good, and plenty of work is found for all to do. Curfew and Franklin Granges, of the same county it is reported are also receiving new members.

A Vermont man was recently fined five dollars and costs, a total of \$23.29, for keeping dogs which chased deer. Why not apply the same fines to the men who keep dogs that chase sheep? Are not the sheep of more value to the State than deer? This man was arrested by a game warden. Why not have a warden whose duty it shall be to protect the farmers' flocks at public expense? Is the sportsmen's fun of more consequence than the success of a great industry?

Paying the Penalty.

Mr. George W. Russell, of Worcester, Mass., Secretary and Treasurer of the National Oleo-margarine Association, has been sentenced by the United States District Court to pay a fine of \$250.00 and be imprisoned for twenty days, for violating the United States oleo-margarine laws and the laws pertaining to the Internal Revenue stamps on oleo. This is the man whose secret circular to fellow oleo dealers was exposed by the North American last fall and furnished the basis for the campaign that was so aggressively made by the Grange for the preservation of the present oleo law intact.

"I think the Grange News should be in every family. It contains a whole lot of news in little space. Shall try and get our new members to subscribe for it. We have added 12 new members since January 1st, making 112 members in all. We were re-organized in December, 1903, with 38 Charter Members.

"Think if we had a Hall, we would expand a great deal faster."

JAMES P. CAMPBELL,
Sec. Grange 111, Bradford Co. ..

Pomona Grange No. 3, of Chester and Delaware Counties, will hold its regular meeting in Unionville on Thursday, May 25th, 1905, at 9:45 o'clock. The guests of East Lynne Grange No. 1263.

EMMA B. PALMER,
Secretary.

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Pennsylvania

Grange News



June, 1905

OFFICERS ELECTED AT CLEARFIELD 1902.



Upper row, beginning at left—G. W. Oster, Hon. S. R. Brunges, S. B. Brown, Hon. Louis Piolett, D. E. McWilliams, Hon. W. T. Creasy, Jno. T. Patton, Wallace Chase.
 Second row beginning at left—H. M. Gooderham, I. Frank Chandler, Hon. S. E. Nivin, A. M. Cornell, Hon. A. C. Barrett, Rev. H. G. Teagarden, Mrs. Della Hunsinger.
 Third row beginning at left—H. H. Pratt, Mrs. Mary Fisher, J. T. Allman, W. F. Hill, Miss Florence Rhone, Mrs. V. B. Holiday.

Pennsylvania Grange News.

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

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5 CENTS PER COPY

W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

Official publication. Issued monthly. Entered August 9, 1904, at Chambersburg, Pa.,
as second class matter, under Act of Congress of July 16, 1904

EDITORIAL.

WORTHY MASTER—Please have the enclosed communication presented to your Grange.

A Test of the Grange in 1876.

The Grange is popular and prosperous in Penn'a now. It was never in a better condition in all respects. While those who are joining now come into an organization thoroly established and with all its machinery bright and in good running order, yet there were times when the wheels were rusty and a clog of the machinery was threatened. Perhaps the most portentous occasion crystallized at the State Grange Session, Meadville, 1876, when the State Grange realized that its was several thousand dollars in the hole. There was a big rush into the order along about 1875-76, and all were comparatively new to the work. If mistakes were made, some of them were pardonable because of inexperience, even though they brought serious results to the organization. The greatest drain on the treasury had been large mileage to the delegates. The business ventures in Philadelphia and elsewhere added to the deficit. We publish in this issue of Penn'a Grange News the list of officers of State Grange elected at that session.

The Worthy Master was V. E. Piolett and he refused to be installed unless provision was made for honor-

ably meeting the indebtedness. To the everlasting credit of the State Grange of Penn'a and to the honor of all those early workers the issue was manfully met.

The following extract is copied from the records and while the honor of signing this note has since been claimed by some whose names do not appear hereon, yet the record has the following 23 names:

Meadville, Pa., Dec. 14, 1876.

On motion the State Grange resolved to Borrow \$10,000 when the following brothers agreed to go on it as security:

S. R. Downing, No. 121; C. E. Gladding, No. 83; V. E. Piolett, No. 58; D. B. Mauger, No. 58; Ezra Loomis, ; J. Beatty Henry, No. 215; W. W. Dean, No. ; G. W. Smith, No. 696; J. C. Thompson, No. 433; M. L. Cattin, No. 74; C. B. Moore, No. 161; J. A. Hunter, No. 290; Geo. K. Lorah, No. 4; R. H. Thomas, No. 16; R. C. Johnson, Meadville, Wm. Esch, No. 394; M. Harding, No. 156; H. Fish, No. 709; W. W. Parker, No. 19; E. Z. Griesemer, No. 5; J. R. Read, No. 533; M. K. Moore, No. 510; S. E. Nevin, No. 141.

The Treasurer of State Grange, Bro. Wm. Yocum, a man of considerable means, then bought the note and the debts to different individuals were paid. Bro. Yocum carried the note until State Grange was able to redeem it. This was accomplished in

NEW OFFICERS ELECTED AT ERIE 1904.



C. H. DILDINE,
Member of Ex. Com.



Mrs. VELMA WEST,
Ceres.



Rev. J. W. JOHNSON,
Chaplain.



Mrs. FRANCES ARTERS.
L. A. S.



THEODORE KLEIN,
Steward.

a few years and much credit for the financial success of the State Grange under such trying circumstances must be given to Bro. Victor Piolett, who was Master during this period.

Patrons will do well to preserve all copies of Penn'a Grange News and also to help get more subscribers. Reliable information is to be found in its columns each issue, and if preserved, will always be prized by Patrons. Fraternally.

W. F. HILL,
Master State Grange.

WE published last issue the record of Granges organized and re-organized this year since the publication of the Register. Many faithful Deputies have worked hard to secure these results. Other Deputies, equally zealous, have in many instances devoted much time and effort, but so far have been disappointed in failing to secure results. To these we desire to say that seed does not always sprout as soon as planted. It may lie dormant for weeks or months and when conditions become favorable a good growth will then appear. So while not intending to abandon the effort, let us not be discouraged, but continue to entertain the hope that we will yet see tangible evidence result from the work that has been done. It is said that no good effort is ever lost, and we believe it to be true. Some day, some how, the people in the neighborhood in which you have done hard and faithful work for their betterment will recognize your services and give you due credit. True, an organization may not always result in each instance, yet whenever and wherever your motive has been to inspire them to better living and to get more of the good things out of life for themselves and their families, it is as bread cast upon the waters which will "return after many days." So while rejoicing with other members who are credited with the organization or re-organization of Granges yet we will be mindful of those who have labored diligently "in fields and household," but whose names do not appear this year among those who have husbanded commu-

nities into the Grange fold. There is yet time for every Deputy in Penn'a to identify his name with the extension of the order. We hope that all will make an effort to do so and reap an abundant harvest.

All Have an Interest.

The principle of co-operation is being practiced in the publishing of Penn'a Grange News. This publication is not put out by private enterprise in any way, but is published and edited by the State Grange as an organization. All money that is received for subscriptions goes to the credit of the State Grange for this work and no individual receives anything from it in any way. Those doing editorial work do it gratuitously and the items and articles that are furnished for publication are freely contributed. While most publications derive their principal revenue from advertising and take up a large portion of their space with that class of matter, yet nothing comes to Penn'a Grange News from this source, nor is any of its space taken up in that way. The matter for this publication is in large part original editorial matter, and being official, it is important and valuable to every member of the Order. The Secretary of each Grange can help increase the interest in Grange work among the members of his Grange by sending in a list of subscriptions. Patrons who read Penn'a Grange News will become better workers, more interested in the cause, better grounded in the principles for which the organization stands and better acquainted with the traditions history, work and progress of the Order, than can any one possibly become who is not a regular reader of its columns. The subscription price is so low, that no family can refrain from taking it on account of the cost. Let every officer into whose hands a copy of this issue comes take it on himself to send in two or more subscriptions. They may be paid for in postage stamps or in whatever way is most convenient for the sender. We will send a roll of sample copies if you need more than your own for use in securing subscriptions. Drop a

postal card to Penn'a Grange News, Chambersburg, Pa., and they will be sent free.

And this reminds us that maybe we have not received any extra subscribers from your Grange yet either, but we will look for them now. Only twenty cents a year and all solid reading matter—no advertisements at all—just the good stuff, that's all. Four nickels, a couple of dimes, ten two-cent stamps, twenty ones, check, money order—all these are legal tender. Address Penn'a Grange News, Chambersburg, Pa.

Pennsylvania's First Grange.

Eagle Grange No. 1, Pennsylvania, was organized March 4th 1871 by D. S. Curtis, Washington, D. C., Special Deputy, with 39 charter members.

This was the first Grange organized in Pennsylvania. It is in Lycoming County, near Montgomery, and is in existence at the present time. Brother Frank Porter, the first W. O. of the State Grange, was a charter member here. He is active in Grange work and is blessed with good health. His pleasing address before the State Grange at Erie will be remembered by all present. For years he has walked alone along life's pathway, Mrs. Porter having gone on before years ago. It required both courage and money to organize Granges or to become members in those days. Of course organizers were few and far apart. Colonel Curtis came all the way from Washington, D. C. to institute this Grange and the fees for establishing it were fifty-five dollars. Such a sum would discourage the people from organizing in most sections nowadays. But these pioneers were determined.

The Grange germ then introduced upon Pennsylvania soil was destined to inoculate every county in the State. A year and a half later the State Grange was organized and the order sprang rapidly into popular favor.

Pennsylvania has the proud distinction of taking the initiative in the establishment of the Grange organiza-

tion in the United States. It led all the States of the Union in the venture to organize the farmers of the United States in a fraternity of their own and the first dispensation for that purpose came to Harrisburg. This is a matter of National Grange record. For some reason this was not followed closely enough with the permanent organization and so the honor of having the first charter that was issued went to another State, New York. Thus were the honors divided and our Pennsylvania forefathers gave impulse to that noble principle of preferring another in honor.

From that early day to this the Keystone State has been in the forefront of the movement for Grange extension and progress.

Some one makes the following suggestions with regard to Grange administration: Be prompt. Have an hour for opening and for closing, and observe them. Officers should be present at every meeting, if possible. Transact business energetically. Induce young people to join, and then to take part in the lecture hour. Personal work by every individual, working in harmony with all others, will build up any Grange, when properly directed.

State Grange officers now have a good supply of fresh literature and it will be sent free to any Grange requesting it. The State Secretary keeps Grange supplies for sale, and when ordering supplies include request to him for any literature needed.

Young man, remember this, there is nothing that can compensate you for doing a thing that you will be ashamed of after it is done.

Morning Star Grange, No. 1271, P. of H., will celebrate its first anniversary on Saturday, May 27, 1905, at which time a class of twelve or fifteen candidates will receive the third and fourth degrees of the order. An invitation is extended to the patrons of other granges to attend and take part in the anniversary exercises.

How to Obtain Practical Information.



THE day has arrived in which to be successful a man must till the soil with brains as well as with muscle. This means that one who understands the means that can be practically applied to the soil for production will be able to obtain the best products, and this in turn means that there is a practical demand for definite knowledge concerning all operations of horticulturists, gardeners, stock-raisers, beekeepers, etc. Immense strides have recently been made in the knowledge of methods of production, and it is necessary for every practical man to obtain new information from time to time and use it in his work in order to keep pace with the times.

The fact that many of our citizens do not know where to apply for information or help they need is indicated by the great number of inquiries referring to agricultural subjects sent to the editors of newspapers, who as a rule do not know as much about these particular subjects as do the inquirers themselves. It is amusing to see in the women's department of a paper the efforts of the manager of such department to try to answer inquiries sent in good faith concerning methods of killing insects, growing potatoes, bee-keeping, poultry keeping, mushroom culture, care of live stock, butter-making, fertilizing, seeding and other features of farm practice, with which the writer doubtless never had any experience whatever and no educational training.

There is no doubt of the fact that our practical citizens frequently realize their great need of help. No class of persons is so greatly in need of useful information as are our rural citizens. They do not have well-stocked private libraries nor access to public libraries, nor the benefits of clubs or organizations in which there are experts to answer their questions or give them help, as in cities. It is no great wonder that such persons send their inquiries to unusual places

for answers, and no wonder that the replies given are often quite ludicrous and decidedly erroneous. Merely because a person is editing a personal corner or woman's department in a paper is no reason why he is qualified to answer all questions upon all topics. It is much better for persons to submit their questions directly to experts who have worked for years in their respective lines to obtain definite knowledge and give accurate and practical information to the masses.

It is time for the so-called practical people to come in close touch with the so-called scientific men, and vice versa. Each should give to and learn from the other. Practical operations are becoming more scientific, and scientific works are being much more practical than they have been in the past. It must be remembered that no one person is qualified to answer all or most of the questions that can be asked him, but he may know where or how to obtain answers to nearly all questions. The next best thing to being able to answer a question is to be able to find the answer.

Among the various sources of practical information to which persons can turn and with which our rural citizens should be familiar are the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., with its various divisions of (1) Agrostology, (2) Biological Survey, (3) Botany, (4) Chemistry, (5) Entomology, (6) Office of Experiment Stations, (7) Fiber Investigations, (8) Foreign Markets, (9) Forestry, (10) Office of Irrigation Inquiry, (11) Library, (12) Pomology or Fruits, (13) Office of Road Inquiry, (14) Office of Soils, (15) Office of Statistics, (16) Office of Vegetable Physiology and Pathology of Plants, Growth and Diseases, (17) Bureau of Plant Industry, (18) Bureau of Animal Industry, and (19) the Weather Bureau. The titles of these various Divisions indicate the respective office of the Department to which the inquirer should write, but if he should not know which office to address, he will receive a cor-

rect answer by simply addressing the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

One should not fail to make use of the opportunities that are present near home, and it is desirable to apply to the sources at hand in our own State before going farther away from home for assistance. . Persons whose duties lie wholly within the boundaries of this Commonwealth generally understand the local conditions better than do those whose interests extend to the borders of the entire nation and even farther. For that reason it is advisable to consult the various State offices such as the State Department of Agriculture in Charge of Hon. N. B. Critchfield, Harrisburg, Pa., or its various divisions, which are as follows: Farmers' Institutes, in charge of Hon. A. L. Martin, Deputy Secretary and Director Institutes, Harrisburg; Economic Zoologist, in charge of Prof. H. A. Surface, Harrisburg, Pa., Dairy and Food, in charge of Dr. B. H. Warren, Harrisburg, Pa., Live Stock, in charge of Dr. Leonard Pearson, Harrisburg, Pa. The other Departments at Harrisburg in which agriculturists are more or less interested are as follows: The Department of Forestry, in charge of Hon. Robt. S. Conklin; Department of Fisheries, Hon. Wm. E. Meehan, Fish Commissioner; Game Commissioner, Dr. Joseph Kalbfus, Secretary of the Game Commission; Road Commission, Hon. Robt. Hunter, Road Commissioner, Harrisburg, Pa.

The State College and State Experiment Station are centres of educational and experimental activity in behalf of the people of this State. They are situated at the post office of State College, Centre County, Pa. The President of the College is Dr. G. W. Atherton, who will furnish free information upon topics pertaining to the College and will refer educational inquiries to the various Departments in the respective realms to which they may belong. Dr. H. P. Armsby, State College, Pa., is the Director of the Experiment Station, and will refer to his various specialists topics upon farm practice, horticulture, fertilizers, crops, produce, seeds, weeds,

trees, plants, animals, live stock, poultry, fruits, etc.

At the office of the Economic Zoologist at Harrisburg a great many questions are received that do not pertain to that office, but they are forwarded to the various specialists who are best qualified to answer them, and thus inquirers receive without charge the most reliable information to be had upon their various subjects. This office is particularly working upon the subjects of destructive and beneficial insects, reptiles, birds and mammals, and is always pleased to receive specimens of all such creatures and to answer questions and obtain the co-operation of interested persons. There is no need for growers to allow their trees to die with plant diseases or pests when they can have specimens of injured parts of plants, and if possible the pests causing the injury, examined by the Economic Zoologist, and obtain without charge a full discussion of the best methods of overcoming loss from such sources. The last Legislature and the present Governor were so liberal in their attitude toward the growers of plant products in our State that they kindly made provision by which an expert can be sent to any part of the State to investigate outbreaks of plant pests and diseases that threaten to become important. Every person desiring such help can obtain it free of charge, by writing to the Secretary of Agriculture or the Economic Zoologist, stating in detail the conditions prevailing and the extent of depredation.

Nearly all agricultural, horticultural and farm journals that reach readers in this State are in touch with or have upon their staff, either directly or indirectly, specialists who are able to give particular attention to questions pertaining to their subjects, and when such questions are sent to reliable publications, the correct answers are generally returned. For prompt answers, however, and for accurate and complete information, it is best to write in detail to the State Department of Agriculture, or the Experiment Station, or the United States Department of Agriculture.

For publications upon the various subjects, standard periodicals devoted

to those fields are, of course, to be recommended, and every man should subscribe for at least one or two such periodicals, according to his profession in order to keep up with the very latest methods of the day in his business. Many other publications are to be obtained free of charge by writing for them, and while these are scientific, they are also practical. As a rule, they lack a few months of being "up-to-date," as are periodicals because of the delay in publishing and distributing them. Among the free periodicals that are to be obtained in every State are those of its Experiment Station and State Department of Agriculture. Also, every citizen can obtain free of charge the publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., upon topics in which he is particularly interested. There is a series of Bulletins from that Department, entitled "Farmers' Bulletins," a list of which was published in the Zoological Monthly Bulletin of Pennsylvania for April. The periodicals and Special Bulletins of the State Department of Agriculture are also free of charge, and will be sent to all persons who request them, and every person in the State who is interested in growing plants of any kind should know of the Monthly Bulletins of the Division of Zoology, which is published regularly from Harrisburg,

and is free of charge on application. One request from any person with his name and address for the mailing list will insure him these publications without charge for two years. All lovers of Nature, and especially those who wish to protect the birds, should know of the Zoological Quarterly Bulletin, which is a periodical of another series, issued by the Economic Zoologist. This is likewise free of charge and sent with the Monthly Bulletin, as the mailing list for the two periodicals is the same. With this information at hand, it would appear unnecessary for any person to permit his crops to suffer from insect depredations or plant diseases, or for him to suffer another's loss for lack of knowledge as to the best methods of preventing it.

This is the fruitful topic for discussion in a Grange meeting and every Grange Hall in the State should be provided with the free literature that is furnished by the State Department of Agriculture, State Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture at Washington, D. C. Inquiries upon this and related subjects will be cheerfully answered at all times by the undersigned.

PROF. H. A. SURFACE,
Economic Zoologist,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Scattering Granules Concerning Granges.

Unity Grange, Wyoming County, is prospering, as the members unitedly work to that end. "Applications for membership presented at nearly every meeting, and a class of ten or fifteen now on," writes the new Master, S. C. Jayne.

Greenfield Grange No. 226 is trying to do her part in Grange work this year. We have already initiated 19, have six applications to be acted upon at our next meeting and are expecting as many more. Have some new robes and sashes for initiatory work. We also expect to repair our Hall this summer to the amount of about \$500. Can also report Erie County Po-

mona No. 4 as doing good work. I am the Lecturer. Have had the largest classes in the fifth degree the last year that we have ever had. Would you please give me some instructions about what the paraphernalia for the fifth degree should be, and do the lady officers have court robes? We have nothing but the sashes, but think we could afford better now.

Mrs. MATILDA JOHNSON,
Master Grange No. 226.

[Suggestions upon complete Fifth Degree paraphernalia are to be found in the back part of the late Manuals for Pomona.]—Ed.

A Big Gain.

L. L. Comstock writes that Lorenton Grange No. 1095, of Tioga County, is prospering nicely. "We now have our Hall paid for and are going to build sheds this spring, have the money in the treasury to buy the lumber, have a good organ and a class of four will be received May 3d. The four together will weigh 800 pounds when "dressed." This Grange evidently believes in having the attributes of quality and quantity both found among its new members. Well, Tioga is a big county, they have a big lot of Granges there, thirty-eight in all, and a big lot of members, between 4,000 and 5,000, and so it is fitting that they should have big people to initiate into their big Grange family.

Sixth Degree Certificates have been sent to all receiving this beautiful degree at Erie. Doubtless they will nearly all be framed and hung up as they will grace a sitting room or parlor, will be well preserved, and always indicate the owner's advancement to this superior degree in our order. It then becomes a possession of which any Patron may well feel proud.

Concord Grange, No. 1141, of Delaware County, held a festival and entertainment recently. Result—a pleasant time and over ninety dollars added to the treasury. Everything has to come out right when Concord lays the plans. They reduce miscalculations to a minimum and all members work for success.

The Efficacy of Grange Insurance.

We do it Ourselves

is why Grange insurance is cheapest and best. We are, by united brotherhood, our own insurance company. We make our own insurance on our own premises, do the work ourselves, and give our lands as security for the payment of each other's losses. We take no hazardous risks, nor insure town or village property. No hard earned dollars go to pay for city conflagrations, nor to keep up high-salaried officers and agents, nor to pay the dividends of a joint stock company. We grind our own grists and save the toll.

An increase in the past year of over \$100,000 in the amount of insurance in force, tells in no uncertain language that our insurance is attracting the attention of rural property owners. And now as another year without assessments reduces the average yearly cost of our insurance below the remarkable statement of last year, let us be thankful to the All-Wise for the absence of losses and grateful to the Grange for our unique method of low-cost substantial insurance, for it is by means of the Granges dotted over our country as so many branch stations or ad-

vance agents holding out the advantages an enlisted co-worker with us, that this mutual insurance has reached its present high degree of success. These many Grange organizations, each supporting and working for our insurance in their respective localities, maintain a confidence and give a minimum expense impossible to otherwise obtain. Therefore, brother Patrons, considering this and the many other financial and social advantages which we derive from the Grange, are we as dutiful as we should be in attendance at our meetings, or are we selfishly content—content to have these financial benefits drop in our laps while sitting at home and by our absence make the Grange meetings cheerless and discouraging for the faithful ones who carry on the work? Let us resolve to attend our meetings as much as we are able, and then tell our neighbor how the Grange can help him, thus doing a fourfold duty by doing good to neighbor, good to Grange, good to insurance and good to ourselves.

I am, fraternally yours,

H. D. CORE, Sec'y

Grange Insurance Company, of Fayette County Pa.

Officers of the Pennsylvania State Grange from Date of Organization to the Present Time

State Grange was organized at Reading, Sept. 18, 1873.

Master—D. B. Mauger, Berks.
Overseer—Frank Porter, Lycoming.
Lecturer—John I. Carter, Chester.
Steward—Moses Brinton, Lancaster.
A. S.—W. K. Reinhart, Monroe.
Chaplain—J. F. Miller, Montgomery.
Treas.—Wm. Yocum, Berks.
Sec.—R. H. Thomas, Cumberland.
G. K.—M. K. Breadlinger, Montgomery.
Ceres—Miss Kate Koch, Berks.
Pomona—Mrs. E. Detwiler, Chester.
Flora—Mrs. K. Mauger, Montgomery.
L. A. S.—Miss M. Griesemer, Berks.
Executive Committee—Dr. H. W. Heckel, Chester; W. W. Parker, Chester; E. Z. Griesemer, Berks; Henry Tyson, Berks, J. B. Rieff, Montgomery; C. P. Steinmetz, Lebanon.

Election in 1875 resulted as follows:

M—D. B. Mauger.
O—D. C. Kennedy, Erie.
L—V. E. Piolet, Bradford.
S—H. H. Brown, Columbia.
A. S.—E. R. DeLong, Bradford.
Chaplain—J. B. Richards, Luzerne.
T—Wm. Yocum.
S—R. H. Thomas.
G. K.—J. G. Rosenberry, Bucks.
Ceres—Mrs. D. C. Kennedy, Erie.
Pomona—Mrs. Asa Battles, Erie.
Flora—Mrs. Lottie P. Porter, Lycoming.
L. A. S.—Mrs. Louisa L. Phillips, Erie.
Executive Committee—C. E. Gladding, Bradford; W. T. Everson, Erie; T. S. Strohecker, Venango.

Election at Meadville in 1876 resulted as follows:

Master—V. E. Piolet, Bradford.
Overseer—D. Kennedy, Erie.
Lecturer—S. R. Downing, Chester.
Steward—J. C. Henderson, No. 30.
A. S.—A. D. Munn.
Chaplain—W. T. Everson, Erie.
Treas.—Wm. Yocum.
Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
G. K.—J. G. Rosenberry.
Ceres—Mrs. J. D. L. Smith,
Pomona—Mrs. E. Townsend.
Flora—Mrs. A. B. Finson.
L. A. S.—Sister Miller, No. 694.

Election in 1878 at Bellefonte.
Master—V. E. Piolet.
Overseer—Leonard Rhone, Centre.
Lecturer—S. R. Downing.
Steward—A. D. Munn, Bradford.
A. S.—W. E. Jackson, Chester.
Chaplain—W. T. Everson, Erie.
Treas.—Wm. Yocum.

Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
G. K.—J. O. Alger, Bradford.
Ceres—Maggie J. Moore, Blair.
Pomona—Della Marsh, Erie.
Flora—Sarah L. Rex, Montgomery.
L. A. S.—Ella J. Denning, Clearfield.
Executive Committee—Dr. T. H. Allison, Jefferson; S. P. Childs, Montgomery; D. C. Kennedy, Erie.
Members held over as follows: W. L. Archer, Washington; J. B. Henry, Mifflin; D. B. Mauger, Berks.

The following officers were elected at Greensburg, 1880:

Master—Leonard Rhone, Centre.
Overseer—Seth Hoagland, Mercer.
Lecturer—Dr. James Calder, Dauphin.
Steward—J. R. McCurley, Union.
A. S.—J. E. McGary, Westmoreland.
Chaplain—W. H. Holstein, Montgomery.
Treasurer—Wm. Yocum, Berks.
Sec.—R. H. Thomas, Cumberland.
Gate Keeper—Charles Hartzel, Northumberland.
Ceres—Mrs. M. J. Moore, Blair.
Pomona—Mrs. Della Marsh, Erie.
Flora—Mrs. S. S. Rex, Montgomery.
L. A. S.—Mrs. M. S. Rhone, Centre.
Executive Committee—V. E. Piolet, Bradford; J. B. Henry, Mifflin; D. C. Kennedy, Erie; W. H. Dallett, Chester; C. A. Carrier, Jefferson; T. J. McCleary, Washington.

The election at Harrisburg in 1882 resulted as follows:

Master—Leonard Rhone.
Overseer—J. G. McSparran, Lancaster.
Lecturer—Dr. Jas. Calder, Dauphin.
Steward—Jesse Davis, Chester.
A. S.—J. E. McGary, Westmoreland.
Chaplain—W. H. Holstein, Montgomery.
Treas.—Wm. Yocum.
Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
G. K.—Charles Hatzel, Northumberland.
Ceres—Mrs. Anna Holstein, Montgomery.
Pomona—Mrs. Hannah Eger, Lycoming.
Flora—Mrs. Eliza D. Calder, Dauphin.
L. A. S.—Mrs. Maggie Rhone, Centre.
Executive Committee—V. E. Piolet, Bradford; D. C. Kennedy, Erie; J. B. Kirkbride, Philadelphia, for two years; C. A. Carrier, Jefferson, one year.

1883, at Harrisburg, members of the Executive Committee were elected as follows: Charles W. Roberts, Chester; C. A. Carrier, Jefferson; H. M. Cutshall, Crawford.

1884, at Harrisburg, officers were elected as follows:

Master—L. Rhone, Centre.
 Overseer—J. G. McSparran, Lancaster.
 Lecturer—Dr. James Calder, Dauphin.
 Steward—Jesse Davis, Chester.
 A. S.—J. E. McGary, Westmoreland.
 Chaplain—W. H. Holstein, Montg.
 Treas.—Wm. Yocum, Berks.
 Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
 G. K.—Charles Hartzel, North'd.
 Ceres—Mrs. Anna Holstein, Montg.
 Pomona—Mrs. Hannah Eger, Lycoming.
 Flora—Mrs. Eliza Calder, Dauphin.
 L. A. S.—Mrs. Maggie Rhone, Centre.
 Ex. Com.—V. E. Piollett, Bradford;
 D. C. Kennedy, Erie; J. B. Kirkbride, Philadelphia.

1886, at Harrisburg, the following were elected:

Master—L. Rhone.
 Overseer—J. G. McSparran.
 Lecturer—Gerard C. Brown, York.
 Steward—S. M. McHenry, Indiana.
 A. S.—J. E. McGary, Westmoreland.
 Chaplain—W. H. Holstein, Montg.
 Treas.—Wm. Yocum.
 Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
 G. K.—Charles Hartzel.
 Ceres—Mrs. Anna Holstein.
 Pomona—Mrs. A. H. Olmstead, Warren.
 Flora—Miss Estella Thomas, Cumb.
 L. A. S.—Mrs. Maggie Rhone.
 Ex. Com.—V. E. Piollett, D. C. Kennedy, J. B. Kirkbride.
 Ex. Com. elected in 1887—R. S. Searle, Susq.; H. C. Anderson, Washington;
 P. S. Kift, Lycoming.

At Harrisburg, in 1888 the election resulted as follows:

Master—L. Rhone.
 Overseer—S. F. Maxwell, Westmoreland.
 Lecturer—Gerard C. Brown, York.
 Steward—S. M. McHenry, Indiana.
 A. S.—J. E. McGary, Westm'd.
 Chaplain—W. H. Holstein.
 Treas.—Wm. Yocum.
 Sec.—R. H. Thomas.
 G. K.—Wallace Chase.
 Ceres—Mrs. Anna Holstein.
 Pomona—Mrs. A. H. Olmstead.
 Flora—Annie H. Bisbing, Montgomery.
 L. A. S.—Mrs. Maggie Rhone.
 Ex. Com.—D. C. Kennedy, J. B. Kirkbride, A. P. Young, Columbia.

In 1889, at Harrisburg, the following members of the Ex. Com. were elected: S. Powell Childs, Montgomery; J. S. Miller, Somerset; Sister Eger, Lycoming.

In 1890, at Harrisburg, the following were elected:

Master—L. Rhone, Centre.
 Overseer—S. M. McHenry, Indiana.
 Lecturer—J. T. Ailman, Juniata.
 Steward—J. L. Kennedy, Westmoreland.
 A. S.—F. E. Field, Tioga.

Chaplain—W. H. Holstein, Mont.

Treas.—Wm. Yocum.

Sec.—R. H. Thomas.

G. K.—W. Chase, Tioga.

Ceres—Mrs. Anna M. Holstein.

Pomona—Mrs. A. H. Olmstead.

Flora—Annie H. Bisbing, Mont.

L. A. S.—Mrs. Anna McCracken, Jefferson.

Ex. Com.—D. C. Kennedy, J. B. Kirkbride, H. C. Anderson.

In 1891, at Harrisburg, the following were elected on the Ex. Com.: Louis Piollett, Bradford; L. A. Tucker, Crawford; Henry Cyphert, Clarion.

At Harrisburg, in 1892, the following officers were elected.

Master—L. Rhone.

Overseer—S. M. McHenry.

Lecturer—J. T. Ailman.

Steward—J. C. McClure, Westmoreland.

A. S.—Geary C. Bell, Wayne.

Chaplain—W. H. Holstein.

Treas.—Wm. Yocum.

Sec.—R. H. Thomas.

G. K.—Wallace Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. Anna M. Holstein.

Pomona—Mrs. Clara T. Olmstead.

Flora—Miss Anna H. Bisbing.

L. A. S.—Mrs. M. L. Gundy, Union.

Ex. Com.—J. B. Kirkbride, A. P. Young, J. J. Walker, Allegheny.

In 1893, at Harrisburg, there were elected on the Ex. Com. D. C. Kennedy, No. 8; Frank Chandler, Chester, G. W. Dickinson, Tioga.

1894 at Williamsport, the following were elected:

Master—L. Rhone.

Overseer—J. C. McClure.

Lecturer—W. F. Hill, Crawford.

Steward—J. P. Whipple, Bradford.

A. S.—E. J. Tuttle, Tioga.

Chaplain—W. T. Everson, Erie.

Treas.—S. E. Nivin, Chester.

Sec.—J. T. Ailman, Juniata.

G. K.—Wallace Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. Helen S. Johnson, Erie.

Pomona—Mrs. S. J. Logan, Crawford.

Flora—Annie H. Bisbing.

L. A. S.—Miss Kate P. Eger, Lycoming.

Ex. Com.—J. B. Kirkbride, J. J. Walker, S. M. McHenry.

Elected at Altoona, 1896, Dec. 10-13

M.—L. Rhone.

O.—A. C. Barrett.

Lect.—W. F. Hill, Crawford.

Stew.—J. P. Whipple, Bradford.

Asst. Stew.—E. J. Tuttle, Tioga.

Chap.—W. T. Everson, Erie.

Treasurer—S. E. Nivin.

Sec.—J. T. Ailman.

G. K.—W. Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. Helen S. Johnson, Erie.

Pomona—Mrs. S. J. Logan, Crawford.

Flora—Marie Hill.

L. A. S.—Eldora E. Litchard.

Executive Committee—J. B. Kirk-

bride, G. W. Dickinson, I. Frank Chandler, J. J. Thomas and S. M. McHenry.

Finance Committee—H. B. Corey, Bradford; S. S. Blyholder, Armstrong; D. B. McWilliams, Juniata.

Elected at Williamsport, Dec. 13-16, in 1898 :

M.—W. F. Hill, Crawford.

O.—E. J. Tuttle, Tioga.

L.—W. B. Packard, Bradford.

S.—H. M. Gooderham, Cambria.

A. S.—A. H. S. Taggart, Montgomery.

Chap.—Rev. D. K. Laubach, Luzerne.

Treas.—S. E. Nivin.

Sec.—J. T. Ailman.

G. K.—W. Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. V. B. Holiday, Tioga.

Flora—Miss Florence Rhone, Centre.

Pomona—Mrs. L. A. Thayer, Crawford.

L. A. S.—Mrs. H. Faust, Lycoming.

Ex. Com.—L. Rhone, Centre; G. W.

Oster, Bedford; L. Piolet, Bradford.

Finance Com.—S. S. Blyholder, D. B.

McWilliams, John F. Patton, Huntingdon.

At sessions held Dec. 12-13-14-15, 1899, at Lock Haven, Bro. I. F. Chandler was elected to succeed Bro. Rhone upon the Ex. Com.

Elected at Lock Haven session, Dec. 11-14, 1900.

M.—W. F. Hill.

O.—A. C. Barrett.

L.—A. M. Cornell, Bradford.

Stew.—H. M. Gooderham.

Asst. Stew.—H. H. Pratt, Chester.

Chap.—Rev. W. H. Clipman, Washington.

Treas.—S. E. Nivin.

Secy.—J. T. Ailman.

G. K.—W. Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. V. B. Holiday.

Flora—Mrs. L. A. Thayer.

Pomona—Miss Florence Rhone.

L. A. S.—Mrs. Mary Bloom, Clinton.

Ex. Com.—Louis Piolet, G. W. Oster, I. F. Chandler.

Finance Com.—D. B. McWilliams, J. T. Patton, S. S. Blyholder.

No change made at the 1901 session held at Johnstown, Dec. 10-11-12-13.

Elected at Clearfield session, Dec. 9-10-11-12, 1902.

M.—W. F. Hill.

O.—A. C. Barrett.

L.—A. M. Cornell.

S.—H. M. Gooderham.

A. S.—H. H. Pratt.

Chap.—Rev. H. G. Teagarden, Jefferson.

Treas.—S. E. Nivin.

Sec.—J. T. Ailman.

G. K.—W. Chase.

Ceres—Mrs. V. B. Holiday.

Flora—Miss Florence Rhone.

Pomona—Mrs. Mary Fisher, Chester.

L. A. S.—Mrs. H. P. Hunsinger, Sullivan.

Executive Committee—I. F. Chandler, G. W. Oster, Louis Piolet.

Finance Committee—J. T. Patton, D. B. McWilliams, S. B. Brown, Bedford.

No change made at Wilkesbarre session held Dec. 8-9-10-11, 1903.

At session at Erie, Dec. 13-14-15-16, 1904, there was elected the following officers :

Master—W. F. Hill, Chambersburg, Franklin County.

Overseer—Hon. A. C. Barrett, New Milford, Susquehanna.

Lecturer—A. M. Cornell, Columbia X Roads, Bradford.

Steward—Theo. Klein, Lake Ariel, Wayne.

Assistant Steward—Harry H. Platt, Goshenville, Chester.

Chaplain—Rev. J. W. Johnson, Skinner's Eddy, Wyoming.

Treasurer—S. E. Nivin, Landenberg, Chester.

Secretary—J. T. Ailman, Thompsonstown, Juniata.

Gatekeeper—Wallace Chase, Fall Brook, Tioga.

Ceres—Mrs. Velma West, Corry, R.F. D. No. 4, Warren.

Pomona—Mrs. Mary Fisher, Lincoln University, Chester.

Flora—Mrs. Carrie Dale, State College, R.F.D. No. 3, Centre.

L. A. S.—Mrs. Frances Arters, Mill Village, Erie.

Executive Committee—I. F. Chandler, Toughkenamon, Chester; Chas. H. Dildine, Rohersburg, Columbia; G. W. Oster, Osterburg, Bedford.

Finance Committee—D. B. McWilliams, Burnham, Mifflin; S. B. Brown, Sulphur Springs, Bedford; John T. Patton, Warrior's Mark, Huntingdon.

Officers of Coryville, McKean Co., Juvenile Grange.

Organized this year.

Master—Evan Evans, Eldred.

Overseer—Erva Stull, Eldred.

Lecturer—Lulu Robins, Coryville.

Steward—Leonard Hubbard, Eldred.

Chap.—Lloyd Robins, Smithport.

Treas.—Claud Hanes, Eldred.

Sec.—Alice Gale, Smithport.

G. K.—Stanley Woodring, Smithport.

Ceres—Ida Wanerman, Eldred.

Pomona—Marie Smith, Coryville.

Flora—Bertha Plummer, Eldred.

L. A. S.—Leitha Wineman.

Township Talk.

Monroe Grange, No. 641, is still doing business at the old stand. I wish to tell you of a very pleasant and profitable evening we recently enjoyed. Several weeks ago the Lecturer distributed slips of paper among the members at the close of the Grange one night. When examined, it was found that each paper contained a short outline to be filled out on the subject of "Township History." For instance: "Where is this township located? Give altitude and area, population; how many streams flow through it; give source, direction, etc. There were sixteen papers given out, covering the following points: Who were the first settlers? Their location? First frame house? First schoolhouse? Present number of schools? Kinds of schools? Number of scholars? When was township founded and what taken from? Who were first township officers? Where was the first road? How many miles of road now in township? How many county bridges? Where was the first church? What denomination? How many churches now? Where located? First Sunday School Superintendent? How many? How Many now? Number of schools? First post office? Present post offices? Number of money order offices? First grist mill? First saw mill? Location of each? First store? Present number of stores? History of stores? Business in the township? Army record of the township? How many now in army and navy? First hotel? Number of hotels? First telephone? When erected? Number of lines? Number of lines now? Number of phones? Number of pay stations?

Grange history? How many in township? When organized? By whom? Number of members?

Nearly every member responded, and some interesting talks were given and papers read. The Master remarked, as he entered the hall that evening: "I don't know how any one thought of so many questions! I exhausted all resources of my own and then began to question others. I think I asked fifty men concerning one question, but am ready now."

I think we were all, old as well as young, wiser concerning the "land in which we live" than we were before. Of course more could be added or some could be dropped. Each Lecturer must determine for himself what questions would be suitable for his own Grange.

Wishing the Granges one and all prosperity, I remain fraternally,
Beaumont, Pa. Mrs. E.H. Clark.

Fair Notice.

Elfred, of McKean County, won the first prize banner for largest gain in membership last year. Now they think they would like to have a pair of them. If some other Granges don't "look a leedle out" it will get them. It is building up its membership. "To the victors belong the spoils."

"We have nine candidates to initiate at our next meeting."

G. E. AYER, Grange 205,

Bradford County.

[Granges are whittling down that 10,000 new member pile. They can all be landed inside if each Grange does its share.] Ed.



Officers of the Pennsylvania State Grange

Master, W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
Overseer, HON. A. C. BARRETT, New Milford, Susquehanna Co.
Lecturer, A. M. CORNELL, Columbia X Roads.
Steward, THEODORE KLEIN, Lake Ariel, Wayne Co.
Assistant Steward, HARRY H. PRATT, Goshenville, Chester Co.
Chaplain, REV J. W. JOHNSON, Laceyville, Wyoming Co.
Treasurer, S. E. NIVIN, Landenburg, Chester Co.
Secretary, J. T. AILMAN, Thompsonstown, Juniata Co.
Gatekeeper, WALLACE CHASE, Fall Brook, Tioga Co.
Ceres, MRS. VELMA WEST, Corry, Warren County.
Flora, MRS. J. S. Dale, State College, Centre Co.
Pomona, MRS. MARY FISHER, Lincoln University, Chester Co.
L. A. S., MRS. FRANCES B. ARTERS, Millvillage, Erie Co.

Executive Committee

I. FRANK CHANDLER, Toughkenamon, Chester Co.
C. H. DILDINE, Rohrsburg, Columbia Co.
G. W. OSTER, Osterburg, Bedford Co.

Finance Committee

D. B. McWILLIAMS, Burnham, Mifflin Co.
S. B. BROWN, Sulphur Springs, Bedford Co.
JOHN T. PATTON, Warriors Mark, Huntingdon Co.

Legislative Committee

W. F. HILL, Chambersburg, Franklin Co.
HON. W. T. CREASY, Catawissa, Columbia Co.
E. B. DORSETT, Wellsboro, Tioga Co.

**Pennsylvania Granges are going to add 10,000 members this year.
THIS MEANS WORK.**

2

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AGRICULTURAL LIBRARY
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

Pennsylvania

Grange News



July, 1905

Officers of the Pennsylvania State Grange

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Chaplain, REV J. W. JOHNSON, Laceyville, Wyoming Co.
Treasurer, S. E. NIVIN, Landenburg, Chester Co.
Secretary, J. T. AILMAN, Thompsontown, Juniata Co.
Gatekeeper, WALLACE CHASE, Fall Brook, Tioga Co.
Ceres, MRS. VELMA WEST, Corry, Warren County.
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Pennsylvania Grange News.

Published by the Pennsylvania State Grange

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5 CENTS PER COPY

W. F. HILL,
EDITOR.

G. W. OSTER,
Editor Executive Committee Department.

W. T. CREASY,
Editor Legislative Committee Department

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as second class matter, under Act of Congress of July 16, 1904

Impressions of Agriculture in Europe.

Agriculture in Europe varies a good deal in different parts of the continent. This is true both because of the soil and topographical conditions, the climate, the activities of the people and the encouragement given to the industry by the government. Southern Italy is noted for intense cultivation, intelligently applied, but done almost altogether by hand labor. The soil is rich and deep, climate is favorable and labor plentiful. Irrigation is much practiced, the water being frequently raised from dug wells by a donkey hitched to a windlass. A boy or two keeps him traveling. I saw fields of potatoes here, grown by means of irrigation, that looked more promising than any I have ever seen in my life elsewhere, but the tubers did not correspond with the promise made in the tops as I found but very few that, when fully matured, were any larger than our ordinary walnuts.

Land is so heavily taxed that when it is used at all profitably for agricultural purposes it has to be intensely cultivated. Incredible as it may seem, I saw peasants carrying soil in baskets up steep hillsides to cover a rocky ledge where they would later grow vegetables of some kind. There are but very few hillsides here too steep or rocky to be not terraced and covered with soil in that way and the ever present grape vine has its foothold in some such place and is now yielding its fruit, much of which will be made into wine.

Italy is pre-eminently the land of the vine and where the ground is level the vine is allowed to grow long, and is trained up high so that the fruit is found on wires or trees, twenty feet or more above the ground. Then some other crop is grown on the land beneath the vines. In the spring the ground will be broken by very crude plows drawn by a yoke of oxen and I certainly question whether in Italy, Southern Austria Hungary, or Servia the soil is ever pressed by the tread of a four footed animal after plowing. In Austria-Hungary also the grass is mown and made into hay entirely by hand labor. Thirty, forty, or fifty men, women, and children would be at work in a single field with the absolutely straight scythe snathe, the wooden hand rake, and the wooden pitchfork. The latter is but little improvement on a forked stick.

Switzerland is a noble little country with which people who visit it fall in love. Agriculture is better developed here in every direction, although this mountainous little republic is better adapted to the grazing of herds and the keeping of stock than to general farming. As the traveler revels in the deliciousness of the milk and cream, the butter and cheese, he is not surprised that these products of the Swiss farm are sought after all over the World. I was astounded when reliably informed that this little country during the month of April last had sent over to the United States \$800,000.00 worth of milk products. Surely our dairymen must look out that our home markets be not captured by foreign enterprise.

In Germany, Belgium, and France, I was impressed with the more general use of improved machinery and the attractive appearance of farm land generally. In certain agricultural lines the Germans have no superiors. Their advanced methods in the saving and economical use of fertilizers, their skill in gardening, together with the scientific cultivation of their forests are matters of much interest to every close observer. It is reported that there are no forests in Germany that are not cultivated. I cannot vouch for the correctness of this statement, but I do know that I saw thousands of acres of forest land where the trees were better taken care of than the average farmer cares for his apple orchard. Whenever a tree reaches maturity it is taken out and harvested as we pick a pail of ripened berries. But another tree is planted to take its place and so while the crop is thus annually removed, they have consideration for the future by the planting of other trees.

The method pursued in selling agricultural produce in Paris was a novel one to me. All night long wagons loaded heavily with all kinds of produce come into the city. The produce is taken to the immense Central Market House, where in the early morning the selling begins. Fruits, vegetables, meats, fish, flowers, etc., are all sold at public auction. The highest bidder getting as large an amount at the price he bids as he cares to take. I hustled out one morning and though it was only between four and five o'clock when I got there, yet the confusion and activity would make one think it was mid-day. No private selling was done at all so far as I could learn, but all sold through regularly licensed auctioneers, several of whom were at once crying out the wares and price bid in different parts of the same or different buildings. In an hour and a half, or so, the immense stock had all been sold and the wagons of the buyers were on hand to get the goods. So in this way a gardener's load was soon sold and I could not help thinking that it was a fair, quick, and economical way of selling produce.

But in France one's admiration for the general condition of the country is divided by admiration for the good condition of the roads. Of course, it is true that elegant roads are found throughout Europe, but why should they not be good? One of the greatest objects the European government had hundreds or thousands of years ago in building these good roads at that time was that they were a military necessity and that holds true with reference to their maintenance in these days. I suspect that the ability to move an army quickly over these roads against an enemy in a bordering country had much more to do with them than the desire of the government to advance its agriculture, or to make fine drives for its wealthy people.

On different days I took drives over the celebrated Appian Way (Appia Via) which was named after Appius Claudius, who had much to do with its construction over three hundred years before the birth of Christ. So thoroughly and well was the work done that it is in fair condition to this day and maintained at little expense. The first cost of this road must have been something immense, as the excavation was deep and an immense amount of stone was put in and finished on top by hexagonal blocks standing on end, held tightly in place by heavy curb walls on each side. (Outside the walls of Rome and beside this road stands a little chapel which contains the impress of a foot. The guard tells you that this was made by Christ's foot at a time when met here by the Apostle Peter. The legend is referred to in "Quo Vadis," where Peter asks the Saviour "Whither goest thou?" to which He replies, "I return to be crucified.") Ages have been used in bringing the roads of Europe to their present state of perfection, and I have no doubt but that in a good deal less time we will have as good roads in our own country, as Europe has to-day.

England seems to be the natural home of the sheep. One sees them every place over the island and with their superb meadow land and pasturage it would seem that England could easily hold first place in the profitable production of high-class sheep.

Living expenses in Europe are lower than they are here. Labor is cheap; vegetables are both plentiful and cheap. Wages are what we would think at starvation point. Girls working in factories and elsewhere make, if quick at piece-work, from ten to twelve cents a day, while the wages for agricultural labor amount to about twenty cents in our money. The soldier who must go into the army whether he wants to or not, draws the munificent compensation of two cents per day. So with labor cheap, taxes high, the government can build roads and have many fine public institutions. While there are many things in Europe which we can study with profit to ourselves, yet our American people would not stand for a good deal of the oppression that exists there.

Salt and tobacco are both luxuries and expensive ones, but the price of the latter was not burdensome to me. Chicken seemed to be a favorite meat and at one hotel in Florence, I was told that they consumed over thirty thousand head a year. The continental breakfast everywhere consists of rolls and coffee. They never think of you wanting more than this.

Faternally,

W. F. HILL.

Master Penn'a State Grange.

STATE Dairy and Food Commissioner Dr. Warren is being hampered in his work because of the determination by the Supreme Courts that wines, whiskies, beer, etc., do not come under the operation of the Pure Food Law. It seems that there is no agency to restrain the adulteration of this class of wares. This is certainly unfortunate. Many good people consider these goods to be "too bad even when good." With nothing to restrain the greed of unscrupulous vendors of this merchandise still larger quantities of acid and other poisons will be added. If some is bought for use during sickness one has no protection as to freedom from dangerous adulteration.

Brother Warren has issued a circular letter explaining the situation and inviting the moral support of citizens generally to keep the traffic in check until the legislature meets again to enact a law to cover the case. The Dairy and Food Commissioner has what is perhaps the hardest position in the State to fill satisfactorily. He is entitled to the support of good citizens everywhere in every effort to honorably discharge his obligation to the people of the State.

PROF. H. A. Surface, State Zoologist, Harrisburg, is anxious to receive specimens of wild animals of all kinds, bugs, insects, reptiles, quadrupeds, bipeds, etc. He wants to

make up a complete collection and have it on public exhibition in the new capitol building. Here is a good Grange opportunity. In most subordinate and Pomona Granges there are brothers who take pride in observing and studying the natural life in the locality. Pennsylvania Grange News suggests that Granges appoint a committee to take up this matter. They can communicate with Brother Surface as above and he will give them full advice. Your Grange thus becomes identified with and aids a worthy State enterprise, while the committee that associates itself with Brother Surface will receive such educational impulse as will repay it many times over for the trouble. Specimens sent under the Professor's direction are transported at the expense of the State.

The members of some of the Pomona Granges of our State have made requests that the State Grange confer sixth degree in their jurisdiction, so that they may be qualified to receive the seventh degree at the National meeting. Special sixth degree sessions will be held in Chester County, August 24th; in Tioga County, September 7th and 8th; and it is expected that a date will be arranged later in the interest of the Wyoming County Grange. When these Patrons attend the sessions of the National Grange they will

then have the ground all cleared to enjoy to the full the sessions of that body and to receive the crowning degree of the Order.

An Open Letter to Fair Associations.

You doubtless know of the fast increasing popularity of the Grange as a factor in the betterment of country life. We also recognize the local Fair as a kindred educational force. It has occurred to me that by a little co-operation we can make our institutions of still greater attractiveness and value. To this end I wish to suggest that you designate one day of your Fair as "Grange Day," and set aside an hour or more after dinner for speaking. Advertise same and specially invite farmers and Grange members to attend the Fair that day—seeing it and also hearing a speaker of note.

The State Grange can arrange to provide a well known speaker, able to both interest and instruct along lines of Agricultural Education and Improvement.

W. F. HILL.

The above was printed in the March number of "Penn'a. Grange News" and some responses are being received to it from the secretaries of Fair associations. The State Grange will endeavor to provide satisfactory speakers and we re-publish this announcement thinking that it may have escaped attention of some who would like to avail themselves of the proposition. How would it do for Fair Associations to offer prizes to Granges for the best displays made by Granges.

Bro. Myrt Ferguson, Master of Pomona Grange, No. 23, subscribes for Penn'a Grange News to be sent him at Tacoma, Washington, where he is spending the summer with a sister. Do not fall in love with anything that you can't bring back, Myrt, as we are not willing to spare you permanently from Pennsylvania.

Try suggesting to a Patron friend that Penn'a Grange News will do him good "like a medicine" this hot weather—also when the cool days come. The subscription list will hold the names of some more patrons anxious to get the "inside" Grange points and for two dimes it will be sent twelve months.



If your Grange is at all interested in any of the many Grange picnics to be held this summer, the following may be found of interest if read at your next Grange meeting:

August, the great picnic month, is at hand and we have again our annual opportunity to reach outside people to show them what the Grange is, to evidence our faith in it, that farmers need the Grange, and it invites them to join. The aim on this occasion should be to manage affairs so that everybody has a reunion, a good dinner, a good time. A Grange picnic stands for more than this. The fragments gathered up and taken home should be many more basketfuls than the loaves and fishes brought. Acquaintanceships should be made, friendships formed and enlarged, inspiration gleaned, and food for later thought be stored away. To this end a few general suggestions follow:

1. Select date and location early.
2. Advertise well. Urge outside farmers, their families and friends to attend.
3. In addition to State speakers, have some local talent represented on the program.
4. Begin literary exercises early and have them finished in good time.
5. While the speaking is going on insist upon having quiet near the speakers' stand. Few things are more annoying than to be unable to hear the speaker because of the visiting, whistling or other racket. Let those wishing to make a commotion retire far enough from the stand to not disturb speaker and audience.
6. Provide plenty of strong seats for all.
7. Good music is essential. If a band cannot be secured, have plenty of books and sing Grange songs. An instrument usually can be secured somewhere in the neighborhood.
8. Applaud your speakers. Give them a fine reception as they are introduced. It makes them feel at home and is the cheapest way known to get a better speech. Whenever a hit is made in the course of the speech, cheers will show the speaker

that that audience does not have to wait until next day to catch a point.

9. Let the last speaker be a representative of the Grange. Outsiders will then go home with the Grange uppermost in their minds.

10. Have plenty of application blanks ready and make conscience of soliciting for new members right

there and then. We want to add 10,000 of them this year, and a carefully planned, well organized picnic should help your Grange to get its quota—and maybe win a prize, beside.

Fraternally yours,

W. F. HILL,

Master State Grange.

Executive Committee Department

G. W. OSTER, EDITOR.

Grange Cooperation.

Whenever any one refers to cooperation in connection with the Grange, people generally think of it as referring only to the cooperative or business department of the order. And in many cases this is referred to specifically and dwelt upon as though it was the only way by which we can cooperate. In this, however, we are mistaken. Our cooperation in business affairs is all right and very proper, and it is just and right to emphasize this feature in order to keep the members of the order advised as to its operations and work and the duty they owe to this department after it is once established as a department in the order in the State. But important as this is it is not the only way in which we can cooperate together as members of the Grange. We can encourage and help one another in our official capacities by mutually advising and helping one another in the discharge of our various duties. When every officer in the Grange from Master to Gate Keeper works unselfishly for the good of the order regardless of the effect such action may have upon himself or herself, the work goes on in a prosperous and pleasant manner and advancement is made all along the line. On the other hand when members, whether officers or not, stand aloof from one another, each one doing nothing but what is required of them, for fear some brother or sister may be benefitted, a decline both in interest and membership is sure to follow. True, the evil in-

fluence of such conduct is not always perceptible at once, but like the tares sown in the night, they will come up and choke out many good deeds and aspirations that would have developed for good under different circumstances. How frequent do we hear the expression, "Well, I had nothing to do with it; it is not my work. I might have helped but they undertook the work and let them perform it." Such sentiments are the very quintessence of selfishness and will always react upon the person who entertains them. We should rather remember that "no man liveth to himself" and that our duty is to heartily cooperate with our fellows in every good word and work. That man or woman always grows in personal popularity who forgets self and works heartily with his or her associates in the accomplishment of any work whether they have been designated to do so or not. If we could all become so impressed with the true spirit of cooperation as taught in the fundamental principles of the Grange, what a different state of affairs would soon exist. Our influence as an organization from the Subordinate to the National Grange would be multiplied tenfold. The membership would be immeasurably increased and the standard of thought and action would be raised until the entire rural population would be benefitted by our fraternal conduct in cooperating together in good deeds. Let us then endeavor to practice and study this feature of our beloved order until we shall all

find real pleasure and profit in real genuine earnest cooperation in every phase of Grange work, whether it be one department or another. Encourage by word and deed wherever you can, always remembering that those who help others help themselves and that the public will ever and always hold in high esteem that man or woman who is ever ready to help his fellow in whatever capacity they may be placed and that the Grange was instituted for the purpose of giving us an opportunity to work for the good of mankind, and this can best be accomplished by hearty fraternal cooperation.—John Begg, Lecturer Ohio State Grange.

The Next State Grange Meeting.

The next State Grange meeting will be held in Sunbury, convening December 12th, 1905. Brother C. H. Dildine, of the Executive Committee, has contracts made for hotel and suitable Hall accommodations. Sunbury is a

good railroad point, centrally located, and the patrons of Northumberland, Union, Snyder, and other nearby counties are making preparations to appropriately welcome the large gathering which always comes together at the sessions of Pennsylvania State Grange.

Co-Operation Tested.

What a single Grange may do, indeed has done, is illustrated by Heightstown Grange of New Jersey. Its membership is about 170, and the members have found co-operation profitable.

This spring they purchased together thirty-eight cars of phosphates (about 600 tons), about 3,000 bushels of seed potatoes, five tons of binder twine, about 200 bushels clover seed, beside quantities of oil, feeds, etc. Also several cars of coal; groceries, boots and shoes are included in their purchases, and they claim to have saved several thousands of dollars by so doing.

Legislative Committee Department

W. T. CREASY, EDITOR.



IT gives me pleasure to present in my space in Pennsylvania Grange News some clippings with reference to the International Agricultural Conference and the part the State Grange of Penn'a took in the same thru its representative there. This puts the Penn'a Grange in the front rank for progress and demonstrates its ability and willingness in promptly aiding such movements as are calculated to help not alone the farmers of Penn'a., but of the entire country.

This Conference aims to secure for the staples of agriculture more stable and, perhaps, higher prices and this, too, without injury to any existing legitimate business. This means control of the trusts, the elimination of the fake price manipulator, and a judicious regulation of the wheat, and other pits.

When the farmer gets the same pay as other people for an equivalent expenditure in labor and capital, agriculture will be on a higher plane.

From Washington, D. C. Star, May 27, 1905.

Victor Emanuel, King of Italy, has sent an invitation to the different Governments of the world asking them to send representatives to Rome to a conference looking toward the improvement of agricultural conditions throughout the world.

It gives us pleasure to note that Mr. W. F. Hill, Worthy Master of Pennsylvania State Grange, proposes to attend this conference. Mr. Hill spares neither time nor expense to do his great work well.

From Scranton, Pa., Republican, May 15, 1905.

W. F. Hill, Master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, has been designated by the President as one of the American representatives at the International Congress of Agriculture at

Rome. Mr. Hill is now in Rome, where he went to attend this Congress as a representative of the State of Pennsylvania; but as the rules of the Congress permitted of the participation of national representatives only it was necessary for the President formally to appoint him one of the representatives of the United States.

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From N. Y. Journal of Commerce May 29, 1905.

Rome, May, 28—In the historic hall of the Capitol to-day King Victor Emanuel and Queen Helena, surrounded by members of the Cabinet and other high State dignitaries, inaugurated the International Conference on Agriculture in the presence of the diplomatic corps and 120 delegates. After the opening, the King and Queen conversed briefly with those present. His Majesty shook hands with Ambassador White and with the American delegates A. F. Woods, and W. F. Hill.

—
From the Detroit, Mich., Tribune June 4, 1905.

Rome, June 3—The sub-committee of the agricultural conference have not as yet finished their work especially that relating to the division among the different powers of the expenses of the proposed international institute of agriculture.

W. F. Hill, master of the Grange of Pennsylvania, speaking on the subject of the institute, said:

"My association with delegates representing 42 countries of the world has convinced me of the determination to establish permanently an international institute of agriculture. The uplifting influence of such an agency to agriculture and its beneficent effects upon the world at large cannot be foretold, as they will exceed the fondest anticipations of those engaged in its creation."

—
From New York Evening Post, June 8, 1905

Rome, June 8—David Lubin, of Sacramento, California, who proposed to King Victor Emanuel the taking of steps to bring about the establishment of an International Institute of Agriculture, speaking about the institute to-day, said:

"It will tend to give stability to the political, social, and economic condition of the people. The world has already succeeded in establishing a uniformity of standard in the circulating medium, money, and the institute will ultimately aid in the maintenance of an equitable exchange in the value of agricultural products. Without it

such equilibrium is left to chance, speculation, manipulation, and anarchic fluctuation in the price of the products of agriculture. This is as dangerous to the stability of the political, social, and economic life of nations as when the circulating medium also fluctuated, before the present standard was established. While the institute does not intend to remove the middleman, it intends to detect the hand of the manipulator, and brush it aside by freeing agriculture from chance and by placing it on a firm basis. Not only will this benefit the farmers, but it will prevent nations from rushing headlong into the troubled waters of revolution and anarchy. The Institute, therefore, will be a most potent power for the amelioration of agricultural conditions, for peace, and for true progressive civilization."

—
From New York Herald, June 8, 1905

Rome, Wednesday—All the delegates to the International Agricultural Conference signed this afternoon an agreement for the establishment of an International Agricultural Institute. It contains ten articles providing as follows:—

Article 1—An Institute of Agriculture, sitting at Rome, is to be created.

Article 2—It is to be an International institution, with representatives from each Power, divided into a General Assembly and with a permanent Committee.

Article 3—Representatives of the Powers are to form the assembly, each country having a number of votes, according to its classification, as per Article 10.

Article 4—The Assembly will elect a president, and the programme for each session will be proposed by the committee.

Article 5—The assembly will direct the institute and approve projects prepared by the committee regarding internal organizations, establish a working system, control the accounts and plan for the extension of the powers of the institute. A two-thirds vote of the assembly will be necessary, for the validity of its deliberations.

Article 6—The committee will elect an Executive committee.

Article 7—The Executive Committee will be composed of one delegate from each government, but one delegate may represent more than one government on condition that the members number more than fifteen.

Article 8—The committee will elect a president for three years.

Article 9—The work of the institute will be to study and publish statistics concerning the cultivation of animal and vegetable productions, the commerce in agricultural produce, the

prices prevailing in the different markets, the salaries of agricultural laborers, agricultural diseases and their remedies, questions concerning co-operation, insurance and credit, and also seek the approbation of the governments interested for a measure of protection of the common interests of agriculturists, the amelioration of their condition. Everything regarding the internal affairs of any particular country holding membership in

the institute is to be excluded from its competency.

Article 10—Countries, according to any of the five categories to which they choose to belong, are entitled to from one to five votes, paying progressively from \$500 for one vote to \$8,000 for five votes, but during the first years these prices shall be respectively \$300 and \$4,800. Any colony can be admitted as an independent State.

State Lecturer's Corner

A. M. CORNELL.



FRESH from the wheat and hay fields of the farm, we pause for a moment to say a few words to the many co-workers who read these pages not only in the harvest fields on many farms, but co-laborers as well in the Order who are untiring in their efforts to extend the usefulness of the Grange. To all who are aiding in this onward movement by the little we each are doing, I gladly congratulate you and commend the zeal that is bringing such results and as experience develops the worker and success brings enthusiasm I can believe that the future has great possibilities in store for the Order of Patrons of Husbandry.

It has been especially gratifying to receive a large number of calls for Grange literature for distribution during the recent past and we have endeavored to fill all orders promptly, hoping same has been received safely, and met the approval of those applying and is doing effectual work by helping to scatter Grange teachings. The supply is not exhausted and if more is desired let us know and it will be forwarded for the asking. Accompanying the requests for literature have come many words of encouragement.

We venture to here "clip" a few for samples that all may know of the good work. Bro. A. H. Olmstead, of Warren County, says: "I saw in the Grange News that you would send printed matter for distribution, so kindly send to me. We are progres-

sing nicely. Our Grange was a little down, but about two years ago, we concluded to either die or go ahead. We have purchased the lot and building; it placed a debt on us, but the prospects are bright. We meet regularly; several old members have returned, and new ones are coming."

Bro. C. A. Sisk, Master Factoryville Grange, Wyoming County, says: "Our Grange is fine and "dandy;" we have a membership of one hundred and fifty and still growing. Get me that literature before July 4, as we have a picnic on that day."

Lecturer Grange, No. 967, Sister Lottie E. Piel, Susquehanna County, says: "Kindly send me copies of all literature you have for distribution. Our Grange is doing nicely. We have fourteen new members and there are more names to be received soon."

Bro. George Reith, Jr., Lecturer No. 567, Luzerne County: "Will you kindly send some of the Grange printed matter for distribution. Mountain Grange is in a flourishing condition and still growing. We have added thirteen new members to our roll since March 1st."

Bro. C. C. Morehead, Master Stuben Grange, Crawford County: "Please send me supply of Grange printed matter. We have a Grange of about two hundred members, and are initiating every meeting a large class."

We were deeply impressed while attending Eric County Pomona session at Wattsburg in June last with the beautiful memorial service arranged and under the supervision of the

Worthy and efficient Pomona Lecturer, Sister Mildred Johnson, and her able corps of assistants. We are pleased to give here something of the plan with the hope that others may profit by establishing similar services at least once each year.

A Bro. and Sis. were selected from each Subordinate Grange represented in the County and retired to the preparation room where floral offerings were in readiness, thence to appropriate music rendered by the orchestra, these Bros. and Sis. marched around the hall forming a circle about the altar, when a vocal selection was given; then each Bro. or Sis. from the respective Granges named the deceased of their Grange with remarks and placed a floral tribute on the altar in their memory, closing the inspiring service by another vocal selection.

Erie County is also doing good work in conferring the fifth degree and a very pleasing feature on this occasion was the rendition of the following original poem by Sis. Ellen S. Gifford, of Harbor Creek, who so gracefully fills the office of Pomona, having her part memorized and closing the last charge with these verses that we here commend for other Pomonas:

Pomona greets her Brothers,
She greets them in this hall,
And hopes the lessons they have
learned
Will benefit us all.

Sisters, Pomona greets you,
With a smile as you will see;
She meets you and she greets you
In this, our fifth degree.

Our Worthy Master bids you hope,
Hope and persevere;
Our Worthy Assistants lead you on,
You have no cause to fear.

You to our Worthy Chaplain went,
He told you what was true;
Our Worthy Overseer and Lecturer,
Have told you what to do.

Our Gatekeeper and Steward are always there,
On cloudy days or sunny;
Our Worthy Treasurer and Secretary,
Will always take your money.

You have seen our spectre standing there,
With his robes on "by the way,"
You have seen us when we turned
Our darkness into day.

You have heard the thunder roaring,
You have seen the lightning flash,
You have heard the rain drops falling,
You have heard the armies clash.

But at last the storm is over,
The rain drops cease to fall;
The sun in all his glory,
Shines on us, one and all.

You have traveled on your journey,
You have labored long and well;
We trust that you'll prove faithful,
But time alone can tell.

And now you've got the fifth degree
You see there is no danger,
If you will take the sixth and seventh,
You'll be a full-fledged Granger.

And now for your Fidelity,
Your Industry and Zeal;
We'll partake of all those bounties,
We'll have a good square meal.

For your labors have secured them,
And last, but not the least,
I will now invite you, one and all
To join us at the feast.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Brother Ailman makes the following picnic announcements.

Dates and speakers for picnics have been assigned as follows:

A. M. Cornell, Crawford, Aug. 10, Erie, Elk Lake Grange, Aug. 11; Erie Mill Village, Aug. 12; Warren, Corydon Grange, Aug. 16; Columbus, Pomona, Aug. 17; Crawford, Aug. 19; Erie, Aug. 18; Indiana, Cush Creek Grange, Aug. 23 and 24; Potter, Pomona, Aug. 26.

W. T. Creasy, Chester, Aug. 3; Tloga, Mitchells Mills, Aug. 10; Wayne, Aug. 24.

S. S. Blyholder, Bedford, Aug. 17; Elk, Aug. 25; Venango, Aug. 26.

J. W. Johnson, Potter, Roulette, Wayne, Pleasant Valley. Dates to be arranged.

Mrs. V. B. Holiday, Chester, Aug. 3; Perry, Aug. 11; Juniata, Aug. 12.

Hon. A. L. Martin, Bradford, Sept. 6.

G. W. Oster, Indiana, Aug. 23 and 24; Fayette —.

J. T. Ailman, Warren, Farmington
Grange, Aug. 22; Erie, Clover Leaf
Grange, Aug. 23; Mercer, Pomona,
Clark's Mills, Aug. 24; Clarion, Aug.
25; Union, Aug. 30; Montour, Aug. 31.

Some time ago I noticed that Worth State Lecturer, Brother Cornell made the claim that his home grange was the largest in Pennsylvania. Crawford County now wishes to offset this with Sparta Grange No. 110, which has a membership of 407. The last class initiated by this grange numbered 57 and prospects are good for as large a class next quarter.

Mrs. Louie Blakslee is Sparta's most efficient lecturer and has prepared the two enclosed programs for the use of Crawford County's subordinate granges for the two August meetings. This is a new departure in county lecture work but it seems to work very well so far. While programs made out by one lecturer may not exactly fit into the work of every other grange in a county they suggest new ideas that result in more effective lecture work in each grange.

Lect. Pomona, No. 25.

Music

Twenty- five or thirty clippings of "Hedgerow Philosophy" saved from Grange Bulletin and handed to as many members who will not take part in any other way (called for by numbers), in succession.

Instructive "talk" on the influence of the Grange, pointing out the duties of its members, by lecturer.

Short sketch or biography of some woman of note, bringing out incidents and points of character not generally known.

Music.

Ten "funny items" read alternately by two young members of the Grange.

Discussion: "Can women make themselves useful as members of School Boards?"

Original essay.

Music.

Discussion: "Does the farmer's wife contribute as much to their prosperity as the farmer does?"

Humorous recitation.

Closing.

Music.

Choir.

Music.

Choir.

Twenty-five or thirty quotations handed to as many members who never will take part in any other way, (numbered and called for by numbers) in succession.

Instructive reading for the "good of the order" by lecturer.

Music

Short biography or sketch of some noted man, relating points of character and incidents not generally known.

Rehearsal.

Music.

Ten short "items of interest" read alternately by two young members.

Discussion: "In what way can we get the most money out of the farm, and still improve it?"

Recitation: .

Close with music by choir.

To the Editor of Grange News: The Pomona Grange No. 3 of Chester and Delaware counties will picnic at Lenape Park, Aug. 3d. Sister Holiday and Brother Creasy are expected to be present in the afternoon. All are cordially invited to be present. Special trolleys meet trains in West Chester.

E. B. PALMER, Sec.

Mitchell's Mills Grange, Tioga County, has a band within its membership. It will furnish music at the picnic there August 10. Brother Creasy is expected as the principal speaker.